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Security Scenario Remains Unchanged

By Special Correspondent

STATISTICALLY, there has been decline in terrorist violence in Kashmir this year. Compared to 168 killings of civilians in 2006 this year it has been only 67. In past five months in Kashmir valley only 84 terrorists were killed (HM 15, LeT 53, JeM 6, others 34). During the same period 25 security personnel were killed (Forces 17, Police 8). Number of terrorism related incidents in 2007 was 290, down from 475 in 2006.

Decline in terrorist violence has been paralled with increase in infiltration and widening of the ambit of terrorist activities in other parts of India. For the first time in 18 years the Union Home Minister called a high-level security review of Vaishno Devi shrine at the shrine premises itself. It followed threats by LeT to blow up prominent religious places, besides India Gate, UP railway stations, Kanpur power house and other industrial establishments and Airports. Threats were also received by His Holiness Dalai Lama. On June 10, 2007 JK Police foiled a plan to attack Bhaderwah Mela by arresting six dreaded terrorists of LeT.

This has left security establishment thinking if terrorists were upto a bigger game sometime later. On June 28, 2007 DIG BSF (G Branch) K Srinivas said that relative calm witnessed in the state over past six months was not for real but a calibrated move by terrorists to regroup and intensify their assaults in the days to come. He added, 'our pressure also has a role, but militants are holding back with a purpose. There were about one thousand terrorists in Valley. They were building a firm base of OGWs to expand their reach, he added.

During past 4 years over 5 thousand kgs of RDX had been seized; 900 kgs were seized in 2006 alone. 4 grenade attacks in a single day in highly sanitized



Jawans keep guard behind trees in a forest at Ganthmulla, near Baramulla on August 2, 2007, after an encounter. An Army Colonel, 1 Jawan and 8 terrorists were killed in a two-day gunbattle.

Srinagar city, attacks on Amarnath yatris at Baltal and Pahalgam, grenade attack on NC President Omar Abdullah at Handwara which left 20 injured, grenade attack on Gujrat tourists and fidayeen attack at Zakura on outskirts of Srinagar city recently indicate that terrorists retain the capacity to strike.

Reports indicate that current decline in terrorist violence in Kashmir is tactical to force New Delhi to agree to 'demilitarization' and facilitate strategic advantage for Pakistan. Some of the mainstream politicians have been advocating general amnesty to Kashmiri youth who had crossed over to Pakistan. Most of these are highly motivated terrorists and want to avail this option to sneak into J&K. Over the years many of the surrendered mili-

itants after availing surrender packages rejoined terrorist ranks. There is no guarantee about Kashmir youth in PoK not joining terror outfits after entering India.

Infiltration:

The Army Chief General JJ Singh said recently the intelligence reports suggested that terrorists were trying to use Nepal and Bangladesh route to infiltrate into India as areas bordering Nepal and Bangladesh were still porous. There are reports that Dubai route is also being used to go to Pakistan. Besides Nepal, Bangladesh and Burma, terrorists have been entering India on passport/visa directly.

Terrorists have also been using 'mysterious liquid' that dissolves fence to facilitate their in-

filtration. Evidence of this came to light when an infiltrator was gunned down in Rajouri sector.

On March 11, this year JK Police arrested 7 LeT operatives, all Pakistanis from different places in Jammu region. They had sneaked into India through Rann of Kutch. The LeT operatives had been sent without arms but told about places where arms had been dumped. This, as per police, was the first batch that had used the Kuch route.

A BSF DIG said Pakistan was exploring fresh sectors in Kashmir and even in Punjab and Rajasthan for infiltration.

Infiltration this year has witnessed much escalation since past five years. Between January and May this year 160 terrorists succeeded in penetrating LoC as per official estimates. DIG North Kashmir B. Srinivas said this year 'we have learnt much bigger groups of terrorists, 12-15 were entering J&K'. On August 1st. eight terrorists were killed near LoC in a 40 hour long gunbattle with the troops in Lachipora area of the Uri Sector while they were trying to infiltrate into India. A Colonel and two soldiers were also killed in the operation. 60 terrorists have been killed while attempting to infiltrate to this side of the LoC. 2 infiltrators were eliminated next day at Sanga, Salhutri in Krishna Ghati sector of Poonch.

Lt. Gen. Panag, GOC in C Northern Command, said that first five and ½ months this year saw 137 infiltration attempts, whereas last year it was only 118. In April 2007 there were 82 attempts (others estimate it at 200, only 3 were foiled), whereas in 2006 and 2005 it was 43 and 44 respectively. In May 2007 there were 64 attempts, same as last year. Other estimates say first six months saw 141 infiltration attempts in Kashmir and 15 in Jammu this year; the figures for 2006 during this period were 105 and 36 respectively.

(Contd. on Page 2)

This thematic issue of Kashmir Sentinel on National Security, commemorating 60th Anniversary of Indian Independence, is dedicated to the memory of Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao for his immense contributions to the cause of the National Security.
--The Editor

Security Scenario Remains Unchanged

(From Page 1)

Certain other developments also point that Pakistan was upto escalate terrorist activities. Brig. NPS Hira Singh said in Srinagar that 52 training camps were active in PoK and 1500-2000 foreign mercenaries besides 700-800 local terrorists of Hizbul Mujahideen were about to be launched into Valley.

Ghulam Hassan Gujjar (60) alias 'Santra Chacha' (orange-uncle), resident of Quilmuqam, Bandipore had been working as guide to help subversives exfiltrate/infiltrate during past 17 years. He had helped thousands of terrorists cross LoC from Pakistan since 1988. For the last three years he was leading a 'retired life', spending time in his two homes-at Bandipore and Muzaffarabad. But early spring this year he was called out of retirement. He made 26 terrorists cross in just one attempt alongwith 18 porters with weapons and ammunition. Reports quoted his son in Muzaffarabad saying that 2 more groups of 20 terrorists each had followed him and infiltrated into Kashmir. Gurez has been the main infiltration route this year in Kashmir. Gh. Hassan Gujar fell down from a hill in Gurez and was arrested. Of late, terrorist-infiltration has been occurring from Lolab, Rajawar and Bandipore areas besides Gurez because there have been lesser troops there.

On My 10, 2007 2 Pak terrorists who recently infiltrated into Kupwara sector said there were training camps still operating in PoK where terrorists were imparted 3 months training in subversion including use of IEDs and targeting of installations and then handed over to a guide near Aithmuqam Post.

Sakhi Mohammad S/o Mir Mohammad R/o Digwar Poonch was among the first few batches which crossed over to Pakistan in 1987 for terrorist training. He was arrested on July 8 this year

soon after he entered Lam, Nowshera. This was his first visit in past 20 years. He had been assigned the task of preventing surrenders. Sakhi Mohammad disclosed that a special batch of terrorists was being trained in Mujahid camp near Samani jail of Pakistani to launch rocket and air gun attacks on helicopters. He added that this group was likely to be pushed into Kashmir. Sakhi had stayed in Mujahid camp for 15 days but was later shifted to Muzaffarabad for imparting raining to terrorist groups in handling of sophisticated weapons, IEDs and grenades.

Reports have appeared in Pakistani press which say JeM outfit was reorganising itself under its new Chief Mufti Abdul Rauf, the younger brother of Maulana Masood Azhar. It has recently established two camps at Islamabad and Kohat, though officially JeM stands banned. In April 3 JeM terrorists were arrested in Sopore where they had been silently reorganising the group.

Coastal Threat:

Union Home and Defence Ministries warned against threats from coastal areas. Ministry of Home Affairs cautioned that Coastal areas were coming under increased threat from terrorist groups as LeT operatives were being trained specifically to use the sea route to infiltrate into India and sabotage oil installations. It also said that LeT had been collecting information regarding the location of various refineries on or near the Indian Coastline; the terrorists planned to occupy some uninhabited island and use them as bases for launching operations on the Indian Coast. It is also said that terrorist groups are planning to induct arms and ammunition through sea routes.

Coastline threat was top agenda at the DGPs conference, held recently under chairman-

ship of Sh. Shivraj Patil, Union Home Minister. It was felt that there was a shift in the aim of terrorists who now wanted to cause more damage with less casualty.

Defence Minister AK Antony asked the Indian Armed forces "to be constantly on alert, otherwise there is danger lurking at the sea coasts". He added, "the top most priority of the coast guard and the Navy is surveillance of the coastline and the sea. We will provide them ships and aircraft".

Reports of infiltration through coast belt of Kerala and Kutch in Gujrat have set alarm bells ringing in the security establishment. Karachi-Mumbai and Karachi-Gujarat sea routes were discovered last year. Centre has sanctioned Rs 500 crore to set up over 70 marine police stations equipped with speed boats and modern equipment. Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra will have 12 Coastal Police Stations, Gujarat 10, Kerala 8, AP and West Bengal 6 each, Kerala and Orissa 5 each, Lakshadweep 4, Goa 3, Pondicherry, Daman and Delhi 1 each.

Success:

Abu Umer Eliminated

The killing of Khalid-ul-Rehman alias Abu Umer, on July 18, 2007 in an encounter at Ganai-Haveli Mohalla in Bhaderwah unearthed the Pakistani game-plan to foment subversion in J&K and other parts of India. Umer, a resident of Railway Colony, Bahawalpur (Pakistan) was the Lashkar Coordinator for carrying out major strikes across the country including J&K. He was also responsible for various terrorist strikes in Delhi. Recently, he had sent 3 terrorists to carry out blasts in Delhi. The three were arrested at Dilli Haat in last week of April. Their interrogation revealed that Umar was the master mind. J&K Police's DSP Shaily Singh, who was following his trail for over a month was betrayed by LeT spies and killed on May 31. Later Umar was killed in a joint operation of JK Police, special cell of Delhi Police and Rashtriya Rifles.

Umer, active in J&K for over a decade, had engineered the first 'fidayeen' attack in July 1999 in Kashmir on BSF Hqrs at Bandipore, in which 5 jawans besides a DIG were killed. For the next six years he carried out attacks on a number of civil and military installations in the Valley. He had shifted to Doda in early 2000 and was also behind a failed plan to attack Chief Minister Sh. Gh. Nabi Azad at a rally in Ramban in April this year and the massacre of 19 Hindus at

Kulhand in April 2006. In the attack on CM, a couple--Farooq Ahmed Wani and Haseena Wani were arrested. They had tried to infiltrate Pak *fidayeen* Ayaz Ahmad Malik into the rally that the CM was to address in Ramban.

Umar was responsible for the killing of DSP Shailey Singh. Umar's elimination was a major achievements for security forces.

Umar was trained in terrorist training camps in Khost (Afghanistan) and FATA in Pakistan. He topped the list of the wanted terrorists across the country and was involved in attacks on security forces and civilians in the state. He was famous for arranging the finances for terrorist activities. He had been targeting contractors working on Doda-Bharat road for extortions. In June 2007 the police had arrested local Congress activist Mohd. Jamal on charges of acting as courier for one hawala transaction to Umer. The latter had been receiving huge amounts of hawala money diverted mostly via West Asia. One of the reasons of why he managed to evade for so long was that he spent lavishly on his contacts.

According to DIG, Doda-Udhampur Range, LM Mohanty Abu Umar was instrumental in exploring new routes of infiltration in the state. He had coordinated first-ever infiltration of terrorists through sea route in J&K. Out of 8 terrorists who sneaked through sea route 2 who were nabbed at Manjakote (Rajouri), named Umar as the main conspirator. The infiltration was carried in collaboration with Dawood Ibrahim gang. Infiltrated terrorists, as per reports, had then dispersed in Punjab, Delhi besides J&K.

The laptop seized from Umer carried details about LeT's activities in the country. He was a key link in organising LeT's pan-Indian networks. Reports say that he was the architect of the plans to set up new Lashkar networks in Maharashtra, Gujarat and MP. Umer was one of the trusted man of Abu Alqama, the LeT Chief of operations in India.

Umar had also worked as a trainer at LeT camps. In J&K also he started, as per reports, training locals in small groups in dense forests.

Daryal, Tral Encounters:

Other success in July, 2007 included elimination of top terrorist of HMPPR, Mohammad Anwar and two top local terrorists affiliated to HM, Aijaz Ahmed Bhat and Mohammad Yousuf Nazar, both belonging to

Tral villages. Anwar, who happened to be brother of slain SPO turned HMPPR's 'district commander', Mohammad Yasin Bakerwal, had killed three cops along with Yasin. Anwar was gunned down in Daryal forests on July 11, and 2 kg RDX was recovered from him. Incriminating documents recovered from him revealed details of terrorist network, including harbourers and other contacts.

The two local terrorists of Tral were eliminated in an encounter at Mandoora, Tral on July 23, 2007. Of the two Aijaz was an 'area commander' of HUM, an expert in IED making and listed as 'A' category terrorist.

Pak Regular Army officer nabbed:

Another notable success was nabbing of Pak army regular officer, Shahzad Khan alias Abdullah Omar at Zakura, on the outskirts of Srinagar. Arrested on June 23, 2007, Shahzad was the most wanted terrorist 'commander' in Valley since LeT's top terrorist Salahuddin alias Bilal left for PoK in 2006. Shahzad was in the process of shifting from Bandipore forests to another safe zone. This was first time when a regular Pak army officer was arrested in Kashmir.

Farooq Ahmed Sheikh alias Ilyas, self-styled 'commander' of Hizbul Mujahideen, who belonged to Khrew area and was a Category-A terrorist, was eliminated at Namblibal village of Pampore on July 29. He was involved in a large number of incidents, including killings. Another top terrorist, Abdi Hussain Basra, a Pak national was gunned down on August 1st, at Nagna nullah in Doda district. He was self-styled 'Divisional Commander' of the HM and was the longest surviving terrorist in J&K. He had entered J&K in 1997. Recently, he was involved in the killing of Sanjiv Panday an Army jawan at Mangota, Marmat.

Car blast accused arrested:

On July 27 the Army arrested Mubariq Ahmed Ganie, a Pak-trained terrorist and an IED expert, responsible for car blasts in Anantnag. Same day it shot dead Gulzar Ahmed, a top HM terrorist in an encounter at Khanmoh.

In Delhi Shabir Ahmed Lone, hailing from Srinagar was arrested by Delhi Police in Chandni Chowk area on July 28, 2007. A Pak-trained LeT terrorist, police described Lone as a close associate of Abu Alkama, the suspected mastermind behind the 2005 Delhi blasts. It added that Lone was planning a 'suicide attack' in the capital.



A scene after an encounter with terrorists in Tral, Kashmir.

TRIBUTE

Bharat Ratna for R.N. Kao

PT.RAMESHWAR NATH KAO, the founder of India's external intelligence agency, R&AW, was no ordinary spymaster. He was one of the architects of modern India. His yeoman services to the country in the field of intelligence and national security remain unsurpassed. When Kao was alive Prof.ML Sondhi,a great admirer of his ,used to describe him as a 'living legend'. A great visionary, Pt.RN Kao shunned publicity, never sought gubernatorial appointments for himself after retirement. He was a profound patriot. How to strengthen India's national security remained a lifelong passion with him.

Kao was an institution builder of high ranking. Rarely in the intelligence world, do individuals arise around whom entire institutions are built and whose personality leaves indelible marks on the community as a whole? His personal contribution to an exciting and significant chapter of Independent India's history should have been written in letters of gold. He was real author of India's secret history.Kao has been described as master spy of the 20th century and rated better than Kim Philby,Allen Dulles and Alexander Orlov.

As founder of India's external intelligence agency Kao built R&AW into such a formidable organization that within three years of its birth it was able to harness Pakistan's anti-Bengali campaign in the then East Pakistan to India's advantage, leading to the creation of Bangladesh. The professional touch he imparted to the organization earned for his disciples the sobriquet of 'Kaoboy's'.Kao commanded international prestige for his professional capability and integrity. This he harnessed well to enhance India's national security. He had razor sharp intellect, was decisive, often ruthless in his job.

Kao was one of the first Hindus to join Intelligence Bureau, shortly before independence and gained deep insights in to colonial administration and its support structures in Indian society. Later, he utilized these insights to undermine these support structures with subversive potential to put Indian security on a sound footing. His contributions in this sphere have been awesome but little known.

He was a great visionary. Through the creation of Bangladesh he eliminated a grave security threat to India from its eastern flank along which China menacingly loomed .It is a different issue altogether that Indian political leadership failed to build on this. Kao's other feat was snatching away of Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim from under China's nose and making it a part of India. The remarkable work Kao did in cultivating clandestine relationship with Mossad,the Israeli intelligence agency, at a time when the very name of Israel used to be a taboo for the dominant Indian political class, has yielded rich dividends.Kao has also been the architect of India's elite National Security Guards, NSG. Unfortunately,his advice was not heeded to at the time of Simla Talks, leading to frittering away of the advantages India had gained by humbling Pakistan.

Kao was a professional to the core, abhorring all ideologies except one of promoting India's national interests ceaselessly. He displayed pragmatism in his approach, never tailored his assessments to requirements of the political class. He admired Indira Gandhi not because she was ruler of the day. Kao observed in Independent India's history no leader of the stature of Sardar Patel had emerged after him other than her. She matched him in courage, display of political will, decisiveness and commitment to pursue national interests with total commitment. Yet Kao showed his disapproval on declaration of emergency. Morarji Desai was paranoid about Kao's role during emergency, blaming him for excesses. In the high-level enquiry that was ordered nothing could be found against him. Charan Singh, the then Home Minister,acknowledged,"Kao was a thorough professional to his fingertips."

Kao displayed strong pride in his Kashmiri ancestry, was firmly rooted in Indian civilization. He disregarded political correctness of the day by expressing total solidarity with Displaced Kashmiri Hindus. Even in his retirement days when he was no longer involved with the affairs of the state Kao kept himself fully posted with information about Kashmir.

George Tanham once shocked Indians when he said India had no strategic culture. In this country where national security is not a public issue we decorate political leaders and smaller people with Bharat Ratnas. Pt. RN Kao who changed India's geography remains unsung, unhonoured .There are no avenues named after him ,no official biography on him exists either. In India's 60th year of independence who else than Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao deserves Bharat Ratna ?

India's geography remains unsung, unhonoured .There are no avenues named after him ,no official biography on him exists either. In India's 60th year of independence who else than Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao deserves Bharat Ratna ?



Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao

“A foreign intelligence agency is the eyes and ears of the government. Its activities are the direct resultant of the policies of the government, without which any government would be left in a state of limbo.”

--R.N. Kao

“Pakistan deserves to be declared a rogue state. How I wish that geography could be changed and we should leave Pakistan alone to stew in her own juice.”

--R.N. Kao

“Who's the Spymaster of the last century? Markus Wolf, Allen Dulles, Felix Dzerzhinsky, even George Smiley? Perhaps the award should go to the unknown Rameshwar Nath Kao, the founder of India's foreign intelligence agency, RAW....”

--National Post: 4 Feb 2002

“Kao was a thorough professional to his fingertips

--Charan Singh, Former Home Minister

“What a fascinating mix of physical and mental elegance. What accomplishments and what friendships! And yet so shy of talking about himself, his accomplishments and his friends”

--Count Alexandre de Marenches
(Chief of French External Intelligence Agency, SDECE, in 1982)

“He was effective without being overbearing and did not tread on others to get things done.”

--Vikram Sood, former RAW Chief

“His contacts that world over, particularly in Asia-Afghanistan, Iran, China, you name it-were something else. He could move things with just one call. He was a team leader who rode out notorious inter-departmental and inter-service rivalries, which is commonplace in India...Kao got on famously with colleagues of other services. He never threw rank or his powerful connections at them. He helped them in distress and sometimes people took advantage of this attribute of hi. Suave and polite to a fault, he was never known to raise his voice. Tall and pale, with a prominent Roman Nose, he was a striking figure. But those who have worked with him will remember him for his kindness and generosity. He will be sorely missed”

--K.N. Daruwala, former Chairman
Joint Intelligence Committee.

“...no knowledgeable person can dispute that he strode elegantly, effortlessly and scintillatingly in the intelligence world of his time. In the Indian intelligence world of yesteryears, Mr Kao was first; the rest were his disciples. He was a legend and deserved to be. The triumph of 1971, India's role in the greatgame in Afghanistan, India's assistance to newly independent African countries in building up their intelligence and security set-ups, India's covert assistance to the African National Congress, anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and to the independence movement in Namibia, the happy denouement in Sikkim and Nagaland in the 1970s and in Mizoram in the early 1980s etc. etc. Mr Kao was there in the midst of it all-active, but unseen.....He gave credit to his colleagues and subordinates when things went well and took the blame when things went wrong. He was liked by the high and the mighty not only in India but also in many other countries, but throughout his life never once did he drop or use their names”

--B.Raman, former Additional Secretary at the Cabinet Secretariat, currently heads the Institute For Topical Studies, Chennai.

“R.N Kao is the most remarkable spy in the history of modern India. If not for his contribution to India's formidable RAW; South Asia's geographic, economic and political landscape would have been markedly different.

--Rohan Gunratna, of the few journalists to interview
Pt. R.N Kao and author of 'Al Qaeda'.

“Not many people in the country would know who he was and that is the way he probably would have liked it....he was ordinary spymaster serving a three year tenure whispering into the ears of the varied lot who came to rule India. Kao established a rare post independence institution in a tumultous era. The cold war was at its highest fury. Pakistan's hosility was unremitting, as it is now-Chinese hostility matched Pakistan's and the west was much more suspicious of India and often more inimical to it than now...Kao joined a very select club of intelligence professionals who created organisations that bear their distinct imprimatur.”

--Mohan Guruswamy, a Security Expert.

“All the compliments showered on him are eminently well-deserved. These include the consensus among his mourning disciples that his has been the 'second biggest name' in Indian intelligence after that of his one-time boss, BN Mullick, who ran the entire intelligence set-up all through the Nehru era.”

--Inder Malhotra, a noted columnist.

Pandit Rameshwar Nath Kao

The Czar of India's Counter Intelligence



By Dr. B. N. Sharga

In modern times, a well organised intelligence network is a must for any country for maintaining its internal security and for properly protecting it from foreign aggression. It is now considered as the back bone of the administration to maintain proper law and order. The intelligence inputs help the government of the day to take effective measures in time for maintaining peace and communal harmony. Even in medieval times, kings and emperors used to employ the spies for getting the correct information about the happenings in their respective kingdoms and empires. So for running any administration smoothly and effectively, we must have a good intelligence setup which acts as its eyes and ears. After the massive Chinese aggression in 1962, a need was felt to have an agency to gather foreign intelligence so that our nation should not be caught unawares in future about any such misadventure by our neighbouring countries. The man who gave a concrete shape to this idea with solid foundation was Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao, popularly known as Ramji among his friends and colleagues. He not only organised a vast intelligence network for gathering foreign intelligence known as Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) but also gave entirely a new meaning to the system of monitoring such secret informations.

R.N.Kao's ancestor Pt. Ghasi Ram Kao was originally a resi-

dent of Srinagar district of the Kashmir Valley. He came out from the Kashmir valley in the beginning of the 18th century in search of a job and landed in Delhi with his son Pt. Damodar Das Kao and other family members. Pt. Damodar Das Kao had two sons, Gulab Rai and Daya Nidhan besides a daughter Benobibi who was married in a Channa family.

Pt. Daya Nidhan Kao came to Oudh from Delhi during the rule of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1798) and became a dewan in his court. He settled down with his family in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow where he built two houses for his living. He had two sons, Badri Nath and Bhola Nath besides a daughter

Ayodhya Nath Kaul Bakshi and his younger daughter Sharika Shuri was married with Pt. Brij Nath Hukku of the locality.

Pt. Kedar Nath Kao after completing his education, became a deputy collector during the British period and lived in Ram Nagar, Benaras (Varanasi) for quite some time. He had two sons Triloki Nath and Dwarika Nath. Pt. Triloki Nath Kao, after completing his education became a chemist and shifted from Lucknow to Baroda whereas his younger brother Pt. Dwarika Nath Kao became a deputy collector.

Pt. Triloki Nath Kao was married to Daya Shuri Zutshi who was the daughter of Pt.

mous child.

R.N.Kao was brought up by his uncle Pt. Triloki Nath Kao, so he had his early schooling in Baroda which was under the Bombay Presidency in the British period. He did his matriculation in 1932 and intermediate in 1934 from Baroda. He then came to Lucknow for higher studies. He did his B.A. in 1936 from Lucknow University and M.A. in English literature in 1938 from the University of Allahabad and was an inmate of the Muir Hostel.

R.N.Kao also did job in a cigarette company for some time which was floated by Pt. Jag Mohan Narain Mushran who was the Chief Judge of the

ing routine duties, he will not be able to show much of his talent and calibre, so he switched to Intelligence Bureau (I.B.) which was constituted by the British to gather vital informations in the country. He was the first Hindu officer to join this highly sensitive department which was packed with British and Muslim officers at that time.

R.N.Kao got married at Allahabad on 21st January 1942 to Malini, the daughter of Justice Tej Narain Mulla of Allahabad.

When India became free in 1947 and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru became its first Prime Minister, the Intelligence Bureau (I.B.) was reorganised to suit the

needs of an independent country. Its founder director Bhola Nath Mullick saw to it that this vital intelligence gathering agency in the country would not become another Gestapo (Secret Service) of Adolf Hitler of Germany. B.N.Mullick groomed this agency on



(L) Ancestral Haveli of Pt. R.N. Kao in Lucknow.(R) Portion of the Haveli used by servants.

Gaurishuri who was married in a Dar family of the locality. Pt. Bhola Nath Kao constructed a big well for providing drinking water to his community members residing in the area. This well was subsequently named after him as 'Bhola Nath Ka Kuan'. This historical well still exists on Ab. Aziz Road and now the whole locality is known by that name. Munshi Ram Sahai 'Tamanna' has written in his book that once Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula paid a visit to his house in Kashmiri Mohalla while going to Dargah Hazrat Abbas to pay his obeisance there, which is considered to be the most sacred shrine of Shia Muslims.

Pt. Badri Nath Kao had four sons viz. Ratan Nath, Kedar Nath, Kameshwar Nath and Bishambhar Nath besides three daughters Dhanwanti Shuri, Anandi Shuri and Sharika Shuri. His eldest daughter Dhanwanti Shuri was married with Pt.

Shambhu Nath Zutshi of Lucknow. He had three sons viz. Parmeshwar Nath, Arjun Nath and Gyan Nath besides three daughters, Rameshwari, who was married to Pt. Rameshwar Nath Gurtu, Lakshmishwari, who was married to Pt. Vishwanath Sapru and Shantishwari, who was a professor in the Banaras Hindu University and remained unmarried till her death in 1998.

Pt. Dwarika Nath Kao was married to Khemwati Kaul who was the daughter of Pt. Srikishan Kaul of Lahore. He had two sons Rameshwar Nath and Shyam Sunder Nath. Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao was born on 2nd October 1917 in Benaras where his grand father Pt. Kedar Nath Kao was posted as deputy collector at that time. His father Pt. Dwarika Nath Kao died quite young at Lucknow in 1923. His younger brother Pt. Shyam Sunder Nath Kao was born after the death of his father and so was a posthu-

Benaras State at that time, for his son who died subsequently.

In 1938, R.N.Kao joined the law classes in the Allahabad University and did his LL.B (Prev.) in 1939. He simultaneously appeared for the Indian Police Examination. He was selected as an I.P. in 1940 and so could not complete his law course at the University.

R.N.Kao after his selection in the I.P. was sent to Moradabad for an extensive course in Police Training College there. Since he had a fetish for cleanliness so temperamentally his relationship with his superior British officers at the Training College and other British trainees was not very cordial, since they used to dress up very shabbily. After completing his training he got his first posting in Kanpur in 1940 as an A.S.P. in the civil police.

R.N.Kao soon realised that while doing service in the civil police department and perform-

different lines and R.N.Kao was entrusted with the task of looking after the security ring of the Prime Minister Pt. Nehru. R.N.Kao performed this challenging job very well and made his own mark in this specific field.

In 1950s Pt. Nehru sent R.N.Kao to Ghana to help Prime Minister Nkrumah and to set up an intelligence and security organisation in that country, a job he carried out with great professional skill.

When the air crash of the famous jetliner 'Kashmir Princess' took place just before the historic Bandung Conference, R.N.Kao was deputed by India along with Chinese and British secret agents to find out the real cause of this air mishap.

After the massive Chinese invasion of 1962, the Indian government felt the need of having an altogether separate wing apart

(Contd. on Page 9)

By Vijay Krishna Kaul

Early Years:

Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao, a Kashmiri Brahmin, hailed from Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He was born in Varanasi. There are conflicting versions about his date of birth. According to Dr. B.N. Sharga, a close relation of Late Pt. R.N. Kao the latter was born on 2nd October, 1917 others put it as May 10, 1918. Kao was only six when his father passed away. It was his uncle Pt. Triloki Nath Kao who brought him up.

During his Masters' course in English literature at Allahabad University in 1938-1940 Kao stayed at Amar Nath Jha Hostel, which has been home to many important bureaucrats of modern India.

Career:

In 1940 he was commissioned in Imperial Police and allotted UP cadre. At the Police Training College, Moradabad he was uncomfortable with his British colleagues, who had merely passed their senior Cambridge and were too boisterous and crude for his liking. On June 3, 1947 he was deputed to Central Intelligence Bureau. That time the organisation had few Hindus and was stuffed heavily with British and Muslim officers.

At independence IB had lot of empty desks. Kao was chosen by Nehru to handle the charge of VIP Security. It was during this assignment, when Queen Elizabeth appreciated his good handling of the job. At a reception in Bombay Kao dived and caught a bouquet that was flung at her, fearing that it might be a bomb. She could not restrain remarking in humour 'Good Cricket'.

After 1962 debacle and then the failure to predict 'Operation Gibraltar' (1965), Kao, who was Deputy Director IB then, and K Sankaran Nair came up with a blueprint to set up a new agency devoted exclusively to external intelligence. The name of the new agency was chosen by Cabinet Secretary, DS Joshi as R&AW (Research and Analysis Wing). Kao never liked it to be called RAW. R.N. Kao along with 250 of his chosen colleagues from China and Pakistan desks and the DG (Security) of IB were transferred to the new agency. After 1971 war Kao was promoted to the rank of full secretary. The meticulous work done by Kao and his colleagues at RAW was visible when within seven years of its formation Bangladesh became an independent country and Sikkim, 22nd state of India. Pt. Nehru, whom Kao accompanied on foreign trips and Mrs. Gandhi knew him closely and thought well of his professionalism. Kao built R&AW into a competent and aggressive foreign intelligence

Life and Times of R.N Kao

agency.

Kao had unlimited access to M a d a m Gandhi. She reposed complete faith in him. "Normally, Kao's was the last appointment of the day with Mrs. Gandhi, when all her other engagements were finished", remembers a politician

close to Gandhis. Victor longer, long-time Kao associate said, "Intelligence is the only government business that depends upon the spoken word. Sometimes, you can understand signs and body language. Kao had that rapport with Mrs. Gandhi".

After nurturing RAW for 9 years, Kao retired. He was due to retire in 1976 but Mrs. Gandhi insisted on giving him an extension. When Mrs. Gandhi came back in 1980, Kao was appointed as Security Advisor. He did valuable and quiet work during this

was the first to float the idea of a special security unit for the Prime Minister. During this tenure as National Security Advisor, he helped the process of internal re-organisation of RAW, leading to the establishment of Research and Analysis Service (RAS). It was also around this time Kao began working on internal security issues to counter-balance-Pakistan's moves to exploit Punjab troubles. During Reagan administration when Mrs. Gandhi visited US Kao had gone ahead of her visit secretly

Nehru and Arun Singh gracious Kao did not wait for a moment.

Personality:

Kao has been described as a suave, brilliant, loving and caring, self-effacing and superbly dedicated personality. His colleagues who called him Ramji with veneration admired his judgement of men, matters and events, tremendous vision, great humility and mental generosity.

He hated pomposity and never made a public statement. Whenever he was asked about some sensitive issue his reply

of the CIA. They jointly discussed M a d a m Gandhi's visit with President Reagan.

K a o helped in smooth transition of power in the wake of assassination of Mrs. Gandhi in 1984s. When Rajiv Gandhi sent subtle hints to the old guard to leave room for Arun

be photographed. Once during a marriage function of Shargas, his relations, in Lucknow Ratan Sharga took a photograph of him while enjoying community feast, Kao felt strongly annoyed and made enquiries about the photographer. In view of sensitivity of Kinship he remained silent.

On another occasion in 1996 he happened to attend a function in New Delhi, organised to commemorate 25th anniversary of Bangladesh liberation. Kao Sahib was seated in one of the backrows. A Bangladeshi national, who spotted him stood up and came to him saying: "You should have been sitting in the Centre of dais. You are the man who made 1971 possible". Kao replied, 'I did nothing. They deserve all the praise'. Embarrassed at being recognised, Kao quietly left the hall.

Kao was a consummate conversationalist, a patient listener, listening each word with care and never gave impression that he was not listening. He knew Persian, Sanskrit and Urdu so well and could speak fluently all these languages. In his conversations he mostly spoke in Urdu with Lucknowi accent, though he spoke good Hindi also. He would never give affront in conversation.

Kao Sahib was tall, handsome, elegant but shy. He was always dressed immaculately, with fetish for cleanliness.

Retirement Years:

Kao lived in utmost grace. He was self-effacing, never spoke to the media but kept in touch with old contacts from Moscow, London, Tehran and Beijing. He never sought gubernatorial assignments or any role. He maintained a lively interest in the world around him till his last moment. He was a voracious reader of Indian newspapers but disliked their superficiality and fragmented character. He invariably reacted to good, thought-provoking articles.

Kao had tastefully done up iron sculpting, Gandhara paintings and loved the hobby of raising horses .

A few months before his death at the instance of a retired IFS officer he recorded his memoirs. After personally correcting the transcripts he deposited these with a prestigious NGO of New Delhi with which he was closely associated. He wished that these be published 30 years after his death.

Kao passed away in the early hours of 20th January, 2002 and was cremated at Nigambodh Ghat cremation grounds. There were none of the trappings of a VIP funeral that the capital accorded to much lesser men. On this one of his admirers said, 'He lived inconspicuously and left this world inconspicuously.'



Deptt. of English, Allahabad Univesity. Late R.N. Kao studied his Masters Degree in English here.



Former R&AW Chief, Sh. G.C. Saxena paying tribute to Late R.N. Kao at Nigambodh Ghat in New Delhi.

period--engaging Americans and Chinese. He oversaw both IB and R&AW, coming close to the position of an intelligence Czar. He

to prepare the ground. He knew elder George Bush, then Vice-President very well since the days when the latter was head

used to be 'These matters will go with me to the funeral pyre'.

Kao was a fiercely private man and was rarely seen in public. He never allowed himself to

The Legend Called RN Kao

By P.N. Raina

Pt. Rameshwar Nath Kao, India's greatest name in intelligence arena belonged to the old tradition, where spymasters not only were superbly dedicated to their profession but also hated sensationalism. Kao never wrote about himself, gave no interviews, disliked being photographed or sharing secrets of shadowy roles that spying job entails. To reconstruct his role one has to rely on few snippets from newspapers.

Kao was decisive, often ruthless. Many of the stringent sleuthing practices imbibed by some top officials of RAW from their mentor have earned for them the epithet of 'Kaoboys'.

In 1982 Count Alexandre de Marenches, who headed the French External intelligence agency Service for External Documentation and Counter-Intelligence or SDECE as it was then known under President Valery Giscard d'Estiang, was asked by an interlocutor to name the five great intelligence chiefs of 1970s. Kao whom he knew well and admired, was one of the five named by him. Marenches praised the way Kao had built up RAW into a professional intelligence organisation and made it play within three years of its creation a formidable role in changing the face of South Asia in 1971.

Link with Colonial Bureaucracy:

Pt. RN Kao was the first Hindu official to join IB in British India and gained crucial insights into support structures of British Colonialism in Indian society. Having the privileged position of being a link between Colonial bureaucracy and post-1947 one he initiated processes that undermined the subversive potential of the pro-British support structures. In this context he was fully aware how the British had cultivated Muslim communalism to create cleavages in India. Kao also pooh-poohed the view that Indian left was an anti-imperial force. He opined that Left's encouragement politics, would not allow Indian nation-state to stabilise. Kao also decried Left's hypocrisy-be it fund-raising or morality. He attributed India's lack of interest in 'Look East Policy' (ASEAN) to hangovers of Colonial past.

Ghana:

Kao proved his brilliance in

Ghana, where he along with his deputy K. Sankaran Nair set up an intelligence agency at the request of legendary President Kwame Nkrumah. Ghana neither had resources nor trained manpower.

'Kashmir Princess' case:

Chinese Premier Chou Enlai was to travel to Bandung on a chartered Air India plane called 'Kashmir Princess'. Under strange circumstances Chou cancelled his trip. Somewhere over Natuna islands a bomb exploded, leading to the air crash with no survivors. In view of the political sensitivity there were all sorts of speculation leading to conspiracy theories. Kao was deputed by Nehru to investigate the case. Those were the days of 'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai'. Despite all sorts of pressures from the Chinese side to involve Taiwanese government, Kao withstood pressures. This enhanced his prestige as a thorough professional.

TECHINT Collection:

In the wake of 1962 debacle where intelligence failed to predict Chinese game-plan in North-East and Ladakh, Nehru sought American help. Aviation Research Centre was the result. In 1963 Kao was put as its first Director. It was here he laid the foundations of TECHINT Collection in modern India.

Kao had so impressed the officers at the CIA's New Delhi station that one CIA official recalled later, "I had the opportunity to drive with him from Kathmandu back to India. At each bridge we crossed, he would recount its technical specifications in comparison to its ability to support the heaviest tank in the Chinese inventory."

Punjab:

It is said that Kao tried to dissuade Mrs. Gandhi from sending the army into the Golden Temple Complex. He wanted the job to be done by local police.

Other accounts suggest that Kao and GC Saxena made efforts to secure British assistance to train a special unit using models of complex at Chakrata.

Before Mrs. Gandhi ordered the Army to move into the Temple Complex, she had engaged Sikh leaders including some extremists through intermediaries. She wanted a 'negotiated solution'. Negotiations in India

his retirement years while talking about crossborder terrorism launched by Pakistan against India Kao would say that since Indira Gandhi no leader of stature had emerged in India who could take radical steps to stamp out terrorism and change geography of the region. However he would wonder how even a leader like Indira Gandhi could commit mistakes. It is said

shortly before Simla talks the Prime Minister visited RAW Hqs to request Kao to join talks. He refused saying his going won't be proper. Kao stood silent for a moment. She said, "What are you looking at? I know it is said that after shaking hands with ZA Bhutto one has to check whether all the five fingers of the hand were intact". Kao would wonder even then she committed a mistake. Her all Kashmiri advisors-PN Dhar, TN Kaul were against one sided concessions to Pakistan. Only the pro-left PN Haksar wanted India to surrender its advantage.

Emergency:

Kao was against imposition of emergency in 1975. He had privately advised Madame Gandhi against it. When Mrs. Gandhi presented the plan at a meeting in which top bureaucrats were called, Director IB dissented and he was removed. Kao Sahib repeatedly asked to be relieved but was advised to continue. Incidentally, General TN Raina, then Army Chief too did not like declaration of emergency.

In 1977 after Congress defeat Janta Government eyed him with suspicion but could find nothing against him. Morarji Desai firmly believed that he had indulged in 'dirty tricks' on her behalf. In a reasonably courteous encounter with Desai, Kao denied all allegations of partisanship and wrong-doing point by point. But the old man was unconvinced. He ordered a rigorous, high level, detailed enquiry into Kao's role. The spymaster's role was found to be impeccable. Charan Singh, then Home Minister admitted

that 'Kao was a thorough professional to his finger-tips'. A man of great integrity, Kao, however, insisted on leaving the office before the end of his extended tenure and left office, in January 1977. Desai persisted in throttling India's premier external intelligence agency by ordering massive cuts to the agency's budget and operations.

Kashmir:

About the eruption of Islamist insurgency in Kashmir Kao would list three major factors. One, demise of Indira Gandhi. According to him it was a watershed in destabilization of Kashmir, after her there was no leader of her stature and capability. Secondly, India did not grasp monumental implications of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It had no assessment about compulsions of Soviets nor it made any effort to study these. He observed that India did not realise then that similar dangers would confront India soon. Kao lamented that Indians believed they were immune to the dangers posed by intervention and collaboration of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan and US agencies in the region. Third factor, according to Kao was the entry of Drug/Hawala money and Arab petrodollars which fomented subversion and weakened national response to security threats.

Kao had intimate knowledge of men and matters in Kashmir even in 1990s when he was no longer involved in country's affairs. He was against giving any concessions to Muslims communalism, which he believed extended beyond separatist groups. He called Pandits as 'salt of the earth' and asked them not to feel demoralized over failures or slow pace of events.

Proud Kashmiri Pandit:

Kao Sahib was proud of his Kashmiri Pandit origins, not simply because of ethnic link but as heir to the great civilisation of Kashmir. He would always look for a good Brahmin who could perform rituals according to Kashmiri Karamkand. He scoffed at those who harangued that Kashmiri Pandit bureaucrats had been imposed from above. He would think as foolish. Kashmiri Pandits manned senior positions in bureaucracy by virtue of sheer competence, Kao would say.

(Contd. on Page 7)



Sh. R.N. Kao at the start of his career.

A SPY AND A GENTLEMAN

With the passing away of Rameshwar Nath Kao (Ramji to his friends and a legion of well-wishers) on January 19, a glorious chapter in the history of Indian intelligence has ended.

For nearly half a century, Kao straddled the world of intelligence like a colossus, casting a benign shadow on more than two generations of intelligence officers of this country. Kao was much more than an icon. He was the very personification of intelligence, a most worthy successor to the legendary Bhola Nath Mullick who set the intelligence compass for much of post-independent India.

Indian intelligence is indeed fortunate that it had two legends within a brief time span of less than fifty years. The difference between the two could not, however, have been more striking. One was taciturn, aloof and never wavered in his determination to see that the Intelligence Bureau of post-Independent India did not become a Gestapo. Kao, on the other hand, pulsated warmth and was essentially a father figure to all those who worked with and under him. Both were, nevertheless, 'stand-alone visionaries' and deserve the gratitude of a nation for their contributions to intelligence and security, which have stood the country in good stead during its long years of travail.

Kao had several firsts of his credit. He was the first 'Hindu officer' to join the Intelligence Bureau just prior to independence, when the organisation was still the captive preserve of the British and a sprinkling of Muslim officers. Another first for Kao was when he was chosen as Security Adviser to Prime Minister Nikrumah and the Government of Ghana in the mid-fifties. His responsibilities in-



Few saw him and fewer heard him, but Rameshwar Nath Kao's shadow spread far and wide. A tribute by MK Narayanan

cluded assisting the new nation to set up an intelligence and security organisation. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who felt that the newly independent state of Ghana deserved the best, hand-picked Kao for the assignment.

In 1963 in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian war, when it was decided to set up a super-secret technical intelligence gathering agency-the Aviation Research Centre (ARC)-Kao was once again the obvious choice.

Perhaps, Kao would himself agree that his most enduring legacy is the creation of the Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW), India's premier external intelligence agency.

After the Sino-Indian war of 1962 and the Indo-Pak war of 1965, pressure greatly mounted for the setting up of a separate external intelligence agency hiving off the foreign intelligence responsibilities of the Intelligence Bureau to a new body. Kao's election as the person to set up and head this new outfit was by no means automatic given the raging 'turf battles' despite the fact that he was eminently qualified by virtue of his professional ability, standing, reputation, and skills in the area of the organisation and management of intelligence.

The choice however proved eminently sensible as the newly constituted R&AW could draw heavily upon Kao's knowledge, experience and expertise of foreign intelligence organisations such as the Secret Intelligence Service of the United Kingdom,

the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, and West Germany's BND.

Kao's finest hour, and that of the R&AW probably came in 1971. This was the period when East Pakistan was being torn apart under the jackboots of Yahya Khan's storm-troopers



Sh. R.N. Kao

and the birth pangs of Bangladesh under Mujibur Rehman were beginning. To this day, Kao's role remains hidden from the public, and the achievements owed a great deal to the 'behind the scenes' work of Kao and his band of operatives. When an unvarnished history is written of the birth of Bangladesh, and credit for India's role as a facilitator is ac-

knowledgeed, hopefully then the stellar contribution of Kao and others who assisted him will see the light. This 'purple patch' in the history of intelligence success must not remain hidden for ever.

Few intelligence officers in a democratic set up have been so privileged as to have the kind of relationship that Kao had with Indira Gandhi. Gandhi's reliance on Kao for most matters concerning intelligence and security was almost total and his advice was inevitably sound and often heeded. On occasions, even though he was the head of the R&AW, Gandhi depended on Kao's advice concerning the internal problems of the country. Canards were a plenty during this period, including one that Kao was among those who had advised Gandhi to promulgate the Emergency-a lie which has since been nailed.

Kao's relationship with Gandhi dates back many years, to the period when Kao as a deputy director in the Intelligence Bureau in charge of VIP security was responsible for the security and protection of Nehru. She had the occasion then to see Kao's intelligence skills at close quarters, specially his meticulous attention to detail, his ability to be firm without ruffling feathers and in managing her father who usually tended to complain that security came between him and the people. She also came to appreciate his fine sensitive mind and transparent honesty and sincer-

ity. This, perhaps more than anything else, apart from his diplomatic and management skills, apparently led to his being chosen on the head of the new external intelligence outfit.

When the Janata Government under Morarji Desai took office in 1977, Kao went into retirement, only to be resurrected as Senior Advisor in 1980 after Gandhi came back to power. The years 1980-84 saw him operating below the radar-screen, but he carried out several invaluable tasks, some in close association with Arun Singh and later, after Rajiv Gandhi came into political prominence, with the latter.

The setting up of the National Security Guard was one, which has since proved invaluable in dealing with hijackings and terrorist actions (including Black Thunder in 1988). A little-known secret is Kao's visit to China in 1984 laying the ground work for the subsequent 'historic visit' of Rajiv Gandhi to China in 1988. For much of this period, Kao continued to function as the 'eminence grise' of the security establishment.

After Gandhi's unfortunate assassination, Kao gradually withdrew from active involvement in intelligence and security matters. As Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, however, often consulted him. Other prime ministers used various interlocutors to seek his advice.

Ramji Kao as a veritable giant-a gentle giant at that. For most of us who spent a lifetime in security and intelligence, he was the ideal and our inspiration. With his passing away, the age of civility in intelligence will in all likelihood comes to an end. Many of us will be tempted to ask 'will there be another like him?'

**(The writer is National Security Advisor. He previously headed Intelligence Bureau)*

(Source: Indian Express 25/1/2002)

(From Page 6)

In the wake of terrorism in 1990 unlike others Kao expressed his total solidarity with Displaced Pandit Community. It is said when things worsened in early 1990 he had visited Kashmir in his private capacity to see what could be done to create conditions for their continued stay of Pandits in Kashmir. Kao disliked those who projected negative image of the community.

Kao did not see exodus of Pandits from Kashmir as an isolated event. He saw it as a link in

the chain of demographic invasion India was facing. He wanted Pandits to fight back, even if it took a century and develop political consciousness about the struggle.

In 1992 Panun Kashmir, the frontline organisation of Kashmiri Hindus had organised a meeting in New Delhi to seek the views of those members who had manned senior positions in the ruling hierarchy. This was attended among others by

Messrs SL Shakhdar, RN Kao, TN Koul, DN Munshi, Pyare Lal Handoo, a senior NC leader.

CONTINUATION

When PL Handoo rose up to make an apologetic statement to counter 'Homeland demand' and said "we have to continue to suffer for India," a young PK activist countered him, 'We have already suffered. Now you

should suffer'. As PL Handoo began to leave soon after making his speech, having no courtesy to listen to the views of respectable dignitaries, who had come to express solidarity with Displaced Kashmiris the PK activists did not allow him to leave and asked him to listen to their viewpoint as well. TN Koul, former Foreign Secretary, accepted that 'concept of enclaves' for Displaced Pandits in Valley was possible. It was Pt.

RN Kao's intervention that changed the whole atmosphere. He exhorted his colleagues to listen to younger people, who he said were speaking sense. He argued that without political consciousness there could be no struggle, and Displaced Pandits needed an anchor which will impart them political consciousness. He reminded the gathering that India was under a multi-pronged assault and ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus was a component of the overall demographic assault.

Kao's Major Feats

Bangladesh Creation:
R.N Kao's role in creation of Bangladesh has been widely commented upon. Emergence of Bangladesh was a development of great import in stabilizing Indian security in north-east. It is a different issue that the leaders who followed Mrs. Indira Gandhi bungled and Bangladesh became a factor in destabilising north-east.

RAW was only 3 years old when it was confronted to respond to the crisis brewing in the then East Pakistan. Decision of Pakistan government in January 1968 to prosecute 28 Bengali leaders in Pakistan created political turbulence in its eastern wing. Soon thereafter Pakistan launched a campaign of genocide against Bengali Muslims. Refugees started entering India. Pt. RN Kao, ably assisted by his two colleagues, Messers Sankaran Nair and Girish Chander Saxena sized up the scenario. The idea of training and equipping the cadres of Mukti Bahini was evolved meticulously.

RAW built a huge network of operatives in East Pakistan. So thorough was RAW's intelligence that IAF could do precision-bombing of the room in which the East Pakistan cabinet was in session. Naval Commandos made mincemeat of Pakistani navy in Chittagong Harbour. Americans were so impressed by the Indian intelligence support to the Mukti Bahini and the subsequent 14-day Bangladesh Liberation war that the operation was taught to West Point Cadets.

Assets built by RAW proved useful after 1975 also. RN Kao continued to keep an eye on developments in Bangladesh. He had been informed by his contacts that three army officers-Major Rashid, Major Farooq and Lt. Col. Usmani had met at Zia-ur-Rehman's house and were planning a coup against Sheikh Mujib. Immediately, Kao Sahib went to Dhaka under the cover of a Pan exporter. Soon after his arrival he was driven to a secret house arranged beforehand. Mujib was a little perplexed on why Kao could not have come to him officially. In one-hour meeting that Kao had with Mujib, the latter remained unconvinced that a coup was in the offing. Mujib was also given the names of suspects. He laughed away the warning saying, "Kao Saab, these people are my children. They will never do me any harm. Please don't worry". A few weeks later Muib was overthrown, 40 members of his family were slain alongwith him. RAW was able to stage a

counter-coup but Col. Musharraf could not consolidate, Gen. Zia-ur-Rehman assumed the command.

Sometime later, Gen Zia-ur-Rehman in his capacity as Head of State visited New Delhi. In a meeting with Mrs. Indira Gandhi in which Pt. RN Kao was present Gen. Zia is reported to have remarked that **"this man (referring to Kao) knows more about my country than I do"**.

In 1983 when he was senior advisor to Mrs. Gandhi he persuaded RAW to set up a historical division to record the role of officers of RAW and DGS in the 1971 war. However, after he demitted office in November 1984 the division was reported to have been wound up even before it could complete the task.

'Sikkim merger':

Credit for merger of Sikkim also goes to Pt. RN Kao. It was he who warned Mrs. Gandhi in 1974 of a possible coup in Sikkim, then ruled by profligate, incompetent Chogyl dynasty. The cold war was at its height, global and regional situation was fraught with intrigue. US President Nixon was trying to access China through its client state, Pakistan. Kao feared that the imminent overthrow of Chogyl would turn the strategic state, sandwiched between Tibet and Nepal into a Chinese/or US playground. On the basis of Kao's timely intelligence and advice Sikkim was merged as 22nd state of India on April 26, 1975. This drew strong reaction from China.

Relations with Mossad:

In view of commonality of threats to India and Israel, Mrs Gandhi believed that the relationship between the intelligence agencies of two countries was important to monitor developments. In Sept 1968 she asked Kao to cultivate Israel's Mossad. India's long advocacy of Palestinian/Arab cause and close relationship between USA and Pakistan made this a difficult assignment. As an efficient spymaster he was successful in establishing a clandestine relationship with Mossad. It is this good work done by Kao that is paying dividends today both in terms of arms purchases and anti-terrorism inputs.

Soon after Kao established link with Mossad, military relationship between Pakistan and North Korea was indentified as threat. Second concern was that Pakistani Army officers were imparting training to Libyans and Iranians to handle Chinese and North Korean military equipment.

During Gen Zia-ul-Haque's time Pakistan had initiated plans



Sh. R.N. Kao

to acquire Nuclear capability. While French assistance to Pakistan for plutonium reprocessing plant was well-known, the Uranium enrichment plant at Kahuta was a secret. Both Israel and India were alarmed about Kahuta plant. Israeli Defence Minister, General Moshe Dayan secretly visited Kathmandu to meet Indian representatives. Pakistan believed that the visit was connected with a joint operation to end Pakistan's nuclear programme. RAW officials alerted Prime Minister Morarji Desai about General Zia's designs to go ahead with Kahuta plant. Till then RAW-Mossad relationship was secret. In an act of indiscretion which compromised India's security, the repercussions of which we are witnessing today, Desai leaked out RAW-Mossad relationship. He called Gen. Zia and told him?, "General, I know what you are up to in Kahuta. RAW has got me all the details. This was done at a time when Gen. Dayan was still in Nepal, holding discussions with India's."

Apprehensive about an Indo-Israeli attack on Kahuta plant, Surface to Air missiles were mounted around it. RAW's assets in Pakistan got exposed. At the same time Pakistan began engaging Israelis through Americans who assured Israel that Pakistan's nuclear capability won't threaten Israel. The latter took off Pakistan from its list, concentrating on Iraq, Iran and Libyan schemes only. General Zia kept Israelis in good humour by developing relationship with Mossad, helping it by providing military information about Libya, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. Good work done by Kao for over a decade was nullified by a single act of Morarji Desai. The latter was bestowed **'Nishan-e-Pakistan'**, Pakistan's highest award by General Zia himself.

'Sri Lanka Operation':

Post-1971 Sri Lanka was posing security problems for India.

JVP insurrection had jolted Sri Lankan government. The government began shopping for arms in international bazar. Around same time it put into operation a policy of systematic persecution of native Tamil minority. This created serious unrest among the Tamil Nadu population. So long as Sirimavo Bandaranaike headed the government Indian government had little to worry.

India had been keeping close watch on Sri Lanka since 1971. Indira Gandhi realized that India's southern flank was open after Pakistani military planes used Katunayake for refuelling during their flight to Dhaka and the US sent its fleet to the Indian ocean. The watch was intensified after Jayewardene was elected to power in 1977. His foreign policy tilted towards US. In July 1983 anti-Tamil riots broke out. During the riots Mathew Abraham, a deputy director of RAW posted in Colombo was severely assaulted by government instigated mob. Anti-Tamil riots created serious tension in Tamil Nadu. People started demanding direct Indian intervention to protect Sri Lankan Tamils.

Indira Gandhi began putting pressure on Jayewardene to work out a political solution with the Tamils. She sent her Foreign Minister, PV Narsimha Rao to Colombo, who informed her that Sri Lankan government was more keen in subduing the Tamils militarily than in reaching an accommodation through negotiations. Jayewardene's request for arms from the US, UK, Pakistan and China deepened Indian concern.

Pt. RN Kao who was then Prime Minister's Chief Security Advisor, told Indira Gandhi that any attempt by Jaewardene for a military solution would create security problems for India and lead to unrest in Tamil Nadu. He further informed her that more serious than these factors would be the influx of forces inimical to India into Sri Lanka. It was pointed out that intelligence agencies of US, UK, Pakistani and Israeli agents and other military interests would intrude into the region.

Kao impressed upon Mrs. Gandhi that India's best option remained to persuade Jayewardene to talk to TULF and work out an accommodation with Tamils. In case it did not work then covert option i.e. using Tamil militant groups to Sri Lanka Govt pressurise was to be put into action. Mrs. Gandhi accepted the scheme. The covert plan to train and arm Tamil militant groups had a definitive but limited objective- **'to push Jayewardene to the negotiation table and no more'**. It had to give a signal to Sri Lankan government that the Tamils had the powerful backing of India. Kao was associated with implementation of this plan. Tamil groups were wary of the plan because they felt that the limited Indian objective would hinder the objective of Tamil Eelam. Indians promoted TELO, while radical outfits e.g. PLOTE, LTTE, EPRLF were kept out for varying reasons. There has been little debate on why the conceived schemes went haywire.

--(Compiled by Sentinel Desk)

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RN KAO'S World-View

Pt. RN Kao engaged in a lively correspondence with his junior, B. Raman in his retirement years. His world-view as per this correspondence was:

America:

Kao believed Americans were not necessarily anti-India but their priorities were different, determined by their perception of national interests. According to him Americans followed their chosen line of action with stubborn determination, India could get hurt in this process. He observed that Americans were not to be trusted in matters concerning Pakistan as they would not

touch Pakistan for anything it does to India. He was once advised by a CIA director to ensure that Techint's use by India against Pakistan should not come to the knowledge of State department.

Another dimension about his observation about US was that it had long-standing guilt complex about China, borne out of long history of American Methodist missionary activities in China.

China:

Kao held that problems with Pakistan were acute, requiring urgent attention, while those with China were more intractable and India would have to be prepared for a long haul. Kao felt increase in China's armed might and its modernization were a cause of alarm for India. He believed economic prosperity in

China would lead to political liberalisation.

Pakistan:

Kao attributed anti-Indian hostility of Pakistan government to its military oligarchy and senior bureaucrats, since it was a question of survival for them. He listed China and North Korea as countries which have helped Pakistan achieve missile capability. He wanted India to have good intelligence capacity about what Pakistan was doing, so that India could thwart its adventurist actions with full might. B. Raman quotes him as saying, **"Pakistan deserves to be declared a rogue state. How I wish that geography could be changed and we should leave Pakistan alone to stew in her own juice"**.

National Security:

Kao lamented absence of, long-range planning and ad-hocism in India's national security management. He did not believe mere availability of data was substitute for adequate policy formulation. He decried the role of human right groups in India in selectively highlighting the issue, saying advanced countries used this as another stick to beat India with on handling insurgencies in Kashmir, Punjab and

North-East. He wanted India to follow China's example, which **'snubs them and cynically ignores what they say'**.

Kao was fully aware about the dangers posed by Muslim fundamentalist groups to South India, saying most people in Delhi were abysmally ignorant about it. Infact Israelis since, 1992 had been drawing India's attention to the dangers of Islamic extremism in Tamil Nadu.

Society and Politics:

Kao felt happy that despite the march of globalization and liberalization India had not lost its bearings. He welcomed BJP-Congress cooperation in national security and supported empowerment of OBCs and Dalits. Kao saw sense in the formulations that anti-Hindu secularism practised by so-called secular elite could lead to a counter-elite backlash. He was worried about deinstitutionalisation, menace of megascams, political uncertainty. Kao admired Hinduism, arguing, 'If anything distinguishes our religion from others, it is the spirit of tolerance. And, to my mind, magnanimity is only an extension of tolerance'.

--(Compiled by Sentinel Desk)

The Czar of India's Counter Intelligence

(From Page 4)

from IB for gathering foreign intelligence. Consequently, a super secret technical intelligence agency known as Aviation Research Centre (ARC) was constituted in 1963 and R.N.Kao was made its director. His professional ability and skill in the areas of organising and management of intelligence was superb because he deeply studied the working of the secret intelligence service of UK known as 'Scotland Yard', CIA of America and BND of the then West Germany.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of the country after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966, she felt the need to have a dynamic and scientific intelligence network in the country to monitor foreign intelligence. She entrusted this task to R.N.Kao as she had seen his style of working earlier from close quarters during his stint with Pt. Nehru at the Teen Murti House. R.N.Kao did this job in a remarkable time and constituted a new wing for exclusively gathering foreign intelligence known as Research & Analysis Wing (RAW) on 21st September 1968. Mrs. Indira Gandhi appointed him as its founder director and simultaneously he was made a Secretary (Research) in the Cabinet Secretariat. His main job was to assist Mrs. Gandhi on security matters of the country.

R.N.Kao played a key role in the liberation of Bangladesh in

1971 by providing vital intelligence inputs to our armed forces during the Indo-Pak war in which about 90,000 Pakistani soldiers armed to the teeth under the command of Gen. N.A.K.Niazi surrendered before the Indian troops in Dhaka, under the command of Lt. Gen. Jagjeet Singh Arora without firing a single bullet. Nowhere in the world such a thing had ever happened before in military warfare, the credit for which squarely goes to R.N.Kao and his meticulous planning. R.N.Kao retired from active government service in 1977 after attaining the age of superannuation. After his retirement from service, he became a senior advisor to Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1980 when she became the Prime Minister of the Country for the second time.

After the Operation Blue Star, Mrs. Gandhi felt the need to have an elite force trained exclusively to deal firmly with the growing menace of terrorism in the country. She again entrusted this task to R.N.Kao to raise these special units to carry out surgical missions and other specific operations. R.N.Kao subsequently raised the battalions of National Security Guards capable of handling most sophisticated weapons and performing difficult tasks under most abnormal conditions. He worked with Mrs. Indira Gandhi till her assassination in 1984. From 1980, he supervised both IB and RAW and

thus became a czar of Indian intelligence. He floated the idea for the first time in a democratic India for a special security ring around the Prime Minister.

When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of the country in 1984, he again appointed R.N.Kao as his security advisor. The split in the Congress Party and formation of Jan Morcha by V.P.Singh forced Rajiv Gandhi to bow out from office in 1988 and with him, R.N.Kao also sought

CONTINUATION

retirement and started leading a calm and quiet life at his residence 'Sakeeta' E-10/2, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi.

On 16th January 2002, R.N.Kao paid a visit to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi to see his younger brother Shyam Sunder Nath Kao, who was admitted there for some treatment. All of a sudden, he felt pain in his chest. He was at once admitted in the Intensive Care Unit for observation, where he breathed his last in the early morning of 20th January 2002 at the age of 84 years. He was cremated at the Nigambodh Ghat where his grandson lit his funeral pyre. Many dignitaries of the country like the leader of the opposition in Parliament Mrs. Sonia Gandhi and the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir state Mr. Girish Saxena

attended his funeral. The President of the country K.R.Narayanan in his condolence message said, **"Kao occupied a crucial position in our government set up and significantly contributed to enhance the efficiency and professionalism of law enforcement agencies by introducing innovative mechanisms of intelligence collection."**

R.N.Kao was most meticulously dressed person with soft voice and pleasing manners. It is because of this temperament that he was liked by his colleagues even belonging to other services. He never threw his rank or his powerful connections at them. He helped those in distress and sometime people took undue advantage of his attitude. Suave and polite, he was never known to raise his voice. In the intelligence circle, some top officials trained by him are known as 'Kaoboy's'. They are not mavericks but are identified by their quiet, behind the door operations for which their mentor R.N.Kao was famous.

R.N.Kao always avoided publicity and was shy of facing a camera. During his long service period, he was photographed only once. In his death, the country has lost the biggest name in the intelligence community. It is said that after his role in the creation of Bangladesh, the Americans became so much

impressed by the Indian intelligence support to Mukti Bahini that they started teaching the whole operation to their secret agents in West Point. He was a perfect gentleman to the core of his heart. The exalted position of RAW in our country and outside and its rich contribution to our national security owe a lot to R.N.Kao. Those who had a chance to work under him still remember his kindness and generosity. It is hoped that the central government would duly honour this giant of Indian counter intelligence by conferring upon him the civil title 'Bharat Ratna' posthumously as his name fully deserves this recognition for his extraordinary service to the nation in its hour of peril. One can achieve anything in life if he has a firm determination and an iron will to do the same, so says 'Nirankar Sevak', a noted Hindi poet very candidly in the following lines:

*Aakash ka yeh jaal utho
chal ke tod dein*

*Tufan aur andhiyon ki
dishaon ko mo dein*

*Dharti ke dukh ko dekh jo
nahin pigal sake*

*Un badalon ko muthi mein
kas kar nichor dein*

**(Dr. B.N. Sharga has
authored six-volume 'Kashmiri
Pandit Ke Anmol Ratan', a
history of Kashmiri Pandits in
Diaspora.)*

EDITORIAL

National Mindset Must Change

To use VS Naipaul's expression 'a million mutinies' stare India in face. As the nation observes 60th anniversary of country's independence we need to redeem our pledge to defend India's hard-earned freedom. Subversion is no more a phenomenon confined to India's border areas only, it has, infact, travelled to the heartland. Gradual encirclement of the country by hostile neighbouring states, internal subversion sustained by narrow political expediency and criminalization of economy and politics, an incompetent political leadership and a desensitized society have all put a question mark on whether India's future was secure.

India is under a pincer attack from Maoist and Islamist terrorism, with latter posing a serious threat to the sovereignty and integrity of India. 162 districts in 14 states are said to be affected by Maoist violence. Maoist sabotage works at three levels. One, it indulges in economic terrorism through economic blockades and damage to infrastructure. Secondly, Maoists provide back-up support to Islamist terrorism through networking with jihadi and other anti-Indian groups. Lastly, it diverts the state's focus from Islamist terrorism.

Stratfor, a US think-tank in its forecast titled '**India: The Islamisation of the North-East**' says that 'ISI has facilitated cooperation between ULFA and other north-eastern militant outfits with LTTE, Islamist militant groups in J&K and Bangladesh and a growing number of Al-Qaeda linked jihadist groups operating in the region.' An updated vision document of Maharashtra govt. refers to established links between indigenous Maoist groups and the LTTE. Credible evidence has emerged which points to a nexus between Kashmiri jihadists and Maoists in Nepal and India.

The same think-tank in its latest study while warning India to guard itself against new forms of terrorism of the hi-tech variety says, "Islamist groups have focused on India itself. Over past few years India's radical Islamist groups have begun to flirt with the concept of transnational jihadism as embraced by Al-Qaeda."

Two patterns of Islamist subversion have emerged. In J&K and north-east ISI uses Islamist outfits for a long-term objective i.e. secession of these regions from India. Elsewhere, these outfits engage in subversion aimed at provoking sectarian Muslim consolidation and attacking India's symbols of economic progress, military power and civilization.

More than 15 million Bangladeshi infiltrators have illegally crossed over to India. Of these 8 million have entered West Bengal, while another 5 million continue to live in Assam without any fear of deportation. Tripura, Nagaland and Meghalaya have 3.25 lakhs, 59,500 and 30,000 infiltrators respectively. What to talk of pushing back these infiltrators the Left-led govt. in W. Bengal and Congress-headed ministry in Assam are cultivating these infiltrators as prospective vote-banks.

Illegal Migrants Detection Act, IMDT, passed by Congress govt. puts the onus of presenting evidence on the complainant rather than on the infiltrators.

In the bordering districts of West Bengal and Assam there has been mushroom growth of madrassas which teach talibanised version of jihad and engage in planning anti-state activities. The juxtaposition of illegal Bangladeshi infiltration and the rising religious militancy poses a threat the import of which is yet to be recognized by those managing the destiny of the nation in New Delhi. If the present trend continues in 25 years hence from now the north-east, including parts of West Bengal and Bihar would be under the control of Bangladeshis.

Pakistan's new game-plan is to recruit and train Indian Muslims to carry out terrorist strikes instead of sending its own men from across the border. In rural Maharashtra security agencies have unearthed a thriving relationship between jihadi outfits of Pakistan and Bangladesh and Islamist organizations in India. Hundreds of ' sleeper cells ' are said to be active in Western UP, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), Tableegi Jamaat, Ahli-Hadith and Jamaat Islami besides HUII-Bangladesh are engaged in radicalization of Indian Muslims and anti-state activities. SIMI is said to have more than 1 lakh associate members. In all terrorist attacks at Delhi, Ayodhya, Varanasi, Mumbai, Malegon, Bangalore, Hyderabad, etc. motivations may have been from across but perpetrators were Indian nationals. This is being ignored out of conventional considerations of political correctness. For long in India it was believed that there was hardly any possibility of Islamist terrorism taking root outside J&K.

Mr. MK Narayanan, National Security Advisor said recently that he 'did not rule out the possibility of some Indians being indoctrinated and trained by Al-Qaeda both within and outside the country.' India as well as the West are witnessing a new type of jihad which has nothing to do with Muslim grievances or anger generated by the war in West Asia. It feeds of a much wider ideological infrastructure. The new jihadi has a fanatical commitment to an ideology of conquest and hegemony—to create an Islamic Caliphate.

At long last the West has woken up to listen to the advice of ED Husain, the author of '**The Islamist**' and a former member of terrorist outfit, **Hizbut Tehrir**--- '**These (jihadis) are angry men. Accommodation is not an option. It has to be containment or annihilation.**' The British security agencies dealt with the Glasgow bombing in a business-like fashion, nabbing the culprits and unraveling the conspiracy with remarkable speed.

What has been the track-record of the UPA govt. in this regard? We have not been able to solve a single case of major terrorist strikes across the country and nab the real conspirators. Out of fear of losing Muslim vote-banks investigations into terrorist incidents are not taken to logical conclusion. Officials from a central agency had mounted an investigation around some scientists working in prestigious

institutes of South India following inputs that these scientists could have possible links with terror groups but the probe was shelved mid-way.

Nowhere pre-emptive strategies seem to be at work. This could have been possible had we done profiling of the fundamentalist outfits, looked closely at the dynamics, the patterns, the networks and the processes of Islamist mobilization wherever they occur without the imposed inhibitions of political correctness and appeasement of particular communities.

The ruling political elite has shown no sense of urgency, no clear assessment of problem, no mobilization of people, no blueprint for tackling terrorism. Its response is a mix of fire-fighting and policy of drift. The political class speaks in different voices, goes by petty calculations, and overlooks larger rational and national objectives. It lives in a state of perpetual denial. Internal security has become hostage to the politics of the day.

Despite the fact that the Congress lost its two prime ministers to terrorism for the UPA govt. internal security is visibly a low priority. It is more concerned with how to handle the whims of its political allies, particularly the Left. It has communalized the very approach to the fight against terrorism as witnessed in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Hyderabad.

In its misplaced quest for Muslim vote-banks the Congress labours under the illusion that clemency to Afzal Guru, appeasement of Pakistan and secessionists in Kashmir, underplaying Islamist terrorism would fetch Muslim votes. Infact, advocates of such a policy do grave injustice and deeply insult the community. Appeasing Nasser Madani to seek votes in Kerala, policy of deliberate procrastination and sheer neglect on the issue of Afzal Guru, reluctance to push back the Bangladeshi infiltrators, patronizing PDP in J&K on the issue of 'de-militarisation', scrapping the AFSPA Act even at the cost of sidelining its own Chief Minister who has been consistently taking a nationalist stand on the issue, dismantling of POTA, dealing with Muslim involvement in acts of terror in a defensive and evasive manner, etc. do not generate confidence about UPA govt.'s handling of terrorist threats. Its weak-kneed political approaches to counter terrorism indicate its lack of political will to use power to defend India's national security interests.

Declining interest of public in security issues is a matter of serious concern. There has been no sense of outrage on such issues of national disgrace—exchange of terrorists in Rubayya Sayeed and Kandhar Hijacking, continued influx of Bangladeshis, religious—cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus etc. If people get immunized and terrorism is taken non-seriously, only God alone can save this country. National mindset has to change. If India is to survive as a nation National Security need to be made an electoral issue. Till then the country's political class will continue to vacillate and undermine India's national interests.

Rapid demographic changes will jeopardize India's unity



By J N Raina

“Job number one is to protect the American people. There are no options off the table”
--Frances Townsend

THAT bespeaks about the stature of American leadership. The quality of Indian leaders cannot be gauged by the same yardstick. Had it been so, India, with a scintillating past civilization, would not have been enslaved for over 1000 years.

Even after independence, attempts were made to partition this country, overtly and covertly. At the time of partition, doomsayers never believed that India will survive. Aldous Huxley was “profoundly pessimistic” about the prospects for democracy in India.

“India is almost infinitely depressing”, Huxley, a well-known writer had observed after visiting India in 1961. His analysis was in fact based on the assumption that “There seems to be no solution to its problems in any way that any of us would regard as acceptable; the prospect of overpopulation, unemployment, growing unrest, social breakdown, followed by the imposition of a military or communistic dictatorship”.

Western writers who visited India later, had in a similar vein or rather aggressively, made it known that “...its (India's) chances of survival were bleak”. Other such versions were: “Forces of secession, based on language and ethnicity, would make India balkanize”.

The last commander-in-chief of the British Army in India, Field Marshal Claude Auchinleck, believed that 1947 marked only the first of many partitions of India. He had thought that sooner rather than later, “India will split into several states or countries, as it was before the British intervention (subjugation)”.

But what they had presaged was not totally out of place. What they had predicted was based on the conjecture that India lacks nationalism. If there are any vestiges of it left, it is taken as ‘extremism’, chauvinism or Hindu fundamentalism, dictated by the RSS ideology. The Hindu leadership, by and large, is devoid of nationalistic fervour. Secularism and nationalism have to go hand-in-hand.

We should remember the words of Sri Aurobindo, India's greatest sage-philosopher, a revolutionary, who had uttered on August 15, 1947 thus: “India is free, but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom.... The whole communal division into Hindus and Muslims seems to have hardened into the figure of a permanent political division of the country”.

The vote bank policy, adopted by our politicians, primarily based on age-old caste system—which they want to perpetuate rather than annul it--- is the bane of Indian society.

For the past over two decades, Pakistan has been waging proxy war in India, starting with Punjab—not without aim—where it failed mainly because Hindus and Sikhs are

inseparable. Had Pakistan succeeded in its nefarious designs, India would have met the same fate as that of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Kashmir is not at the bottom of the real problem between India and Pakistan. The issue is Pakistan's anti-India pathology. It has gone deeper after partition, as Indian Muslims are yet to reconcile to a new democratic order. They are still obsessed with ‘Islamic imperialism’. For centuries, the Muslim minority had enjoyed political hegemony over the sub-continent's Hindu majority. They continue to be guided by their own dogmas and hesitate to be governed by a common civil code. They believe in two social systems to keep away from the mainstream of national life, thanks to Congress leadership for all the miseries of the beleaguered community.

Pakistan continues to bleed India. It wants to inflict a thousand cuts on this country, even though it is bleeding profusely in NWFP and Sindh province, because of its own follies, which had earlier resulted in the creation of Bangladesh. NWFP is also following the same path.

Kashmir situation would not have come to such a pass, had our bureaucrats and politicians been vigilant and security-conscious. The ‘politician-bureaucrat’ nexus in a way invited the trouble, resulting in large-scale infiltration from across the border. Before militancy started in Kashmir, the intelligence agencies like RAW and IB had forewarned the Centre and the then Congress leadership. Series of reports, about Pakistan-sponsored terrorism, and ISI's manipulations and its deep-rooted involvement, were sent to the Union Government, but all such reports were discarded and dumped. Then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi would only believe in what he was told by then Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah, who was speaking in a double talk.

Not even eyebrows were raised when over five lakh Kashmiri Hindus were forcibly driven out from the valley, their ancestral abode, at the point of gun, by the Muslim fundamentalists, aided and abetted by JKLF and other hydra-headed terrorist organizations, owing allegiance to the hardcore Jamaat-e-Islami. The so-called secularists on the contrary, blamed the then Governor Jagmohan for the exodus of Hindus. This is sheer nonsense. Such kind of Muslim appeasement has hugely destroyed this nation. Kashmiri Hindus are living like refugees in their own country for the past 18 years. Surprisingly enough, when India is a secular and a democratic nation. These are visible scars on our democracy. Sixty years after independence, secessionist elements continue to hold India at ransom, taking advantage of our loose democracy, putting strains on national security.

We should take lessons from China, which has passed anti-secession law to safeguard its sovereignty. In India, it is beyond ones imagination, if such a law can be enforced. The text of the ten-article law calls for the use of ‘non-peaceful’ means and other necessary measures to protect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, if all ‘else fails’. China does not bother about world opinion, as India feels obliged.

Kashmir is the crown of India. If it is removed, India will fall apart. There should be no discussion on the status of Kashmir. There is a Parliament resolution which seeks to retrieve the territory, forming part of the undi-

vided state of Jammu and Kashmir, illegally occupied by Pakistan and China. Pakistan should have been told in uncertain terms that Jammu and Kashmir is disputed only because of the fact that one-fifth of its territory has been grabbed by that country, and part of which has been handed over to China on a platter.

Our pseudo-secularists feel shy of exhibiting patriotism. They pay little heed towards continuing infiltration from Bangladesh, changing the demographic character of India. Over 30 million Bangladeshi nationals have settled in different parts of India, mostly in the North-East and West Bengal. About 6000 Bangladeshis are daily pouring in to Assam and then to other states, creating social unrest. Bangladeshis today form a big chunk of the vote-bank.

“They (illegal migrants) are not only threatening the demographic character of Assam, but facilitate bases for the ISI network and terrorist organizations like Al Qaida”, according to Balbir K Punj, a Rajya Sabha MP and convenor of the BJP's Think Tank.

Demographic changes are occurring in India, which might reduce it to a minority Hindu state, if repulsive measures are not taken on war footing.

Assam, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland and Mizoram are threatened by an ‘avalanche of infiltration’ from Bangladesh. The Centre has been watching the situation without taking appropriate measures to contain the menace. There is lot of political interference, because the sole idea is to keep the minority Muslim community in good humour. This influx has now resulted in the emergence of a new brand of Muslim leadership in Assam, demanding the imposition of Shariat laws. Ironically, the Communists blame the US and not Pakistan for communal tension and Islamic terrorism in West Bengal. This is how the Communists, sharing power at the Centre with the UPA, shape the destiny of the country. The rub is that BJP, which has been raising a cry about infiltration, is being stigmatized by the ‘secularists’ for highlighting this ‘smouldering’ problem. Now Bangladesh has become another hub of Islamic terrorism. The ISI has launched “Operation Pin Code” to bring the North-East under Islamic umbrella through demographic invasion,” says Punj.

Be as it may, India is emerging as a global power. It has to speak from its position of strength. It cannot be browbeaten by small countries like Pakistan. India, having now reached the level of a ‘mature nation-state’, at the same time cannot shirk from the responsibility of safeguarding the interests of the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and other South-East Asian nations.

Pakistan is riven with terrorist activities. Apart from its own machinations, terror in Pakistan is being indirectly engineered, surprisingly by the U S. In 1980s, a nexus existed between the CIA and Pakistan's ISI to cripple the erstwhile Soviet Union. Since then, the US hegemony has been growing. The U S is using the same old diabolical tactics of divide-and-rule. Having occupied Iraq and Afghanistan through dubious means, America is now inching forward and creating condition of anarchy in Pakistan. The US, which created Al Qaida and Taliban, against Soviet Union, is hunching for these elements in Pakistan, en-

hancing global terror. Obviously, Pakistan is the next target. This is part of the age-old history of imperialism.

The National Intelligence Estimate in the U S has stated unequivocally that Pakistan's tribal areas, bordering Afghanistan, have turned haven for Al Qaida. Frances Townsend, homeland security adviser in the Bush administration has warned Pakistan that unilateral U S strikes against suspected Al Qaida or Taliban targets inside Pakistan are ‘on the table’. The U S has warned to ‘flatten’ these areas to target Al Qaida hideouts. New trends are emerging in the beleaguered region. If Pakistan is in trouble, can New Delhi remain far away from the repercussions? The U S can use different methods for India at an appropriate time. Such a scenario was long envisioned. The US, Britain and some European countries had framed a secret document to revive colonialism. No misgivings about it. New Delhi should remain prepared for any eventuality. ‘Darker possibilities’ are ahead’.

Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf has reacted to U S overtures but mildly, being an ally of the U S. The Americans just want an opportunity to strike at the right time. Now they feel time has come to take wind out of the sail of Musharraf and wage war on terror in Pakistan itself with full fury. It will not remain confined to NWFP. How can it be? Another theory propounded by some observers is that Pakistan under pressure might divert Al Qaida and Taliban towards Jammu and Kashmir. It will be dangerous for India, which has to raise its voice against any form of intervention in the region. There can be danger from even China, which is growing its sphere of influence around India. What happened to Tibet is now just a history. Had it remained a buffer, India's problem with China would have been minimal.

Pakistan is not serious about peace process with India. Attack on Parliament should have opened our eyes, which was a great challenge to our sovereignty. Pakistan wanted to keep its militant organizations in reserve, in case that country wants to revive the option of jihad in Kashmir. There seems to be a paradigm shift in the U S attitude towards India. But the question arises, has it? It is still unbelievable. We have to keep our national interest in view while bargaining with them on the nuclear issue. They do not talk without attaching strings.

The writer is a Veteran Journalist, based in Pune. He has over 43 years of journalistic experience, including 29 years in the United News of India (UNI), a national news agency. He joined the Caravan magazine as a sub-editor in New Delhi in 1964. After over four years, he joined UNI as a sub-editor in New Delhi, in March 1968 and served the agency in Srinagar and Ahmedabad. Sh. Raina was transferred back to Srinagar in July 1978. He was UNI's Bureau Chief in Srinagar for nearly 12 years, before being forced to migrate from the Valley in March 1990, following militancy. Sh. Raina was transferred to Mumbai as News Editor in September 1990. He retired from UNI in November 1996. Later he joined ‘Veto Power’, published from Mumbai, as its features Editor for two years, before it was closed. For the past ten years, he has been writing articles on current topics, mostly related to Kashmir, Pakistan etc which appear in the Free Press Journal, Mumbai and various other national newspapers. Besides, he has been writing features, which appear in various papers. Sh. JN Raina is also fond of traveling and has extensively toured the country.

INDIA’S “COLD START WAR DOCTRINE” REVISITED

By Dr. Subhash Kapila

Introductory Observations

India’s Cold Start War Doctrine was unveiled at the Army Commanders Conference on April 28, 2004. It was a radical departure to publicly assert the enunciation of a new war doctrine. This new war doctrine was necessitated by the military lessons learnt from the Kargil War and India’s war mobilization during OPERATION PARAKARAM following the attack on India’s Parliament House by Pakistan based terrorists.

India’s Cold Start War Doctrine was also necessitated by the need to operationalize Indian Army’s war fighting in a NBC (Nuclear, Biological and Chemical) warfare environment. Indian Army had also to arrive at a new war doctrine to incorporate technological advances in the fields of C4 I2 (A military composite term encompassing command, control communications, computers, intelligence and information technology).

Obviously, full details of the Cold Start War Doctrine could not be released in the public domain. However, this author in a near accurate visualization of the Cold Start War Doctrine discussed the various parameters of this doctrine in two papers on SAAG website as per the following details:

- India’s New “Cold Start” War Doctrine Strategically Reviewed (Paper No. 991 dated 04.05.2004)
- Indian Army’s New “Cold Start” War Doctrine Strategically Reviewed – Part II (Additional Imperatives) (Paper No. 1013 dated 01.06.2004)

These two papers were thereafter reproduced on a number of defense-related websites in India and Pakistan and then followed an intense debate on these websites.

That India’s Cold Start War Doctrine has stimulated an international interest can be gauged from the fact that in the United Kingdom, one of the leading universities in a detailed paper reviewed this Doctrine in April 2007.

Three years down the line, it becomes necessary to revisit India’s Cold Start War Doctrine

and review what progress the Indian Army has made in this direction. For this purpose, this paper shall include a discussion on the following aspects:

- COLD START WAR DOCTRINE: Major Conceptual Underpinnings
- Indian Army’s Revalidation of COLD START WAR DOCTRINE
- India’s Political Leadership Still Flawed in its Strategic Approaches
- Indian Political Decision – Making in Defense Acquisitions Limits COLD START WAR DOCTRINE
- India’s Nuclear Command & Control: Effective Set-up Essential for New Doctrine
- COLD START WAR DOCTRINE: Overall Assessment
- COLD START WAR DOCTRINE: Major Conceptual Underpinnings

Selected excerpts from the author’s earlier papers need re-emphasis to provide a backdrop for the present discussion: These are as follows:

- India now plans and is ready to act offensively against Pakistan for any perceived acts of strategic de-stabilization of India, proxy war and terrorism
- India has in declaratory terms enunciated it will undertake offensive operations against Pakistan, short of the nuclear threshold.
- India could initiate offensive operations either as pre-emptive strikes or initiate offensive operations straight away without giving Pakistan, the time to bring diplomatic leverages in play.
- Indian Army’s combat potential will be fully harnessed for offensive operations at the outset by eliminating the differentiation between “defensive formations” and “offensive formations”.
- Implicit in this Doctrine is that the Indian Army will no longer concentrate on capturing and holding Pakistani territory as leverage for post-war negotiations but the new operational will aim at destroying the combat potential of the Pakistan Army and its war-fighting capacity
- The above is to be achieved by fast moving armored and mechanized operations sup-

ported by preponderant artillery fire power and even more preponderant combat fire-power of the Indian Air Force.

Logically the factors that came into play and which were discussed in the first paper were: (1) The Indian Political Parameters That Need to Come Into Play (2) India’s National Military Directives Need Change (3) India’s Strategic Military Objectives Need to be Made Clear (4) The Imperatives of Dedicated Indian Air Force Close Support and Dedicated Ground Attack Squadrons (5) Indian Navy Aviation Support for Battle Groups (6) India Will Have to Use Conventional SRBMs and Cruise Missiles and (7) Special Forces and Air Assault Capabilities Need Expansion.

The “Additional Imperatives” spelt out by the author in the second paper were (1) Higher Commanders Mental Robustness and Military Audacity (2) Up-gradation of C4 I2 Systems (3) Indian Air Force: Reorientation in Concept of Operations (4) Air Defense Networks and Systems (5) Integration With Nuclear Warfare Plans (6) Electronic Warfare Capabilities Enhancement and (7) Accelerated Development of India’s ICBMs and SLBMs.

The above factors which were dwelt upon in fair detail would give a good idea of what all is involved to make this Doctrine a success.

Indian Army’s Revalidation of COLD START WAR DOCTRINE

In the relentless pursuit of its traditional high standards of military professionalism, the Indian Army has been involved in a continuous process of revalidation of the operational concepts and techniques of the new Doctrine.

The following major exercises have been conducted so far:

| Name of Exercise | Year |
|------------------|------|
| Divya Shakti | 2005 |
| Vajra Shakti | 2005 |
| Desert Strike | 2005 |
| Sanghe Shakti | 2006 |
| Ashwa Medh | 2007 |

All the formations at Corps and Divisional levels that would be required to execute

the new doctrine stand tested and the new doctrinal concepts revalidated both in the “plains terrain” and in “desert terrain”. It is a continuous process underway involving rapidly changing scenarios.

These were large scale exercises involving at any one time military strengths from 30,000 to 50,000. The Indian Air Force was also employed in all these exercises in joint operations arising from the new Doctrine. A separate exercise of combined arms along with the Indian Navy was also conducted.

At other levels, net-centric warfare, electronic warfare, digital warfare, Special Forces operations in round the clock time frame over five to seven days were exercised to test both professional skills and endurance.

It can be confidently stated that the Indian Army, the Indian Air Force and the Indian Navy stand fully exercised and the new Doctrine stands re-validated at all levels.

Limitations if any in putting into effect this doctrine lays elsewhere and not with the Armed Forces as we will see below.

India’s Political Leadership Still Flawed in its Strategic Approaches

The author in the first paper on this subject spelt out that this new War Doctrine can only be successful if the following political parameters are met (1) Political will to use offensive military power (2) Political will to use pre-emptive military strategies (3) Political sagacity to view strategic military objectives with clarity (4) Political determination to pursue military operations to their ultimate conclusion without succumbing to external pressures (5) Political determination to cross nuclear threshold if Pakistan seems so inclined.

During OP PARAKARAM, the BJP Government faltered in not carrying its “coercion objectives” to their ultimate conclusion due to one or a combination of the above factors.

In the last three years the Congress Government through the pronouncements of its Prime Minister and their attitudinal reflections indicate that India would be found seriously wanting in “political will” to initiate or execute the COLD START

WAR DOCTRINE.

The Congress Government’s appeasement approaches to Pakistan under external pressures and those of its captive minority vote-banks do not generate confidence about its strategic approaches and “political will to use power”. The Government’s weak-kneed political approaches to counter-terrorism indicate its lack of political will to use power to defend India’s national security interests.

In the 60th year of India’s independence, the political leadership of this country is still found wanting in “strategic vision” and “strategic mindsets”.

For more elaboration, readers could refer to the author’s book **“India’s Defence Policies and Strategic Thought: A Comparative Analysis”**.

Indian Political Decision Making in Defense Acquisitions Limits COLD START WAR DOCTRINE

India’s COLD START WAR DOCTRINE woven around the operational concept of offensive operations at the very outset of hostilities cannot proceed towards success on Indian Army undertaking military operations with incomplete military inventories in terms of weapons, equipment and logistics.

This has been one of the starkest reasons of failure of United States Forces in Iraq and should be a military lesson well taken.

India’s defense equipment acquisition process despite recent innovations still impedes the speedy acquiring of the wherewithal for the Indian Armed Forces neglecting the vital imperative of this Doctrine of full military inventories at all times.

It arises from the politicization of the defense equipment acquisition process and bureaucratic lethargy. When this Government came into power, the then Defense Minister’s first statement was that all defense deals of the previous government would be probed. The reasons were political. What has been the result?

The Indian Air Force today is critically short of 136 combat fighter aircraft. This deficiency
(Contd. on Page 13)

India's "Cold Start War Doctrine" Revisited

(From Page 12)

is likely to persist till 2010 and beyond as the initial 18 aircraft of any new deal will come only by 2010. The remainder may stretch till 2020. Further, the Indian Air Force Chief presumably under political directions, has recently stated that the orders would go to a single vendor. This would add to the delays.

Indian Army's artillery is short of over 400 guns of 155mm caliber. Despite trials in 2002, 2004 and 2006, fresh tenders have now again been initiated. One cannot expect this deficiency to be made before 2012 or so.

The COLD START WAR DOCTRINE has been built around the use of preponderant fire-power of the Army's own artillery guns and massive use of Indian Air Force combat fire-power for speedy operations and quick military decisive results.

As on today the Indian Army stands deprived critically of both the instruments of fire-power essential for the success of the new War Doctrine. Surely, national security imperatives should not be sacrificed at the altar of bureaucratism and the political leadership should be bold in removing such hurdles when it comes to upholding the imperatives of national security.

So what do we do? Pending COLD START WAR DOCTRINE till 2010 and beyond or await India's political leadership awakening to the need for coming out with "off the shelf" acquisitions to remedy the critical shortages which have a debilitating effect on the new Doctrine?

India's Nuclear Command & Control: Effective Set-up Essential for New Doctrine

It is conceded that the details of India's Nuclear Command and Control Set-up cannot be released in the public domain. But what cannot be conceded is that the organizational links also have to be kept in wraps. Today, there exist a haziness and ambiguity about the organizational structure of the Nuclear Command and Control Set-up. This does not add to the credibility of India's nuclear deterrence.

Speculation abounds: (1) About the missing links in the operationalizing of a nuclear

strike once a political decision has been taken. (2) Has the military been integrated into the nuclear decision-making structure (3) Would the Indian Army be assured that within hours of COLD START WAR DOCTRINE operations being unleashed and Pakistan indulging in a First Strike, the Indian Army formations would not be rendered powerless by the inevitable delays in the political decision making on a nuclear counter-strike?

India's Prime Minister and the Defense Minister need to be more forthcoming in declarations on the above aspects. India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine announced eight years back needs to be formalized. It must also integrate the aspects of the COLD START WAR DOCTRINE operationalizing under NBC conditions and India's responses thereto.

COLD START WAR DOCTRINE: Overall Assessment

The overall assessment on the effective execution and operationalising success of Indian Army's COLD START WAR DOCTRINE has to be viewed at two levels as under:

- Indian Army: Has it been successful in training its subordinate formations and higher commanders as per the new War Doctrine and has it re-validated the operational concepts arrived at?
- India's Political Leadership: Does it have the strategic vision and the strategic mindset of having the will to use power to secure India's national security aims?

The answer to the first question is a resounding "Yes". Since 2004 the Indian Army has worked hard to revalidate the new WAR DOCTRINE's operational concepts and fine-tuning these every year and in every type of terrain. The high standards of military professionalism and innovation induces confidence in the Indian Armed Forces. It is this which prompts advanced countries to seek joint military exercises with India.

Unfortunately, while broad details of the Army's exercises appear in the public domain, what does not emerge are the other stark realities, that is: (1) How are the Army's current mili-

tary inventory shortages impacting on the new War Doctrine (2) How is the shortage of 136 combat aircraft in the Indian Air Force will affect the success of the New War Doctrine in the short term? (3) How does the new Doctrine cater for delays and interruptions due to delays in political decision-making?

In terms of reorganizing the Indian Army's Command and Control structure for implementing the new War Doctrine, some measures are already evident in the raising of the new South-West Command and 9 Corps. Similarly, plans are afoot to raise a Special Forces Command.

However, when one comes to

the second aspect, in terms of objective analysis, the answer is negative. In terms of demonstrated performance in crisis management, counter-terrorism responses, policy approaches towards Pakistan and China and the necessity of firm declaratory policies on national security issues, the present Government does not induce confidence that it has the requisite strategic vision and strategic mindset.

Concluding Observations

The Indian Army in joint operations with the Indian Air Force and Indian Navy stand trained and poised for successful execution of the COLD START WAR DOCTRINE in any 'Hot War

Scenario'.

The country fervently hopes that India's political leadership of any political dispensation in power, does not develop "Cold Feet" when faced with the decision to execute the new War Doctrine in pursuance of India's National Security Objectives.

**(The author is an International Relations and Strategic Affairs analyst. He is the Consultant, Strategic Affairs with South Asia Analysis Group)*

TO OUR READERS

Due to constraints of space we could not carry our regular columns-'

Those Who Left Us' & 'Chronology of Events' in this issue. We regret the same. Kashmir Sentinel will publish these in the next issue.

--Editor

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Independence Day 2007

What Happened To The India Of Martyrs Dreams?



By M.M. Khajooria

Independence Day is the day for celebrating our hard-earned freedom after centuries of bondage. The independence, let it be remembered and reiterated came at a huge cost. Thousands upon thousands of Freedom fighters of all ages, sexes, religions and regions bared their breasts before firing squads, marched into the jails which on innumerable occasions began to overflow. Many like Comrade Dhanwantri spent the best parts of their lives in British torture chambers like the Cellular Prison of Andamans, also known as Kala Pani. The barbaric mowing down of innocent men women and children by the British bullets in Jallianwalla Bagh, Amritsar put the entire humanity to shame. How can the story of struggle for independence be even attempted without remembering with pride and awe the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh and his band of brave young men fired with vision of a free India, Subhash Chander Bose and his valiant fighters of the Azad Hind Fauz, dared the might of Great Britain and her allies, broke through their defenses and arrived in their motherland to kiss its sacred soil and depart from this world shouting their war cry "Jai Hind". Their war cry mandated by Netaji has become the national mace of salutation of independent India. Lakhs others made sacrifices to break the shackles of slavery so that we and coming generations of Indians may breathe the fresh and intoxicating fragrance of freedom and hold our heads high in the comity of nations. On the 60th Independence every Indian must bow his head in humble reverence and eternal gratitude to the memory of our known and unknown benefactors. And yes, this is also a day of reckoning. This should necessarily include how the government has and the nation treated the freedom fighters that we were privileged to have amongst us today? Granting them Tamar Patras, petty pensions, free Railway passes and some health care facilities though welcome may not be enough. How much respect have the citizens individually and the

civil society collectively been showing to them? Remember, the nation that fails to honour their heroes or omits to show necessary respect and consideration to freedom fighters comes to grief sooner than later.

After the attainment of freedom the onerous responsibility of defending the freedom fell upon the strong shoulders of our brave jawans and officers of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the para-military organizations like BSF, CRPF, ITBF, the Armed Police and police forces of the states. This has been a great, grave and onerous responsibility. Our officers have earned universal recognition and respect for leading their men up front. The saga of the supreme sacrifice that began with Brig. Rajinder Singh, Col. Roy and Maj. Sharma on the Kashmir front in 1947 pictured in the 'Heroes Gallery' now has rows upon rows of photographs including that of Lt. Rameshar Lal Kao.

Any mention of martyrdom of officers and men in uniform brings to my mind the famous epithet on the grave of an unknown soldier epitomizes the spirit and urge for martyrdom.

*When You Go Home
Tell them and say
For their tomorrow
We gave our today*

They did their duty and departed in the trail of glory. But what kind of tomorrow are we making for ourselves in the country?

Does it even remotely relate to their vision of India and justify their supreme sacrifice? Most of us don't seem to realize that our motherland is in a state of siege. **The society and the state have over the years been subverted to a frightening extent. The leadership appears to have become hostage to complacency or worst still is unable or unwilling to comprehend the enormity of the rot and take urgent corrective measures. Am I painting an unrealistic picture?**

Are you in the habit of standing before the wall world map and mark the position of each country surrounding India, perceived anti-India sentiment running through their mutual relations, their urges to subvert and weaken India in one way or the other and recalled the practical steps taken in furtherance of their common evil designs? I am. I commend such exercise to every thinking Indian sensitive to

the state of the security of the country. Let us begin with Pakistan, the epicenter of international terrorism, the promoter and sustainer of cross border terror in Jammu and Kashmir simultaneously persecuting peace parleys. Not only is the mischief continuing in J&K, it has taken the entire country in her vicious embrace. Her Military Doctrine lists India as the enemy. Bangladesh, for which it acted as father, mother and the wet nurse combined and freed its people from the brutal and oppressive Pakistan regime at

Bangladesh's intelligence agencies to facilitate cooperation between northeast militant groups like ULFA and other jihadist outfits in the South Asian region besides Tamil rebels in Lanka.

In its forecast titled "India: The Islamization of the Northeast", it observes that there is a growing Islamization in the region-spurred by ISI and instability in neighbouring Bangladesh which is 'giving foreign powers (China and Pakistan) a gamut of exploitable secessionist movement to use to prevent India from emerging as a major global player.

'According to **Stratfor** there exists a strong nexus between ISI and Bangladesh's intelligence agencies. There are growing indications, says the report, that these two agencies are working clandestinely in Bangladesh to bring all the northeast-based insurgent outfits all Jihadist elements under one umbrella.' The ISI has facilitated cooperation between ULFA and other northeastern militant outfits with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka, Islamist militant groups in Jammu and Kashmir, Islamist groups in Bangladesh and a growing number of al-Qaeda-linked Jihadist groups operating in the region. ULFA's growing links with Bangladeshi Islamists and Jihadist elements in the area are increasingly coming to light," the report claims.

The April 9 attack timed with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Assam marked the group's first-ever suicide bombing; "a tactic that was pioneered by the Tigers and has been frequently employed by Islamist militants. ULFA's adoption of suicide bombing according to **Stratfor** looks to be the result of the group's increased Islamization caused by collusion with Islamist outfits in the region. The bomber in the April 9 suicide attack was Aimul Ali, a Muslim. Remember, ULFA and its parent organization Assom Gana Parishad were born as a reaction to the large scale infiltration of Bangladeshi Muslims. The Nellie massacres of Muslims testifies to the violent clash of interests. As of today the terrorists focus has shifted to non-Assamis who hail from other parts of the country especially the Bihari Labour.

Scores of innocent unarmed men, women and children have been killed in a most barbaric fashion. This far removed from its original agenda on which it received significant public sympathy and support. The ULFA leadership is aware that their complicity with Bangladeshi intelligence and Pak ISI will not go down the throats of their constituents. It is apparent they are risking becoming a pariah in frustration and desperation. Incidentally, is there not some thing common the anti-Bihar tirade in Assam and the campaign against the Non-State Subject Labour in Kashmir? It does sound a bell.

There are reports that the killer gangs detailed to attack Biharis in Assam are led by ISI agents. And yet the central government is sitting pretty, Home Ministry is making appropriate noises but doing precious little to draw a comprehensive picture of enemy intends and operational plans to enable timely and effective counter action. The political class is busy playing petty politics and their pet game of one upmanship even in matters that seriously impinge upon the national security. The general tendency is to indulge in the luxury of taking cosmetic measures in matters where only hard decisions would serve the purpose. I am afraid the tragedy of J&K will be duplicated in Assam unless Delhi wakes up right now and gets into action mode with spread and determination.

Both conceptually and strategically, the Indian response to the proxy war in Jammu & Kashmir unleashed by Pakistan was flawed from day one. For instance, there was no doubt at all that Pakistan coveted the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir and yet a senseless policy of graded response was pursued. The real aims of the enemy thus escaped the calculations of the Indian establishment or were glossed over resulting in faulty or disoriented political and military policy formulation and operational determinations. Moreover, the no-holds barred conflict that admits of no war ethics, recognizes no war convention, Geneva or any other was sought to be countered through conventional means. The distortions afflicted the military strategy/operations and most importantly the arena of psychological warfare. In fact for quite some times the imperatives of the psychological warfare were not even taken into calculation. The net result was that neither military perception nor the political appreciation of

(Contd. on Page 21)



Security tightened outside the Legislative Assembly Complex in Srinagar during the recent elections for the new President of the Country.

heavy cost in men and materials is today Pakistan's twin epicenter of Pan Islamic terrorism training and promoting anti-India terrorists of Northeast in collaboration with Pak ISI. The long-term aim is to alter the demographic character of Assam, subvert its social and political systems so that it falls into Bangladesh lap like a ripe fruit. This will fulfill the dream of communalists that was shattered in 1947, thanks to the bold and firm stand taken by Late Gopi Nath Bardolai. Nepal has since decades been the spring board of ISI subversion in India with special focus on the state of Jammu and Kashmir. China, Burma, Ceylon and Afghanistan (Taliban) have their own agendas, grouses against India aimed at weakening and fragmenting the Indian State. The US news intelligence service **Startfor** revealed in April 20, 2007 that Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence is working with



By Prof. Hari Om

India attained independence 60 years ago after making supreme sacrifices. It was a long-drawn struggle. We had to pay a very heavy price. So much so, our leadership agreed for the partition of the country to satisfy the insatiable urge of Mohammad Ali Jinnah for Muslim Pakistan. He was an undisputed leader of the Muslim League – Muslim League which believed in the concept of two-nation based on religion. Pakistan was the result. In the process, over one million people, mostly Hindus, lost their lives and nearly twenty millions others got uprooted from their homes and hearths. It was indeed a man-made holocaust, with even women and children falling prey to lunatics. Rape, gang rape or murder was the order of the day. It was, in fact, a story of unprecedented barbarity.

It was widely believed that the founders of the Indian State would remember the horrors of 1947-48 and work out some fool-proof strategy that would ensure the collapse of the evil designs of those who continued to believe in the two-nation theory even after partition. Their belief had stemmed from the fact that the Pakistani leadership had its evil eyes cast on Jammu and Kashmir because it was a Muslim-majority State. The Pakistani invasion of Jammu and Kashmir in October 1947 had made such a task on the part of the founders of the Indian State all the more imperative.

However, it was not to be. Our ambivalent leadership failed to grasp the nature of the Pakistani ideology as well as the one represented by the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah and incorporated in the constitution Article 370 which erected a great wall between New Delhi and Kashmir. Earlier, the Indian leadership had acted unwisely by not permitting the advancing Army to evict the Pakistani raiders from the Indian soil, offering plebiscite proposal to Jinnah at Lahore and taking the Kashmir issue to the United Nations under a wrong clause, obviously at the behest of the nominated Governor-General Mountbatten, who did not have any plenipotentiary powers.

The grant of special status to Jammu and Kashmir on the score of religion overlooking Maulana Hasrat Mohani's unequivocal

warning on the floor of the Constituent Assembly that such a dispensation would "enable Kashmir to assume independence afterwards" and much to chagrin of the patriots in Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh did spoil the Indian pitch in Kashmir. Even the snub of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr B R Ambedkar, to Sheikh Abdullah

itself as a State and ensure its national survival, so that the world community recognizes that nation's autonomy and the integrity of its boundaries, in a word, its sovereignty". This, in short, is the view of most of the leading and sophisticated social scientists.

What about the Indian State? The Indian State today stands

very nose of the authorities, including the so-called extremely vigilant Income-Tax officials, and leading a luxurious life. Money for them is no problem despite the fact that they, barring a couple of them, have no visible source of income.

These "freedom fighters", including killers among them, can visit any part of the country any-

channels through which the money is reaching the militants and separatists.. The fact is that a vast majority of the intelligence operatives are performing their duties to the best of their ability and giving trustworthy information to the concerned authorities. The Indian State till date has not booked persons on the charge that they are working at the behest of the dreaded ISI and some Muslim countries and meeting the financial needs of the anti-India elements operating in Kashmir.

It is for the managers of the Indian State to explain as to from which source the Kashmir-based separatists and militants are receiving money for the anti-India activities. Not to inform the nation about the sources from which the money is reaching these subversives or not to take action against those whose assets and expenditure are disproportionate to their known sources of income would be only to help vindicate the stand of those who are accusing the Indian State of financing the anti-India elements to fight against and dismember India.

Let us look at the Indian State to find if those at the helm of affairs are actually performing the desired role. I have talked about activities being indulged in by the anti-India elements using the Indian resources. The case I have sought to make out is: The powers-that-be in New Delhi or Jammu and Kashmir are ignoring the intelligence inputs, thus facilitating the task of those who are acting as links between the anti-India elements and their financiers. This is one part of the story of the today's Indian State and it is indeed frightening.

The other part of the story of the today's Indian State is no less frightening. Take, for example, the engagement by the powers-that-be in New Delhi of those who are asking the Union Government to repeal the anti-terror laws such as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), send the Army back to barracks and leave everything to the care of that polluted organ. I am referring to chairman of the working group on Confidence Building Measures across Segments of Society in the State, as also to Veerapa Moily, a pledged Congressman, former Karnataka Chief Minister and chairman of the Administrative Reforms Committee (ARC). Both these

(Contd. on Page 26)



Army and police personnel inspect a damaged police vehicle after a landmine explosion at Maloora Shalteng on the outskirts of Srinagar on 24th of June 2007

failed to move the founders of the Indian State. He had told the Sheikh: **"You want India and Indians to defend Kashmir. You want Kashmir and Kashmiris to exercise all rights in India, but you do not want India and Indians to exercise similar rights in Jammu and Kashmir. I am Law Minister of India. I cannot be a party to such an act of betrayal of the national interest"**. The grant of special status to Kashmir on the insistence of the Sheikh, an ardent believer in the concept of "a Switzerland-type independent Kashmir", did open a chapter of oppression of the country's own men in Jammu and Kashmir.

"A society without a government might be like a basketball without umpires. The players would argue forever about whether the pitch was a ball or a strike, or whether the runner was safe or out. Each contest would turn into raucous brawl. Government performs the same tasks as the umpires: it sets down basic rules that everyone must abide by. Each nation must preserve

at the cross-roads. The reasons are not far to seek. A section is overtly and covertly helping those who hate India from the core of their heart. The situation has now reached such a deplorable stage that the pro-India elements are being dubbed by the powers-that-be in New Delhi and their trouble-shooters as narrow-minded, reactionary and unaccommodating. So much so, the patriots are being dismissed by the Indian "conflict-managers" as the cause of the problem of the Indian State is facing in Kashmir and elsewhere in the country, and not part of the solution.

I am not saying something ridiculous. I am only presenting an accurate picture of the nature of the Indian State to put things in perspective. Take, for example, the case of radical Islamists and separatists in Kashmir and their financial condition and the attitude of the Indian State towards them. The militants in Kashmir are operating with utmost ease, constructing palatial houses and shopping complexes under the

time they wish to participate in any anti-India seminar and conference. They are the today's most frequent fliers. They can undergo treatment in any of the world's costliest healthcare institution. They can spend days and days in costly hotels in and outside India. Several militants and separatists are maintaining big and well-equipped offices in the Srinagar's posh Rajbagh area, also known as the "Freedom Colony", and spending millions of rupees every year in order to organize anti-India activities. They can have any number of luxury vehicles. Money for them is no problem. They are the most respectable persons and distinguished personalities, with some of them even sharing the dais with the country's rulers.

Some people say that it is the Pakistani Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) and some Muslim countries which are financing the Kashmir-based militants and separatists. And, if it is true, then what is the Indian State and its agencies doing to destroy the



By Dr. Ajay Churungoo

PAK CLAIMS

PAKISTAN right since its inception has been engaged in destabilizing Kashmir to annex it eventually on the basis of two nation theory. It makes a dangerous claim that Kashmir was 'unfinished agenda' of Partition. If this promise is accepted then the position of 14 crore Muslim community living in rest of India becomes untenable. Pakistan's real strategic objectives in pursuing its game plan in Kashmir can be enumerated as:-

- seeking parity with India by fomenting separatist strife;
- pursuing the goal of strategic depth;
- building justification for army's permanent involvement in Pak politics;
- Play its role as the frontline Muslim state for eastward expansion of Islamic fundamentalism;
- dismantling India's Northern Frontier and
- finally facilitating India's encirclement by hostile countries and internal balkanisation.

Internationally, Pakistan is trying to project itself as an aggrieved party claiming that India has not fulfilled the international commitments it made on Kashmir. The truth, however, remains that the basic requisite for this commitment i.e. vacation of Pakistani troops from PoK was never implemented by Pakistan. Pakistan also created hurdles by joining the cold war to complicate the Kashmir issue. And finally by annexing the northern territories it projected itself as a party that treated Kashmir issue as a real estate and a game of sharing spoils. The numerous agreements have superseded the so-called international commitments of earlier years.

Much is being made of India's so-called commitment to Kashmiris that the future of Kashmir would be settled by 'reference to the wishes' of the Kashmiri people. Under the Indian Independence Act the future of princely states was to be settled by the ruler. Accession

of Kashmir to India was perfectly legal and it was unique in the sense that both the ruler and the then popular leadership of the Valley endorsed it. Neither the ruler nor the popular leadership attached any conditionalities to the issue of accession.

Mountbatten's desire that the reference be made after the accession to the wishes of the people has neither any legal nor moral binding. In fact, it carried the seeds of a future destabilization of India. Nehru made a larger commitment to the Indian nation that Kashmir would become India's secular crown. India rightly regards accession of Kashmir as a refutation of two nation theory. Secondly, accessions cannot be done and undone every now and then. Any dilution of sovereignty of India on Kashmir will have a domino effect and hasten the process of balkanisation.

Harold S. Johnson in his celebrated work, *"Self determination within the community of Nations"*, rightly observes, *"A belief in Self-determination can have anarchical implications within the present international state system It suggests the opportunity for a group of individuals to disregard all established political relationship in search for new ones...No government could hope to survive which consented in principle to a secession of a part of its territory by a vote of secessionist groups. The stability of the state itself rejects any such claim."*

BLINKERED VISION

The founding fathers of Indian republic recognized **continued accession of Kashmir with India as a key element in India's pursuit of secular nation-building. Yet their blinkered vision did not link Kashmir's functioning as an active secular society with India's secular nation-building process.** The problem was further compounded as the leaders of Indian national movement overestimated the secularism of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and ignored the strong undercurrents of communalism in the ideology of National Conference.

In many respects the National Conference was pursuing a strategy which was not fundamentally different from the path chosen by Muslim League in the pre-Independence India. Delineating the many strands in Sheikh Abdullah's ideological outlook, Dr K.N Pandita remarks:

"Sheikh Abdullah did try for rapprochement with the Muslim League and Jinnah in 1944-45 but Jinnah was unaccommodating. In 1947 again, Sheikh tried to toe the PC Joshi and Adhikari line (on Two-Nation Theory). P.N. Bazaz who had worked closely with Sheikh and who understood him far better than anybody else, stated that the NC and Sheikh stood for Muslim nationalism and Muslim precedence in the state of J&K but for Congress and secularism outside the state of J&K. One may call it sheer opportunism, nevertheless it was the Central feature of Muslim question of India...The National Conference continued its tactical support to accession but ensured to prevent the integration of Kashmiri Muslims with India (Kashmiri Muslims: Vexed Identity, Business and Political observer, New Delhi 5th June 1993).

A full scale review of the history and social background of the Kashmir anti-autocratic movement lead by National Conference is outside the scope of this write-up. There was inherent incompatibility in the nation-building models pursued by Indian National Congress and the National Conference. Leaders of Indian National Congress visualized the success of secularism through delegitimising religion-based identity politics. But the very 'raison-d-etre' of National Conference politics was avowed pursuit of Muslim identity politics. In the situation aggravated by imperialist intervention Indian leadership resorted to short cuts. They ignored that the secularization of Kashmiri society would be the soul of Kashmir's continued accession with India. Indian leadership abandoned non-Muslim pro-India social groups in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh to

the mercy of Muslim communal leadership of Valley and overlooked the calculated attempts by Kashmiri Muslim leadership to inject communalism in the body politic of Jammu and Kashmir.

To counter the secessionism which was inbuilt in this situation Indian leadership decided to patronize pro-accession communal politics. Prof. M.K. Teng, the distinguished Political Scientist explains:

"The Congress leaders had always believed that improvised power equations, redistribution of political patronage and wider financial inputs into Muslim communalism would end the "Muslim alienation" in Kashmir and provide the settlement for peace. In sheer self-conceit, they clung tenaciously to their belief that the Muslimisation of the state did not conflict with Indian secularism, and they could strike a bargain with the militant regimes, even if it was at the cost of the Hindus and the other minorities." (Kashmir-Myth of Autonomy, Anmol Publications).

Over a period of time pro-accession and anti-accession communal politics developed a symbiotic relationship. While the anti-accession groups were building separatist movement to detach Kashmir from India, the pro-accession groups were using separatism as a lever to blackmail Centre and squeeze the non-Muslim groups in the state. Both groups cooperated in strengthening the Muslim precedence, facilitating Muslimisation and the Islamization of Kashmir and adjoining regions of Doda and Kargil and weakening Kashmir's link with India through instrumentalities of Article 370 or outright secession.

ROOT CAUSE

The emergence of secessionist movement in Kashmir cannot be delinked from the changing sociology of Kashmir Society over the years and the rise of militarized trans-national Islamic fundamentalism.

In the first two decades since independence urban Muslim

middle class and the commercial bourgeoisie were co-opted in the political power structure of Kashmir. However, these very groups subsequently thwarted the aspirations of lower middle class in urban areas and resisted the strong urge of the rural propertied groups for rightful share in the political power structure. This created the groundswell which facilitated the rise of disaffected political groups in the Kashmir Valley. Indian leadership's policy of patronizing personalized politics syndrome strengthened the oligarchic tendencies among the ruling families of Kashmir. These families created a network of interests which looted the public exchequer creating a big rentier class and alienating people through rampant misgovernance. Pakistan was quick to reach out to disaffected political sections and the alienated populace rallied behind these disaffected political groups. Prof. Mustapha Kamal Pasha has examined this phenomenon in his essay *"Between the Two Nation Divide: Kashmir and Islam"* (Perspective on Kashmir ed. Raju Thomas). He says:

"Increasing social differentiation and rising political consciousness among new social groups coincided with kleptocracy, nepotism, corruption and the politics of greed, rather than a functioning democratic order with political accountability as its chief aspiration".

The intervention by Pakistan was easy because of the substratum of communalism, kept alive through fortification of Muslim identity politics.

Rise of transnational Islamic fundamentalism both in the context of Gulf oil boom in 1973 and the Afghan war 1979 onwards created the logistic base for Pakistani intervention in Kashmir and arms-financial pipeline for sustaining the terrorist movement. The western powers' global designs helped provide the crucial diplomatic support to the terrorist movement in Kashmir. (Contd. on Page 17)

Panun Kashmir-A solution to Kashmir Problem

(From Page 16)

The unwillingness of the national political leadership of India to adequately fathom the subversive potentialities of the

National Conference/PDP politics is the main reason that solutions to end militancy elude us. There are three genres of separatist politics in Kashmir. One, the avowedly pro-Pak groups which seek annexation with Pakistan. Secondly, the so-called pro-independence groups which seek independent Islamic state. Thirdly pro-autonomy/self-rule groups which seek an Islamic state on the territory of India with weak constitutional and political links with the country.

The subversive potentialities in National Conference/PDP politics can be enumerated as:-

- 1) Its penchant to link the Muslim majority character of Kashmir with accession and weaken the constitutional links with the country.
- 2) Its pursuit of Dixon Plan which implies in the first stage to create Greater Muslim Kashmir and in the second stage an autonomous Greater Muslim Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah is on record having endorsed the dangerous Dixon Plan, which seeks to take Kashmir Valley away from India. In a letter to Col. GA Naseer, the then President of Egypt, in 1965, Sheikh wrote:

“Sir Owen took a detached view of things and considered this as the best practicable solution under the circumstances. It appears to be a fair method of resolving the present tangle. In order to avoid a number of complications, that might arise by holding a plebiscite immediately in the territory referred to in clause (c) above, a reasonable way can be found in keeping the said territory under UN Trusteeship for a specified period (i.e. 5 to 10 years). The people of the territory can be given an opportunity for the exercise of the right of self-determination in a suitable way, after that period.”

In 1948 NC created Doda district in Jammu province to consolidate Muslims in Jammu region. This facilitated the spillover of plebiscite and later fundamentalist militancy politics into the Doda region. In 1979 when Sheikh Abdullah was at the helm NC created Kargil district as a Muslim majority district to consolidate the Muslim identity there. The danger-

ous regional autonomy plan of NC seeks to balkanise Jammu province on communal basis. NC's patronage to Chenab Development Council which seeks to merge Gool and Mahore tehsils of Udhampur with Doda leaves no one in doubt about the seriousness of NC to implement Dixon Plan.

Similarly NC has been trying to patronise Muslim groups in Poonch, Rajouri and Bani (Kathua) to weaken the Dogra identity of Jammu. In Jammu also groups have alleged that under a definite plan National Conference had a greater design to change the demography of Jammu province. Praveen Swami, a sell-known, Journalist and author of *“The Kargil War”* exposes National Conference's game-plan to undermine secular-plural identity of Jammu. He observes”.

The Regional Autonomy Report forms an important backdrop to recent events, and underlining the multiple way in which democracy and secularism in J&K have come under assault. Released by the RAC, the Report calls for the historic regional formations of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh to be broken up into new entities. In some important senses this holds out more fundamental threats to the prospect of a secular and democratic J&K than any number of Lashkar-e-Toiba insurgents. But the most dramatic impact of the RAC recommendations would be on Jammu. The district of Doda, and the single Muslim dominated tehsil of Mahore from the adjoining district of Udhampur, would be made into a new Chenab Valley Province. Largely Hindu Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur districts would become the Jammu province. Poonch and Rajouri districts, for their part, would form the Pir Panjal province. The existing Province of Jammu would thus be turned into three provincial blocks divided along the geographical fault lines of Hindu and Muslim majorities..The strange history of the RAC and its equally bizarre recommendations, suggest that meaningful democratic change is the last thing on the National

Conference's mind...The sole outcome of the RAC proposals will be to enable National Conference politicians in the Jammu region to represent themselves as defenders of local Muslim communities against a largely fictional hegemony of Jammu's largely Hindu urban trading communities.” (The Kargil War). Wajahat Habibullah's proposals virtually simulate this.

National Conference also tried to silence the criticism of pro-India groups by pursuing a policy of ethnic preference and ethnic exclusion. In the Ladakh region it was patronising the minority Argon Kashmir Muslim group to under cut the Buddhist majority. In Kargil district aspirations of the Zanskari Buddhists were being counteracted by adding Muslim areas to the Zanskar assembly constituency.

The interests of the strongly patriotic 12 lakh strong community of Gujjar Muslims are being harmed by subverting the benefits of ST reservation and raking up Paharis as a counter group.

In the wake of ethnic cleansing of Hindus in Kashmir, Doda, Udhampur, Poonch and Rajouri the policies of ruling National Conference/PDP have created a situation where the exiled Hindus can never go back to their homes.

STAKES

In the context of separatist violence in Kashmir there are four issues which need to be addressed.

1. Restoration of the law and order by ending the terrorist violence.
2. Reversing the genocide against Kashmiri Pandits and Hindus in Jammu region.
3. Rebuilding the edifice of participatory democracy in the state.
4. Weaning Kashmir Muslim populace away from the separatist politics.

Terrorist violence in Kashmir is still not being treated as a war by the Indian leadership. There is an inherent contradiction in the policy of Govt. of India. It only seeks bringing down the terrorist violence to manageable levels in the hope that it would create space for a political solution. Due to this flawed approach destroying the support structures of terrorists does not become a priority. To defeat the ter-

rorism comprehensively the Indian state needs a new military doctrine.

A key objective of Pakistan's game-plan in Kashmir is to push out Hindus from the Muslim majority areas. This is being achieved through physical destabilization of Hindu minority and by imposing genocide. So far the successive leaderships at the Centre have demonstrated total lack of vision and will in evolving a doctrine of survival for these patriotic minority groups. The communalization of the Kashmiri Muslim society and its intense socialisation with separatist politics has contributed to the destabilization of the Hindu groups. **Thus reversing of genocide entails secular governance as well as secularisation of Kashmir society.**

Policy of promoting Muslim precedence by National Conference has lead to the political marginalisation of people of Ladakh, Dogras, Kashmiri Pandits and Gujjars. Even a partisan writer like Gautam Navlakha, whose sympathies lie with Muslim communal leadership of Kashmir concedes:

“It goes without saying that the absence of a clear cut policy towards non-Muslims is a short-coming of the political leadership in Kashmir. It has seldom bothered to go beyond the generalities, which only assuage the insecurity felt by Kashmiri Pandits” (Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay November 6, 1993).

There has to be new approach in ending communal and ethnic discrimination against the patriotic groups. Restoration of participatory democracy, which accommodates aspirations of all ethnic group will strengthen the nationalist base of polity of J&K.

The Muslim alienation in Kashmir has many strands. One section has political grievance that the ruling national conference had thwarted their chances of upward mobility by following oligarchic policies. Second section is alienated because of rampant misgovernance. The third section feels alienated from India because of heightened sense of communal identity reinforced by autonomy politics, and Islamic fundamentalism practised by Jamaat-i-Islami. There is a need to reorient the politics by building high stakes for separatist politics and communally-oriented agendas. At the same time attention has to be paid to evolve a methodology for the

entry of disgruntled political groups into the political mainstream and rebuilding the edifice of good governance.

PROSPECT

The practice of Muslim precedence politics and the long legacy of separatist politics has made Jammu and Ladakh colonies of Kashmir and pushed out Kashmiri Pandits from their homeland. After throwing Kashmiri Pandits out from Kashmir, the Kashmir Muslim leadership is engaged in destroying the secular and plural identities of Jammu and Ladakh. Continuation of Jammu and Kashmir as a unitary state has not only lead to the politico-economic marginalisation of people living in Jammu and Ladakh but it has also lead to the spillover of terrorist violence and separatist politics into these areas. The nation-building model adopted in the form of the present Jammu and Kashmir state is in essence a subversion of secular vision of India.

PANUN KASHMIR

There is no other solution for restoring the Kashmiri Hindus to their homeland and ending communally motivated regional discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh other than political reorganisation of the Jammu and Kashmir State. This reorganisation which entails the quadripartition of the state would restore secular identity of Jammu and Ladakh and help Kashmiri Pandits recover their homeland.

The creation of Panun Kashmir in Kashmir valley would not only restore Pandits to their Homeland, it also holds the potentiality of creating the basis for secular accountability in the Kashmir valley. It is the first strategic response in the Modern India to the sinister proposal of communally motivated Dixon Plan. Panun Kashmir is thus not only a solution to the problem of Kashmiri Pandits as such but is also a solution to the Kashmir problem on a long-term basis. It would also raise stakes for pursuit of separatist communal politics in Kashmir and help in consolidating India in Kashmir on its own strength. With Panun Kashmir the politics of Doda and Kargil will also undergo change. The creation of two political systems in Kashmir valley holds the potential of creating national consensus on Kashmir.

****(The author heads Panun Kashmir)***

Maoist Movement needs to be tackled firmly

By J.N. Rath

Widening of the area of Maoist influence has provoked security experts to claim that ‘Red Corridor’ has become a reality and its emergence posed a serious challenge to Indian state. This ‘corridor’ is said to extend from Nepal to Andhra Pradesh.

As per one estimate number of Maoist infested districts has shown a steady increase-55 districts in 2003, 156 districts in 13 states in 2004, 162 districts in 14 states in 2005 and 182 districts in 16 states by all accounts a frightening scenario. Maoist leadership claims that by 2010-2015 more than 30-35% of India would be under their influence.

In Chattisgarh ten out of 18 districts are in the grip of Maoist activities. Reports say in Andhra Pradesh 22 out of 23 districts Maoists have good following. There are 1133 hardcore activists listed by AP Govt. Jharkhand, Bihar and Orissa are also badly affected by Naxal activities. Since 2003 Bihar witnessed 61 Maoist attacks in which 80 cops were killed and 212 firearms looted. Incidents which received widespread publicity include Jehandabad Jail break case, attacks in Mahduban and Dumaria (Gaja) police stations besides attack on police lines and residence of district and session judge.

Chattisgarh:

Recently (11-7-07), Maoists laid an ambush for a 115-strong police party near Regadagatta (errabore) in Dantewada district, 550 kms from Raipur, Capital of Chattisgarh, in which 24 Cops were killed. Naxalities were armed with AK-47 automatic rifles and mortars. Initially, Maoists hiding inside a dense hilly forest fired a few shots in the air. The brief silence that followed made cops presume that rebels had run away. Then all of a sudden the latter attacked cops with mortars and AK-47s. Some of the cops who knew the terrain fled, rest were trapped. Since there was no back-up support Maoists decamped with 17 rifles. Other accounts said Naxalities had used smoke bombs, rocket launchers and had blasted mines placed on a tree. Maoists were said to be 400 in number and aided by tribals. In worst act of brutality Naxals had disfigured bodies of cops, severing heads with axe blows and stripping the Corpses of shoes and socks. Last year on July 17 in the same area Erraborre, Naxals had killed 55 cops in Bijapur district. During the past two years 700 people have been killed in Maoist

violence in the state.

Orrissa:

In Orrissa Malkangiri is the worse-affected district because of its contiguity to Andhra Pradesh and Chattisgarh. Maoists from Chattisgarh and Koraput regular visit Malkangiri. In Orrissa this year Maoists damaged BSNL communication tower, road rollers, triggered mine blasts and engaged police in encounters to disrupt Panchayat elections.

Karnataka:

In Karnataka this year five Maoists, which included one leader and four others, were killed in an encounter with police near

forest near Periyakulam. Police said that the Maoists were planning to attack police stations in Theni district to loot arms and ammunition. Sundaramuthy had been evading arrest for the past 15 years and was involved in many killings and attempt to blast a train. He was also suspected to be mastermind behind arms training camp which was sought to be established in Murugmalai forests. Police reports said Sundaramuthy had stocked arms and ammunition in a hideout near Dharmपुरi in Salem district in 1992. Police narrowly missed nabbing Sundaramurthy at Uthangarai in 2002 when it arrested few maoists.



Maoists at a training camp in Chhattisgarh.

Menasinahadya village in Chickmagalur district, 2 Maoists escaped. Naxals were holding meeting in a house. When they were asked to surrender they opened fire in which 3 Cops were injured. First encounter between Naxalites and the police had taken place in Malnad area in November, 2003 when Udupi police had gunned down two maoists-Parvathi and Hajeema. This was followed by an encounter in February, 2005 in which Maoist ideologue Saketh Rajan and his accomplice were shot dead. On 8th July this year 3 top naxalites were arrested. They were wanted in connection with many attacks in the state, Gautham, a Maoist and his four associates were eliminated in an encounter at Menasinahadya forest area on July 10, 2007.

Tamil Nadu:

In Tamil Nadu a top Naxal leader Sundaramurthy and his two accomplices were arrested at their hideout at Tirupur in Coimbatore district. On June 25, 2007, villagers in southern district of Theni had led police to Maoist hideout in Murugmalai

A high-level meeting of the National Security Council chaired by Prime Minister on August 3 showed concern about cropping of Maoist cadres in states like Punjab, Haryana and even in Delhi.

Maoist Atrocities:

Maoist have been coercing locals to join their ranks and have issued a diktat banning farmers in Chattisgarh, the paddy bowl, to cultivate Kharif Crops. The objective is to ruin farmers economically, and then force them to join their ranks on regular pay.

In Chattisgarh this year Maoists had also asked tendu leaf collectors to refrain from doing the trade. Signs of resentment are developing among farmers against Maoist diktat. Since in Maoist affected villages government machinery is virtually non-existent neither the farmers get state protection nor their resistance to Maoist is reflected in the local and national media.

Resistance to Maoist diktat for not growing Kharif Crops has invited reprisals to farmers. On July 10, two farmers in Chintagufa in

Bijapur district were kidnapped, taken to a nearby forest and killed. Earlier three farmers were killed in the same district. Farmers had been warned through posters and leaflets.

After two-day economic blockade on June 26 and 27 Naxalites came to Tamnar village falling under Bijapur and torched the tractor and other household articles of a farmer Santosh Poriyami. He was badly thrashed for disobeying the diktat. The incident took place after Santosh returned from the fields after sowing the seeds.

On 17 July four farmers who had gone to their fields in Gangaloor, Bijapur for farming were attacked by Maoists and died on spot, the rest fled from the fields. In another development 10 farmers who were kidnapped a day earlier in Dantewada district were freed after about 300 people from four villages moved in the Kalinga forests for their release. People's pressure on the rebels worked.

On July 24 again Maoists killed two farmers in Bijapur district.

A 17 year old boy Raju Payami

major tactical innovations by Maoists. One, the tactic of ‘Swarming attacks’ on Nepalese pattern. It was first witnessed in Orrissa's Koraput district when over one thousand PWG group of Maoists overran, district headquarters on February 6, 2004. The ‘Swarming attacks’ are lightening attacks against Police Stations and state infrastructure. In 2005 more than 1500 Maoists had attacked Jehanabad Jail in Bihar, setting free Naxal prisoners and disarmed cops guarding the jail. These type of attacks have been on increase e.g. 3 in 2005, 9 in 2006 and by the end of June, 2007 twelve attacks had already been witnessed. The recent attack was on 30th June, 2007 when there were simultaneous attacks at Raipur and Baghaila Police outposts in Rohtas (Bihar) district in which 13 persons including 6 Cops were killed. This year similar attacks took place in Rani Bodili, Riga, CISF camp in Khas Mahal in Bokaro. Maoists move in groups of 300-400 members in squads called Dalams.

The other strategy i.e. **economic terrorism** is aimed at inflicting heavy losses to the state through coordinated blockade and calibrated violence. On June 26 and 27 Maoists held blockade across six states-Orissa, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal. Transport links were disrupted, Maoists blocked roads by felled trees and put huge boulders on roads. Acts of sabotage during bandh included blowing up of railway tracks, setting fire to vehicles, blowing up of Coffee Board Research Centre, setting fire to records of the Forest Development Corporation and Station Master's office.

Out of 20 acts of sabotage 10 included damage to Railway property. Damage to Railway property was put at 400 million rupees, whereas the total Railway losses were believed to be at Rs 1 billion. In Jharkhand the stoppage of Coal movement caused revenue loss of millions of rupees to the exchequer. On August 1 Maoists organised another 24-hour bandh to protest against the reported arrest of a top cadre besides 2 junior cadres on July 29. They detonated bombs in two Railway Stations at Bendi and Demu in Latehar district simultaneously leading to damage to Railway property. Though the main purpose of blockade is economic terrorism, Maoists use limited acts of violence to train cadres and augment their morale.

In 2006 economic blockade of smaller intensity had also affected commercial activity. This year the losses due to economic disruption-destruction of infrastructure, disruption of local commercial activity, prevention of movement and black-outs has been put at Rs 3000-crores.

The Maoists have also been organising bandhs on the issue of police action against them. In border districts of Orissa there was bandh for a week from May 21-27 this year. Similarly, Maoists held a bandh on July 19, 2007 in Karnataka in areas of Kalasa parts of Udupi

(Contd. on Page 19)

Strategy and Tactics:

In an excellent paper on Maoist menace Ajai Sahni of **Institute of Conflict Management** lists two

Maoist Movement needs to be tackled firmly

(From Page 18)
and South Kanara districts.
Training, Weaponry, Funding:

Maoist training camps are reported to be operating in Andhra Pradesh and Chattisgarh. Other reports said joint training camps of Indian and Nepalese Maoists are functioning in Champaran, Madhubani and Sitamarhi districts of Bihar. Maoist cadres, as per some reports, are said to be being trained by LTTE. The cadres receive training in use of landmines, IEDs, grenades and bombs, psy warfare etc.

Maoists are believed to be possessing modern weapons--AK-47s, LMGs, SLRs plus pistols and .303 rifles. They are said to be using high power jammers and filters to block mobile and wireless services, besides bullet proof vests, night-vision devices. Naxalites hook new recruits through one hour documentary on its 'military successes' in Chattisgarh. VCDs which are in circulation in naxalites-affected states show live footage of a raid on Murkinagar police post in Bijapur district on 16/4/2006. During the raid 10 SPOs were killed and 49 weapons seized. The footage focuses on the ease with which the attack was mounted and wireless sets used to coordinate the movement of their assault teams.

Naxalites are said to be having unlimited funds at their disposal, where active members receive regular monthly pay. Maoists are also indulging in big mafia-criminal activities to raise funds from Industrialists, rich businessmen and even common poor farmers. In Orissa funds, as per a report, published by Institute of conflict management, come from opium cultivation. Poor Tribal farmers are coerced to grow ganja. Malkangiri district alone produces 10,000 quintals of Ganja. Yield per acre is Rs 1 lakh, hundreds of acres of land in areas of Malkangiri is under ganja cultivation.

Maoist nexus with ISI:

All left-wing terrorists, reports say, have active contact with ISI, DG Inter Forces Intelligence Bangladesh and LTTE. An updated vision document of Maharashtra government refers to established links between indigenous Maoist groups and the LTTE. Similarly, there is also evidence which link Maoists with ISI and Kashmiri Jihadists. Besides, there is a nexus between Maoists in Nepal and Kashmiri Jihadists.

In late 1998 evidence surfaced which pointed to links between Maoist group '**Red Flag**' headed by Raoof (a Muslim hailing from Anantpur district of Andhra Pradesh) and Kashmiri terrorists. A report published in Rashtriya Sahara (December 1998) said an ISI agent named Alabaksh, native of Poonch had 3 meetings with Raoof-one in Chandrapur area bordering Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, second in the forests of Warangal and the third in the forests of Nalgonda district in Andhra Pradesh.

Allabaksh, the same report said, had visited alongwith Raoof Ananthpur in Andhra Pradesh and Pavagada, a taluk hqs. in Tumkur district of Karnataka bordering Andhra Pradesh. The report further added that the discussions between Allabaksh and Raoof centered around ways and means to make the cadres procure arms and ammunition.

In Maoist-Kashmiri Jihadist nexus Maoist overground activists in the garb of human rights activists have been providing legal aid and building political campaigns to support Kashmiri terrorists. Overground Maoist leaders from Andhra Pradesh and Delhi have been regularly visiting Kashmir, participating in seminars organised by Kashmiri separatists and planting motivated articles in national press to justify Islamist separatist movement in Kashmir. Pro-separatist regional press in J&K has been giving high profile coverage to the visits of these naxalite leaders. In early 1990s when Shahabuddin Ghorri, then JNU student affiliated to an Islamist outfit as arrested on charges of channeling hawala money to Kashmiri separatists a pro-naxalite human rights organization took up campaign for his release.

Implications:

Unchecked Maoist menace has two serious implications. One, it can hamper economic growth. **Citigroup**, an international financial services company which monitors Maoist activities has said that continued Maoist activities besides hampering economic growth could restrict FDI inflow. At stake could be power projects and steel plants worth Rs 2640 billion in Orissa and Chattisgarh.

Secondly, Maoist attempts to demonstrate themselves as a force superior to government would push terrorized and starving tribals/farmers to join meekly the Maoist ranks for Rs 3000 per month. Growing strength of maoists in many areas would also make mainstream political parties seek their support during elections and in return offer help through weak state action. Recently, in Andhra Pradesh to get their votes the Congress entered into an alliance with Maoists and won, defeating TDP. This emboldened the Maoists.

Changing Context:

Maoists operate in a different environment today, different from that when Naxalite movement first emerged. In 1960s naxalites relied on primitive weaponry and had limited cadres. Today, the Maoists have links with LTTE, intelligence agencies of Pakistan and Bangladesh and Kashmiri Islamists. Due to this nexus naxalites are far better-trained with access to modern weaponry and are flush with funds. There is a Maoist state (of Nepal) contagious to India. Earlier, due to schism in the international communist movement, as consequence of Sino-Soviet rivalry, naxalites stood isolated with CPM, CPI and other pro-So-

viet groups arraigned against them. Today CPM and CPI which enjoy power at Centre, even if indirectly, ensure that Naxalite menace is treated as simply an economic problem rather than one of terrorism and anti-national activities. Previously, the Central government was more focussed in anti-naxalite campaign with leaders like Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Siddarth Shankar Ray providing strong leadership. Today, there is lack of sensitivity on the challenge posed by Maoists. The advantages to Maoists also accrue from loss of credibility to put the marginalised sections in the loop of governance. While creating Special Economic Zones, the government has not cared for the people affected by displacement.

Bleak Future:

But there are other dimensions which project a bleak future for the Maoist Movement in India. Marxism/socialism as a political system has lost relevance with collapse of Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Even in China and other countries the regimes are practising half capitalist/half state ownership model. Huge Indian middle class which has witnessed unprecedented prosperity in the wake of economic reforms and which constitutes one-third of country's population is not enamoured of Marxist political system which denies political and economic freedom. In its early years the Naxalite movement had strong influence among educated urban youth and intelligentsia. Today it is seen as a criminal, anti-national, anti-civilisational movement, backed by foreign powers and inimical to stability of Indian nation-state. Even the traditional parties practising parliamentary politics. e.g. CPM, CPI etc. are gradually losing their relevance. The stand of these parties on issues like-Bangladeshi infiltration, Islamist terrorism, Kashmir, Industrialization etc. acts as a brake in their appeal to Indian middle class. Thus Maoist model as an alternate political system has little appeal unlike the previous years.

Presently, Naxal influence is limited to those areas which are most backward, where there is acute poverty and squalor as in Jharkhand and Chattisgarh, and in places where new global economy is being granted platforms-SFZs etc. In these areas it is feared by tribals/indigenous people that multinational and outsiders will thrive at their expense. A section of jungle dwellers and the rural landless poor back Maoists in Central India. The Maoist movement also thrives in areas where after sunset the state is virtually non-existent.

In most of the Maoist-infested areas the police stations lack proper housing, cops are poorly trained with inadequate armoury. Central forces are insufficient. There is also poor intelligence network of Central agencies and lack of coordination during operations. In Bihar local cops involved in anti-naxal operations have called for removal of DPG KK Jha.

Describing Jha as inert and inefficient they have alleged such an officer could not enthuse morale in them. In Thirthahalli in Shimoga (Karnatak), a police officer, ASI Venkatesh was shot dead recently in Agumbe forest in a case of mistaken identity by state police. Venkatesh, who was familiar with the forest terrain, was in plain clothes and sitting atop a tree, to guide a police team that was patrolling in th area. Another police team which was not aware of Ventaktesh's presence in the area, shot him down, mistaking him to be a naxalite.

There is also a nexus between Maoists, cops and political leaders in some areas which hampers effective action against Maoists.

Tackling The Menace:

The Maoist menace has three dimensions. First and Foremost it is a **law and order problem**, which has to be tackled militarily. There is a **well-directed centre** which has ensured better-training of the maoist cadre, heavy funds, modern weapons, successful coordination of economic blockade across six states and unity among all naxalite functions. Badly splintered naxalite movement, riven with ideological and factional tussles could not forge unity in 33 years. How come 22 warring naxalite factions came on a single platform in October 2004? Little details are available on this issue. There is need to tackle firmly the external dimension of the naxal problem, besides smashing the naxalite movement. The state should act against the top leadership of the movement as was done in early 1970s, in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. At the same time attempts should be made to infiltrate the groups from within, the way it was done by West Bengal police in early 1970s. This will lead to disarray in the movement. The inter-state borders between the naxalite-infested states should be effectively sealed to prevent free movement of maoists from one state to another. Even within the district only certain places are more severely affected. These need to be quarantined, more police posts should be set up in these areas with heavy cop strength. With better visibility and functioning of law and order machinery the people who support Maoists out of fear or as a 'winning party' will move away from them The recent approval of the proposal of 1,000 km-plus-inter-state highway which would link Orissa, North Coastal Andhra and Chattisgarh will provide greater mobility to cops and help them to mount greater pressure on Maoists. It would also empower the tribal people in the area by facilitating wage employment for them.

The second dimension of Maoist menace is related to development. Big plan outlays should be marked for creating jobs for the rural poor in the most backward areas in naxalite-infested states. There is also need for better governance in areas from which Maoists draw their re-

cruits. No SEZs should be allowed unless indigenous population is duly cared for, fear of land alienation is pushing these people into fold of Maoists. There is need to recruit rural poor in worst affected Maoist areas in Paramilitary forces.

Third dimension of Maoist problem is the 'retreat' of the state. Though Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at Chief Ministers' Conference held last year described the Naxalite threat as the single biggest challenge to internal security, yet no visible action has been taken to meet the threat. Preceptual problems partly account for this. Maoist violence and disruption are viewed as discrete events, no urgency is felt to deal it at conceptual level. Counter-Maoist operations are carried out intermittently. There is no strategy at work to root out the menace, only localised pattern of police response is seen. Political leadership is yet to take Maoist threat seriously. Since law and order maintenance is a state problem, there is no effective Central intervention. The States have been following policy of withdrawal. Even polling booths are set up at sanitized places.

In places where states have galvanized into action results have become visible. In Andhra Pradesh elite **Greyhounds Force** have squeezed Naxalites out of their strongholds and into neighbouring states. In some pockets of Telengana and Vishakapatnam the state-sponsored bandh against Maoists on 2nd July 2007 evoked good response. Announcement of huge cash awards by Andhra govt. to eliminate Maoists is also a positive move. In Orissa also state government has started poster campaigns against maoists. However, these are no substitute for a well-conceived, multipronged national response to deal with the threat.

A three-fold action plan to counter Maoist menace should entail:

- raising of an effective anti-Maoist police force with better training and modern weaponry and adequate intelligence back-up.
- Blockage of funds to the Maoists; public awareness campaigns focussing on criminal, anti-national and anti-people, anti-developmental activities of naxalites through posters/leaflets, documentaries, television; strong deterrent action against cop, politician-Naxalite nexus and overground workers activists of Maoists masquerading as human right activists and social workers.
- Involvement of local public representatives-MPs, MLAs and others in anti-naxalites campaigns-both at political level as well as in raising anti-naxalite forces.

Terrorist game-plan to defame India stands exposed

By Govind Raina

Islamist separatists in Kashmir and their cover fronts are getting exposed in their game-plan to defame Indian security forces. The separatists have been indulging in emotional blackmail of Kashmiris over the issues of ‘**Missing persons**’ and ‘**rape**’ & ‘**molestation**’ by security forces. Global censure of Pakistani military junta for sponsoring cross border terrorism against India has made it change the tack. Its hatchetmen in Kashmir have been quite vocal during the past one year in defaming Indian security forces every now and then. This disinformation campaign is also a part of the deft strategy to build pressure for ‘demilitarization’ to deliver strategic advantage to Pakistan.

‘Missing Persons’:

Some NGOs have been raking up false allegations that thousands of Kashmiris have gone missing during the past 18 years of turmoil. These NGOs have been putting the blame on security forces.

In 2003 one such NGO ‘**Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons**’ (APDP) held a demonstration to mark “10000th custodial disappearance” in Kashmir Valley. The occasion was the entry of one Farooq Ahmed Dar S/o Mohammad Subhan Dar, R/o Divar Anderbug (Kupwara) into the category of ‘custodial disappearance’. Farooq had incidentally disappeared in 1991 but intriguingly his family approached not only police but also NGO APDP in 2003. Why did his family remain silent for 12 years? Was Farooq’s family being pressurized to build further ‘evidence’ for politicisation of ‘custodial disappearances’. During Mufti regime that State government had ordered an inquiry into the cases of alleged ‘custodial disappearances’. The cases did not turn out to be more than 150. Many of the ‘missing persons’ were traced at their homes, while many others were found to be active in armed training camps across the border. In early years of insurgency and also in latter years hundreds of Kashmiri boys went across to get trained in subversion. As per one estimate more than 2000 local youth were waiting in PoK to cross over to this side, while hundreds of Kashmiri youth have settled down there for good, marrying local women. Are these cases of ‘Missing persons’/‘Custodial disappearances’? Recently, on August 2 one of the eight infiltrators killed in the 3-day long encounter in Uri sector turned out to be a local terrorist, Gh. Rasool Mir, R/o Hill Patheri-Bijhama. As per local police he was in the list of militancy-related “Missing Persons” of Bijhama police station since 1993. Despite having punctured the balloon of NGOs, involved in politicizing ‘missing persons’, the State government neither gave wide publicity to its investigation nor booked those involved in raking up false allegations.

Farooq Ahmed Dar’s case too would have taken as one of ‘custo-

dial disappearance’. This would have given further munition to Human Rights/Civil Liberties Groups and their moles in media had not the events exposed the whole game-plan.

In 1991 Farooq Ahmed Dar, then a student of 9th class had gone ‘missing’. He reached Mumbai and took up a catering job with Chetan Goradia’s **Hansa Caterers** at Bonvali, West Mumbai. After working there for some years, he married to Sangeeta, a Hindu girl. After she turned out to be HIV positive he broke off his ties with her. Soon, Farooq also turned out to be HIV Positive. He decided to return to Kupwara to see his parents and siblings due to fear of approaching death. After staying in Lolab for a month, Farooq returned to Mumbai for treatment.

On return to Kashmir Farooq found that he had been put among the victims of “Operation Tiger”, a drive of alleged custodial killings by security forces in 1991-92. On November 11, 2003 Farooq’s father filed a complaint with SHO Lalpora that his son had been “kidnapped by unknown gunmen” and was believed dead. He staked claim for ex-gratia compensation and a job, under SRO-43. SHO Lalpora in his ‘Factual Report’ to SSP Kupwara said that 15-years old Farooq had been “kidnapped by unknown gunmen when he was coming out of his home in connection with some work”. He reported that Farooq’s whereabouts were unknown. DC Kupwara, Abdul Majid Khanday, on ‘police verification’ sanctioned ex-gratia relief of Rs one lakh and payment was made by cheque.

In yet another instance of ‘custodial disappearance’, one Mohammad Anwar Bhat S/o Abdul Samad Bhat R/o Sonthipora, Kralpora (Kupwara) too had been presumed to be dead, his family had also received Rs 1 Lakh as ex-gratia compensation. District administration had been looking for jobs under SRO-43 for the families of Farooq and Anwar.

Anwar had ‘disappeared’ in 1989, much before the eruption of terrorism in 1990. He came to Delhi and began working at MJ plastics of Mahavir Prasad Jain. Subsequently he married a Tamil Muslim girl and became father of three children. On April 30, 2007, when he completed nearly 18 years of his ‘disappearance’ he appeared in Sonthipora but found that his family had shifted to nearby village of Aloosa.

In 2003 Anwar’s family had lodged a complaint with Trehgam Police that Anwar, then just 16-year old, had been “kidnapped by ‘unknown gunmen’ and was believed to have been killed in custody. Police confirmed it in ‘verification’. On 11-2-2004 Anwar’s family received ex-gratia compensation.

Farooq and Anwar revealed to SSP Kupwara that hundreds of Kashmiri youth had been like them working in several Indian states but were not returning to home as they

had been told by their families that government jobs and ex-gratia compensation would be taken back by the government if they returned to Kashmir Police are investigating if Farooq and Anwar had really remained out of touch with their families or were cooking up a story. The incident also points towards a Police-Revenue authorities nexus.

In another case a 17 year old school boy Mohammad Saleem Jaffri S/o Abid Jaffri R/o Allah Pir, Poonch was traced out at Nehru Park, staying with a houseboat owner. Saleem had ‘disappeared’ while going to his school in Poonch on March 28, 2003.

Supreme Court Judgement:

In a landmark judgement on May 5, 2007 the Supreme Court gave a clean chit to the Army facing allegations of killing one Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Regoo, an advocate who was suspected to be a Pak-trained terrorist and an ex-divisional ‘commander’ of Al-Barq terrorist group. A bench comprising justices BP Singh and Harjit Singh Bedi dismissed the petition of Masooda Parveen, widow of the deceased, who was allegedly killed on February 3, 1998 during an interrogation at Lethapora Army camp in Kashmir.

In her petition Masooda had claimed that the deceased was doing business in the Valley, had suffered losses and some of the creditors took help from local terrorists for recovery of their dues. Regoo then shifted from Chandhara to Sopore for 2 years to remain away from their eyes, she claimed. She said that her husband was got arrested by pro-Army militants and remained in custody for 3 months. On February 1, 1998 he was taken into custody by 17 Jat Unit of Army and allegedly died due to torture at the Army Camp. It was alleged that explosives were placed on his body and then detonated to camouflage the “murder”.

The government counsel contended that Gh. Mohi-ud-Din had led the Army patrol party to the terrorist hideout. When he tried to open the gate there was some explosion which claimed the life of Regoo and injured 3 jawans.

While dismissing the petition, the court noted “we find no evidence to suggest that the petitioner’s case was worthy of relief. On the contrary, we have the army and police records pertaining to the incidents which clearly shows that Regoo was indeed a militant. And, the circumstances leading to his death were as per the circumstances put on record by the respondents. We thus find no merit in the petition”.

‘Fake Encounter Stories’:

On June 28, 2007 as per local police, two foreign mercenaries were provided a van by a contractor-cum-upper ground militant, Irshad Ahmed of Putushahi, Lolab and the three were killed in an encounter in Sulkot, Kupwara. Local residents of Kupwara were instigated to stage demonstrations and dub encounter as “fake” one. In a spirited reply in State Assembly Chief Minister, Mr



Members of the Association for Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) at dharna in Srinagar.

Gh. Nabi Azad decried the opposition charges and said that the uproar over the Kupwara incident was “200% cheap politics” and asserted that two Pakistani and one Kashmiri militant had been killed by J&K Police in a genuine encounter over a specific information. He added that it was unfortunate that a woman also got killed in the cross-firing.

Fake allegations:

Referring to another incident in which a student was killed at Nowhatta after Friday prayers, the Chief Minister said the boy had been hit by a tear smoke shell. He added that it was “as usual a Friday shutdown” and the youngsters had been fiercely stoning the vehicles. Mirwaiz Umar Farooq cleared the way when his PSO opened fire in air as his vehicles were also targetted by the mob. The Chief Minister chided politicians and the media, ‘**Why are you selective in your outbursts? Why don’t you make these masters of Friday fatwa accountable?**’ He further added that the uproar over “**thousands of Kashmiris languishing in jails**” was misplaced and asserted that total number of the people detained under PSA was just 272. He asked them to cite a single case of rape, custodial killing/forced disappearance during the past 7 months.

Bogey of Rape/Molestation:

Allegations of rape is another strategy to malign the Army. This pattern has been seen in Manipur, Assam and J&K. Recently an ULFA terrorist Baba Dadhora, a “corporal” of the banned outfit and his colleagues had disguised themselves as army jawans in battle fatigues and molested two women of Baruagaon village on July 16, 2007. Subsequently, when the army organised an identification parade of its personnel local residents said none of them resembled the men who molested the women. Later, the victims filed an FIR with the police that said they were in fact raped by army personnel. The sudden change of version showed how ULFA had embarked on a new game-plan to malign the image of the army.

In Kangan recently, local residents raised uproar over the ‘rape’ of a girl by a jawan. Subsequently, it turned out that the girl from Safapora

had gone to the town on her own. There had been an affair between the girl and the soldier. After the soldier found himself surrounded by a mob the jawan gunned down a demonstrator and later committed suicide.

On June 26, 2007 two jawans of 57 Rashtriya Rifles were paraded naked in the streets of Pati Kunan village in Bandipora for an alleged rape bid. The two soldiers were intelligence operatives. As pre Army authorities the two were on an assigned duty. The same day the Army registered FIR in Bandipora police station alleging that the two accused soldiers were abducted by people while performing duty and added that the duo was beaten with the intention of killing them. Lt Gen. (retd.) RS Kadyan has raised serious questions to cast doubts on the allegations of attempted rape. He asks, “**would two soldiers without weapons take the risk of entering an unknown house in any of these (militancy-affected) villages, or could they have been enticed with something like the promise of providing intelligence? Would they box themselves in, blocking their own escape? Would they then ask the parent to leave, so that she can raise an alarm and collect a crowd, or-if indeed they had intention of committing a rape-wouldn’t they have gagged and tied her up till they had escaped after preforming their alleged act?** He questions how thousands of people could assemble within minutes, including politicians of different hues. General Kadyan surmises that the whole incident could have been pre-planned at the behest and pressure of the militants either to defame and demoralize the army or to support the ongoing demand for troop reduction. He observes that by leaning on negativism and pre-judging and sensationalising unfounded allegations one can play into the hands of anti-national elements. He adds, “**sniping at the Army is a one-sided fight and in J&K it is a well-organised and effective adjunct to the ISI inspired and sponsored insurgency**”. (Contd. on Page 21)

Terrorist game-plan to defame India stands exposed

(From Page 20)

In the past also at the instance of terrorists false accusation of molestation rape of women have been made in Kashmir depending upon the requirements of the situation. In many instances the allegations of rape had been made by women of the families sheltering terrorists, women either active as overground workers terrorists or whose kin were closely involved in subversion. In many instances keeps of the terrorists have been raising allegations of rape by security forces.

In one case allegations of rape

were made to get an effective army unit removed from a militancy-affected area. In July 1998, the pro-separatist media reported gangrape of a lady and her daughters by the security forces in north Kashmir. The lady was the sister of a JUM terrorist. Police investigation revealed that the women were "known keeps of the militants". The doctor was also reported to have provoked the lady to make a rape allegation. Most of the rape allegations have been found to be baseless. In the widely publicized case at Kunan Poshpara on February 23, 1991 the

Press Council of India team led by BG Verghese had debunked the claims of mass rape. The full report 'Crisis and Credibility' (Lancer publishers) is freely available.

In the wake of repeated allegations of rape, the J&K Chief Minister GN Azad said that security forces are involved in only 4% rape cases and 3-4% cases of molestation. He added that in J&K 250 rape cases and 950 molestation cases occurred annually. He further added that the limited involvement of security forces reflects that they are a controlled lot. The Chief Minister

said that the society also needs some refinement.

Meanwhile, the army has instructed its troops to keep away from the women while conducting operations. The army has said that it had intelligence inputs that women are likely to be used as pawns by terror outfits to build a negative image of the army.

Propaganda on Tourists:

In 2006 there were a number of grenade attacks on tourists in Srinagar and Gulmarg, leading to many casualties. Separatists sought to spread disinformation, to defame

Himachalis and also soften local criticism for scaring away tourists, that tour operators of Himachal Pradesh were behind the attacks. In Srinagar press it received wide publicity. Nabbing of grenade throwers by locals and subsequent investigation by J&K Police revealed that all grenade throwers were locals. The Chief Minister, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad made a statement in State Assembly that 40 persons who threw grenades leading to the killing of 15 tourists and injuries to 61 were all locals and not a single belonged to Himachal Pradesh.

What Happened To The India Of Martyrs Dreams?

(From Page 14)

the enemy designs was accurate or adequate. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the governments at the center and the state consistently misread the signals, and grossly miscalculated political and military import of Pak designs. They pursued the disastrous policy of 'chasing the events'. The Government of India additionally committed the cardinal sin of doing too little too late. The rest is history.

There is much talk of economic boom. India, we are told is emerging as a super economic power. Statistics are reeled out to buttress this claim. The im-

posing Mallas, sky scrapers and booming information technology business stand testimony to this reality. The big business boom has generated unprecedented riches. Indian business houses are shopping for companies in Europe and individual businessmen fast climbing the list of richest men in the world. But how much of the benefit of this success story of Indian corporate sector is trickling down to the common man? Of course the rich are becoming rich. But the life of the common man is becoming more and more difficult by the day. What about the cost of living. Prices of the essential commodities are sky rock-

eting. Medicines, even life saving drugs have become prohibitive since the WTT regime. How come children die every day of mal nutrition under the shadows of five and seven starred hotels? How does the government explain starvation deaths in a country where huge stocks of food grains rot in the open and rates and corruption fatten on them. It seems poor India is also inhabited by some rich-stinking rich people. Is this the India of Gandhi's or Nehru's dreams. This certainly is not the tomorrow for which the officers and men shed their blood and proffered the supreme sacrifice of their precious young life.

Perhaps, India is rising for some-in Vajpayee style of India shining. UPA leadership will be well advised to remember that history has a bad habit of repeating itself. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had spoken of passing on some of the benefits of the corporate prosperity to the common man and paying attention to the sagging agriculture economy. But nothing concrete and worthwhile has materialized so far.

Sharpening of the divide between haves and have nots can spawn a situation which may place our hard earned freedom in peril. As it is, Integrity of the motherland, unity of the Indian

nation and the pluralistic ethos that sustain your nationhood are under multi-pronged and multi-dimensional assaults. On this auspicious day we all must pledge to defend our freedom, preserve the integrity of India, the unity of the Indian Nation, and uphold the sanctity of our democratic and secular institutions. This will be our true homage to those who bequeathed freedom to us and the gallant warriors who gave their today for our tomorrow.

**The author has remained Director-General Police J&K and is a noted expert on Kashmir and Security Affairs.*



Jai Mata Di

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**THE
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Katra

Terrorist funding needs to be tackled firmly

By Kalhan Bhat

TERRORISTS funding has become a serious concern in the wake of growing incidents of Islamist terrorism in India and the West. A soft state like India, with a political leadership which does not look beyond vote-banks, has been slow to respond to the menace of terrorist-funding.

America and the countries of European Union have tightened measures aimed at drying up channels of terrorist funding. Americans are particularly concerned about Jehadi groups engaged in raising money through narco-trafficking, government fraud and counterfeit money. There is growing convergence between organized crime and terrorism occurring. Americans have initiated a process to quantify the money terrorists are raising through criminal enterprises in the US. Michael Downing, a leading American expert on Counter-terrorism says that illicit funds account for about 10% of the total global flow of money-up from about 2% in 1998. He observes, "Even if a portion of that went to terrorism, it's frightening". The London-based Jane's Intelligence Review says LTTE has an annual profit margin of \$200 to \$300 million.

To combat money laundering and terrorism financing European Union countries have made it mandatory for travellers possessing cash of the value of £10,000 to make a declaration. The possession of sums below £ 10,000-threshold value attracts confiscation if there is indication of illegal links involving the movement of cash.

In April last the US State Department in a report 'Country Reports on Terrorism' came up with a sensational disclosure that Jaish-e-Mohammad the Pak-based Jehadi outfit, was investing in commodity and real estate markets so as to 'mainstream its assets', prevent government seizures and multiply returns. India with its best performing stock markets and real estate sector seems more vulnerable.

Indian official agencies have not been oblivious to the threats of 'economic terrorism' and new modus operandi evolved by terrorists groups to raise funds for their activities, yet political leadership has done precious little to meet the menace.

Stock-Market Manipulation:

At the 43rd conference on Security Policy in Munich in February, 2007 National Security Advisor MK Narayanan disclosed that terrorist groups' new modus operandi for raising funds was through manipulation of stock exchanges. He informed that fictitious companies have operated in Mumbai and Chennai Stock Exchanges. Some of these

companies were later traced to terrorist groups. In the wake of these disclosures the National Security Council has highlighted the need to block the entry of some foreign companies in the India's sensitive infrastructure sectors. It warned that these companies posed a serious threat as countries inimical to India could gain access to 'our IT assets and enhance the capabilities of our adversaries in gathering intelligence'. In particular NSC warned against companies which were linked to China, Dubai, Pakistan, Bangladesh and PLO.

Many Pakistanis have been entering India and setting up shops/workshops as cover. Mr Narayanan blamed Pakistani agencies for pumping millions of dollars for militancy in India. He said Jehadi groups started to establish a network of legitimate business-shops, restaurants, real estate etc. and use part of the proceeds to siphon off funds for their terrorist activities.

Jehadi groups can buy influence in a company or a sector by making targeted investments and creating space for black-mail. While stock market participation affords these groups an opportunity to have windfall earnings and launder black money; stock market manipulation in addition to these help them to create economic instability. Instances have come to light where criminal mafias and terrorists have been timing acts of violence to dictate stock Price billings to fund their operations.

Commenting on this, **Anil Khemka, a leading stock broker at Mumbai Stock Exchange observes, "If terrorists organizations earn money from the stock markets just like any investor, it does not really harm the markets or the economy, though that could be a serious issue to authorities like the govt; the enforcement agencies, the Central Bank and the likes. But if National Security Advisor's allegations of terrorist outfits manipulating the markets are true, it is a cause of concern for us because price manipulation is still a rampant practice in the Indian markets, despite newly installed mechanisms like the integrated market surveillance system".**

Talking about Indian laxity in dealing with shady companies **Sucheta Dalal, a well-known stock market commentator remarks, "India's foreign investment policies make it easy for shady outfits to use the stock markets. For instance, in its pursuit to attract maximum investment the government still allows billions of dollars of non-transparent portfolio funds into the market by way of participatory notes, or PNs. And there is plenty**



Wasim, Mohammad Muslim and Nayeem who were arrested by the Delhi Police Special Cell on charges of carrying fake currency in New Delhi recently.

of anecdotal evidence linking foreign portfolio money to dubious market operators".

The way PNs are used-selling privately to another makes it impossible for the RBI or Intelligence agencies to track the flow of funds. Indrajit Basu, financial expert comments, "Despite several attempts, India has been unable to ban or restrict PN inflows, which make up almost 50% of the FII investment in Indian stock markets".

Hawala Network:

Interrogation of Pakistani terrorists in Kot Bhalwal jail revealed that some oil-rich Saudi businessmen were funding terrorism in J&K through Hawala channels.

Recently, security agencies smashed a major hawala network of Hizbul Mujahideen outfit by apprehending a top terrorist of the outfit and effecting recovery of over Rs 6.5 lakh hawala money from his possession. The hawala consignment was being smuggled from Awantipora (Pulwama) to Sangaldan (Ramban) for Hizbul Mujahideen cadre. Hizb terrorist Arif Ahmed R/o Sangaldan, who was smuggling the consignment was arrested with hawala money in his possession. As per police Arif disclosed that he had transported cash a number of times from Srinagar to various other districts. The previous week Doda police had arrested 3 LeT terrorists in Doda alongwith Rs 2.94 lakh cash of hawala money which they had received from a LeT 'commander' and had to smuggle it to Gool.

In Banihal police had arrested three hawala racketeers, including two women in February, 2007 and Rs 4.8 lakhs were recovered from them. The hawala racketeers as per police were carrying money for Hizbul Mujahideen 'Commander' Parvez Bhat.

On March 24, 2002 the Jammu Police recovered \$100,000 (Rs 48 lakh) cash, neatly stitched on to the salwar of a young Kashmiri woman Shameema alias Shazia Begum at a check-post at Kud. During the previous months the security agencies had seized eight cash and hawala assignments in Kashmir and Delhi, indicating that the hawala route in the Kashmir was active. According to security agencies Altaf Qadri, a PoK based JKLF leader known for his proximity to Yasin Malik had sent the money from Pakistan to Kathmandu through hawala channels to

Mushtaq Ahmad Dar, a former district 'commander' of JKLF. Dar used his finance Shameema as a cover. The couple during questioning revealed that the money was to be delivered to Yaseen Malik. In the recent past some Hurriyat leaders have been accused of doing hawala transactions. On July 6, 2007 J&K Police arrested 3 LeT activists from Gool and Parmaz (Doda) and recovered Rs 1.97 lakh hawala consignment. One of the arrested was a naib sarpanch, while the other one was a surrendered militant of Harkatul-ul-Ansar, who had rejoined LeT.

The terror funds have a clear trail leading to Pakistan. After decline in local financial help, terrorist groups have been relying increasingly on hawala money. The terror funds from Pakistan, as per security agencies, get routed to the Gulf countries before being sent to India. According to intelligence estimates, Pakistan had been pumping in about Rs 6 crore every month for sustaining its covert operations in J&K. Police officials say that they were able to seize only a fraction of this money.

Recently, Home Minister of Kerala, Koderi Balakrishnan disclosed that remittances from the Gulf countries have hit a new high and hawala dealings in a year were worth Rs 10,000 crore, which is almost half of the state's projected revenue receipts for 2007-08. It is feared that a larger share of this money may be going to the terrorists.

In 2nd week of July this year the police had seized Rs 61 lakh cash in Muslim-majority district of Malappuram. Another seizure of Rs 1 crore hawala money in Chennai recently was traced to Malappuram. Sometime early this year Rs 41 lakh hawala money was looted from a truck in Kozhikode. Alongwith the seizure of hawala money there have been rising anti-national activities in the state. Hawala money is believed to have been used for buying large chunks of land in coastal areas of Kerala to facilitate terrorists landings in the future. Defence Minister AK Antony has already sounded a warning in this regard. Counterfeit notes have also been used in the hawala transactions. After being censured by Kerala High Court the Kerala government has woken up to counter the menace of hawala money.

(Contd. on Page 27)

MEDIA-SCAN

Surge in Kashmir jihad

By Wilson Jones

Pakistan is upping the ante to push its demand for an immediate 'solution' to the Jammu & Kashmir issue. This time, its gameplan is devious and its motives, as always, sinister. A Hamas-style takeover in Jammu & Kashmir cannot be ruled out. Broad contours of Pakistan's renewed strategy in Jammu & Kashmir are becoming clear. Realising that it has failed to push India into accepting a 'solution' on issues like Siachen and Jammu & Kashmir, Pakistan has put in place a gameplan to take the Jammu & Kashmir jihad into its next phase.

This involves stoking public anger and dissension against the Indian state through demonstrations and protests, infiltrate the ranks of police and security forces with sleeper agents, strengthen the terrorist cadre in Jammu & Kashmir with surrendered terrorists, and facilitate secessionist and terrorist leaders to influence the outcome of the State Assembly election scheduled next year, quite similar to what Palestinian terrorist group, Hamas, did in Gaza recently.

The human elements of this strategy can be broadly divided into four groups. The first group is the leadership of various secessionist and terrorist groups operating or lying dormant in Jammu & Kashmir. This leadership is being helped to find a foothold in the political arena so that they can exert influence, if not manipulate, the State Assembly election.

Some of the separatist leaders are already jockeying for this position by echoing the growing public sentiment against the Army and the Indian state on the one hand while trying to supplicate New Delhi, Islamabad (and Washington) to remain in the picture. Various separatist leaders have been making the rounds of New Delhi and Islamabad. They have been invited to a Washington conclave this month.

Unlike the 2002 election when these self-styled leaders of Jammu & Kashmir refused to accept the electoral challenge, there is a greater likelihood of their participation this time. In fact, many of the jihadi or ex-jihadi leaders are also keen on entering the political arena. For instance, Hizb-ul Mujahideen leader Syed Salahuddin has been impressing upon powers that be in New Delhi that he is willing to give up the gun if he were to be invited as one of the parties to the Jammu & Kashmir dispute.

The second group is that of the sleeper agents systematically trying to infiltrate the political, bureaucratic and security establishment in Jammu & Kashmir with occasional successes till now. A Srinagar lawyer and a political activist, Shabbir Ahmad Bukhari, was caught for providing fake ID cards of the youth wing of National Conference to three LeT terrorists.

Likewise, Shakeel Ahmad Shafi, a member of the State Youth Congress, facilitated LeT terrorists to smuggle weapons and communications equipment through high security zones by providing them with party ID cards. The group also managed to turn around a few policemen and Army personnel to help them with safe passage, prior warnings and even weapons and ammunition.

In the past one-year, at least seven LeT sympathisers were discovered from the Army ranks. The disclosure by National Security Adviser MK Narayanan about the possibility of LeT attempting to infiltrate the Indian Air Force is indicative of this new strategy.

The third set of human elements comprises the traditional jihadis who, after training in LeT or Jaish camps in PoK and tribal areas, are finding gaps in the Line of Control to infiltrate and strengthen the ranks of terrorist groups like LeT and its countless affiliates, all of which have suffered heavy attrition in recent years.

Indian Army officials recently pointed out a sudden spurt in infiltration in April-May this year - at least 79 infiltrators were caught in this two-month period while last year their number was 27. The number of terrorists killed on the border confirms the surge. In April 45 militants were killed on the border as against 26 and 21 in March and February. Besides, recent intercepts show that infiltration is taking place not only across the LoC but also via Bangladesh, Nepal and even sea routes.

The fourth element consists of surrendered militants. There have been 41 surrenders in the first three months of this year. Unlike in the past when most of the surrenders took place in the Valley, this year jihadis are surrendering on the LoC. These jihadis have had a long stint in training camps in PoK. Many of them belong to either the LeT or Jaish spawned and supported by the Pakistan Army-ISI combine to target India.

The most disturbing element of this spurt in jihadi surge in Jammu & Kashmir is the mission objective. Many of those who were caught by the security forces said they were being pushed into Jammu & Kashmir to prepare for next year's election. The mainstream parties have in the past been quite amenable to accept former jihadis as their members and will not hesitate to do so this time around also.

There is enough evidence that these jihadis will also be instrumental in igniting terrorism in the Valley in the run up to the election. The arrest of an Indian Army sepoy and his wife from the border town of Poonch has revealed that terrorist groups like LeT are busy exploiting the growing number of surrendered jihadis to re-ignite terrorism in the Valley in the run up to the election.

The LeT and Jaish have been quite active in Poonch in the recent past, mainly to recruit youth to fill up their ranks. Both the groups are working in tandem to indoctrinate local youth through jihadi literature and CDs. Few days ago, HuM made it clear that it is not willing to give up violence till a 'settlement' on Jammu & Kashmir is in sight.

This is no different from what Pakistan's Minister for Jammu & Kashmir Affairs Tahir Iqbal said: If there is no "total" pullout of troops from Jammu & Kashmir, jihadi groups will get active again.

(Source: The Pioneer)

ARCHIVES

India Can't Endure Pain

What the ISI operative told his superior about the enemy's mind

By Swapan Das Gupta

IT IS WITH A SENSE OF FULFILMENT and intense satisfaction that I present this year's report on behalf of the psychological warfare unit. When I last reported, our country was just coming to terms with the Nawaz Sharif government's betrayal in Kargil. The mood in Pakistan was despondent and confused while India was euphoric. However, we were not wrong in suggesting this exuberance was irrational and necessarily shortlived. Judging from this year's so-called Vijay Diwas, the so-called victory in Kargil has been forgotten. The Indian middle class is too busy making money and gloating over American testimonials of its achievements to divert its mind to unpleasant things like bloodshed. Kargil was an aberration; the Kandahar hijacking epitomised India's natural instincts. The vegetarian Brahminical mind has no history of sustained triumphalism; unlike Pakistan, its instincts are feeble.

Our unit has identified its priority as further weakening the Indian resolve. We believe this task is of utmost importance in furthering Pakistan's long-term strategic interests. Despite what some hotheads in the bazaars say, India is too big to take on militarily. Economically, it has deep pockets, is appealing to the West as a market and is in a different league from Pakistan. Conventional subterfuge will not work. India's biggest liability is its lack of endurance. The Hindu cannot stomach pain and it is this vulnerability we must carefully target.

The Indian intelligentsia has come to be our biggest ally. During the Kargil conflict, the seminar circuits of Delhi reverberated with talk of India's "intelligence failure" and overshadowed all those intent on playing up "Pakistani aggression". During the Kandahar hijacking, the plight of the hostages was successfully used to pressure the Indian Government into speedy release of our comrades in prison. Again, during the Christian controversy, many Indian notables rubbished the Government bid to blame our Ops team for the blasts. I must say I feel a bit sorry for Mr Advani.

Although many in this organisation will unnecessarily claim credit for this turnaround, particularly at a time the West has developed a dread of militant Islam, we should actually be indebted to the NGOs, think tanks and media organisations of Pakistan. The previous Sharif regime had antagonised these sections to such an extent that they were both unable and unwilling to act in the best interests of Pakistan. Under General Musharraf, they are far more willing to play a proactive role in softening Indian opinion towards Pakistan. Some departmental accountants may feel that we have been excessively generous in our invitations and hospitality policy towards Indians. Yes, we have. But the results speak for themselves. The women's delegation, the Jang seminar and repeated invitations to our established friends using NGO cover have paid handsome dividends. There is now a far greater appreciation and articulation of our position on Kashmir than before. Just a year after Kargil that is a stupendous achievement.

Particularly significant is our inroads into the influential English-language media in India. There are Pakistan-friendly editors in place in the major publications and TV stations. In fact, I am reliably informed that two Indian TV personalities have been reprimanded by the Government for giving too much exposure to our high commissioner! The change of mood didn't happen by chance. It took a lot of hard work and perseverance. (Source: India Today, August 14, 2000)

Jai Mata Di

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KS Correspondent

IN last week of May two brilliant police officers-Yougal Manhas, DSP Mendhar and Shailey Singh, DSP Counter Insurgency operations in Bhaderwah were killed by terrorists. While a local businessman was under suspicion in killing of Manhas, three employees were arrested for DSP Shailey Singh's killing at Udrana. The employees were charged for connivance with terrorists and providing shelter to two LeT killers of DySP. On May 23, 2007 BJP demanded high level enquiry against SHO Gandoh, alleging that the latter was terrorizing patriotic Muslims and was directly responsible for recent migration of 21 Hindu families from Sawara.

In June this year a government teacher Nazir Ali of Khaur, Mahore was arrested for giving shelter to LeT terrorist and for having affiliation with terror outfit. On June 21, 2007 three cops were arrested and former NC MLA of Inderwal, Qazi Jalaluddin and his son were quizzed after police established that son of Qazi's sister-in-law had stolen 3 rifles from his house at Hadyal, Kishtwar on directions of HM outfit. On July 28 police arrested a government school teacher on the charges of coordinating activities of Hizbul Mujahideen outfit in Kishtwar district. Identified as Nasir Ahmed Sheikh of Kishtwar he

Security forces Unravel Internal Subversion

was posted at Govt. Higher Secondary School at Dul. As per police he used to arrange funds for the terrorist outfit and had been instrumental in some selective killings as well. His brother Abdul Warris Sheikh is also an HM Ultra, presently in Pakistan.

Another racket of internal subversion operating for past 2 years was busted on July 4, 2007 when security agencies found that LeT terrorists were supplying arms and explosives to their cadre in exchange for liquor at a meeting point at LoC in Chanyari nullah in Poonch. This racket was being run by two lady SPOs-Noor Jahan and Parveen Akhtar, both residents of Kerni, Poonch. Brother of one lady was SPO, while the other one was a LeT terrorist. After exchanging liquor for arms to LeT terrorists, the ladies, as per reports, were sexually exploited by the terrorists on LoC for the night.

On July 16, 2007 two state government employees-Gh. Rasool and Rayees Ahamd Natno were arrested for providing food, shelter and logistic support to LeT terrorists. Gh. Rasool's brother Irshad Moulvi was a dreaded terrorist and 'Deputy District Commander' of HM. Rasool, a Class IV employee used to motivate local youth for joining militancy. Rayees, a teacher had been

figuring as hard-core terrorist of LeT and was involved in killing of one Rafiq Ahmed, Pharmacist of Wanpora.

3 Cops hailing from Jammu, Kulgam and Budgam and posted in Jammu were arrested for helping detainees in jail to use their mobile phones. A surrendered HM terrorist Javed Iqbal R/o Chinyas, who enjoyed security cover of 16 cops at his house on September 8, 2006, in connivance with one of the cops Abdul Qayoom shot dead 2 Cops-Ishwar Lal and German Singh and fled away with nine guns.

64 I-cards of Election Commission were found smuggled from office of Tehsildar in Thannamandi, Rajouri and issued to terrorists.

On February 1, 2007 Shamim Ahmad, R/o Banola (Mendhar), posted in JAK LI at Srinagar was arrested, 2 mobile phones were recovered from his possession. During interrogation he confessed his links with top LeT terrorists operating in Pir Panjal area. (Surankote and Mendhar). He also admitted having leaked some 'important inputs' to the top terrorists pertaining to operational strategy of troops. Last year three jawans were arrested from Mendhar and Surankote for their links with terrorists.

On June 12, 2007 another Army jawan posted in Manipur, Qadir Bhat, his wife and two residents Mushtaq and Showkat, a former SPO (resident of Mora Bachai) were arrested for being part of a LeT module. Mushtaq had been a surrendered terrorist. Incidentally, Mora Bachai has strongest VDCs in Poonch district. Bhat and his wife had motivated Mushtaq and Shoukat to resume terrorist activities. Bhat's father, Bashir was in Poonch jail for the past 2 years on charges of terrorist links. Qadir Bhat used to visit his father in jail quite frequently. 2 weeks later Mohd. Naeem, R/o Poonch and a

Lance Naik with JAK LI was arrested by Delhi police for handing over defence related documents to ISI men. Nayeem, who joined Army in 1995, was on leave.

The Central government has now decided to carry out positive vetting of the serving personnel, particularly those posted in J&K and northeast, from time to time to rule out subversive linkages between jawans and terrorist forces. This would include leave verification by focussing on the personnel's activities during their leave and periodical checks on activities of their family members.

FAKE SIMS:

Terrorist groups in Kashmir of late are increasingly using cell phones to trigger IED blasts while targeting vehicles and patrol parties of security forces. SIM cards are being obtained after submitting fake documents. This has emerged as a serious threat.

The phenomenon came to light when after a terrorist attack on Army convoy at Baramulla on December 27, 2006 an Airtel SIM card was picked up from blast site. The SIM had been issued by local Airtel Retailer of Pattan in the fake name of an Army jawan on 11th October, 2005 and activated on 21 Nov, 2005. Further investigation into SIM card

recovered at Baramulla blast site revealed that it had been got on a fake jawan's name and even a fake certificate by jawan's unit was submitted to procure SIM card. Baramulla blast triggered through cellphone was second such incident after car bomb blast in Srinagar.

It has also come to light that lot of SIM cards had been procured by influential persons and subsequently given to others. In late 2006 Budgam Police discovered that Airtel's retailer in Narbal had provided bunch of 10 SIM cards to terrorists against fake identities.

Security agencies were alerted about the use of fake SIM cards after recovery of 2 SIM cards from Kot Bhalwal jail. One of the card was got issued in the name of fake jawan.

Reports said that at least 66 faked SIMs had been issued by Airtel alone in Sopore. How Airtel had evaded verification sounds intriguing? An agency responsible for SIM card verification in Sopore claimed that overground workers of terrorists had coerced its officials to verify forms of Army officials, knowing well that these were fake. These SIMs were used by top terrorists of JeM, LeT, HM and other terror outfits.

Row over 'LoC Surrenders'

KS Correspondent

THE J&k Govt. has rejected the policy of 'LoC Surrenders', initiated by the Army. The Foreigners Regional Registration Office (FPRO) is preparing to serve notices to the wives of 3 terrorists, who surrendered with their families, for initiating proceedings for their deportation. The cases of 2 dozen people who accompanied terrorists at the time of their surrender since January last year were also being taken simultaneously for deportation. Surprisingly, the Army had allowed the women to enter despite the fact these women were Pakistan nationals and had entered India illegally.

Reports quoting state police said that the decision to deport them was taken in the wake of intelligence reports that LeT outfit might be infiltrating its women cadres into J&K under the cover of 'surrenders'. Recently, on July 28 seven Pakistan infiltrators were arrested in Karnah sector alongwith arms. They included three ladies as well. Since last year when Army began patronizing 'surrenders' more than 130 surrenders have taken place.

Following discrepancies in the statements of family members of surrendered terrorists a report said that Army's move was contested by state police and central security agencies who suggested that the surrenders could be a ploy by ISI to create 'sleeping cells' in the Kashmir Valley. The security agencies were also alarmed when they learnt that the Army had not carried out background checks of the surrenders. Some of the surrendered persons were later taken into preventive custody by police as they were suspected to be involved in terrorist attacks in Kupwara district.

The Union Home Ministry reviewed the trend of surrenders at the LoC in a meeting in New Delhi on July 25 and the Army was asked to stop 'surrenders' as it was causing legal complications.

Most of the surrenders had taken place in Uri sector.

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Terrorists continue to target the minority community

KS Correspondent

Panglar Massacre:

Minority Hindu community continues to be the target of terrorists. On March 29, 2007 five labourers of the minority community were gunned down at Panglar (Dharamshal, Rajouri). The massacre took place soon after security forces were withdrawn from areas of Rajouri following pressure by PDP for de-militarisation.

At 10:30 PM 2 terrorists in camouflage dress came to the residence of Mohammad Hussain at Panglar where eleven labourers had been staying in a rented room for past few days. Labourers hailed from neighbouring village of Solki and had been engaged by contractor Ram Lal for work on Mathyani-Panglar road.

The terrorists before going for massacre entertained themselves by roasting a chicken in the adjoining room. After consuming it they asked labourers to line up and reveal their identity, claiming they were from the Army. One labourer who turned out to be a Muslim was let off. Terrorists asked labourers to hand over watches and little cash they had with them. After lining up 10 labourers,

terrorists started firing indiscriminately, killing 5 of them on spot and injuring four others. One of the labourers threw himself down, feigning to be dead.

Before leaving terrorists had bolted door from outside, Mohamad Taseer the labourer who was asked to sit in a corner, was thrashed for working with labourers from the minority community. As labourers did not turn up for work next day, other labourers who had been putting up in rented room nearby came and opened the door. They rushed to Mathyani Gala Army picket, 3 km away. Among the killed were Sanjay Kumar, son of Raj Kumar, Mohinder Kumar, brother of Raj Kumar, Chaman Lal, Baldev Kumar, Rashpal Singh, all residents of Kushan, Solki (Kalakot). The injured included Subash Chander, Babu Ram, Raj Kumar and Ranmeet. The state chief minister Mr GN Azad who visited the site of massacre said, "the killings should open the eyes of those asking for demilitarisation in the state. Militancy is there. It has not ended. Sometimes, the militants become active and sometimes they lie low but one thing is clear that it has not finished."

Two young girls of Keri Khwas

(Budhal)—16 year old Shad Begam and 15 year old Parveen, alleged mistresses of Abdullah Inquilabi and Abu Sharaka, both Pakistanis were arrested for their role in massacre at the house of Dleep Singh at Bankan-Thawa, Chareda in Thathri area of Doda.

On July 16, 07 Dev Raj, a VDC member and his eight year old daughters were shot dead by terrorists. A group of terrorists entered the hamlet of Dahlal, inhabited by 200 people. They knocked at the doors of 2 adjacent houses of Dev Raj and Mukesh, both VDC members. Terrorists' firing pierced the wooden planks, killing Dev Raj and his daughter Anju on spot. In the neighbouring house they left a middle aged woman Reva Devi, Mukesh' wife critically injured.

On July 25, 2007 Chaman Lal, a shepherd was killed by terrorists at Nighar Dhok in Marmat area of Doda. Chaman Lal, 32, son of Jameet Ram, resident of Mangota, Marmat had gone to graze his cattle in Nighar Dhok. He was asked to handover his cattle by a group of terrorists. As the shepherd refused, he was killed by slitting his throat. Many incidents have come to light in remote areas of Rajouri, Doda, Udhampur and Kathua districts where terrorists are forcing Hindus to follow their diktat on marriages. They are forcing Hindus to print 'Allah Ki Meherbani' on wedding cards. The Hindus are also being asked not to don their religious symbols—Janaeu, Tilak and stop displaying the pictures of their deities. A family of Chain Singh, in a Rajouri village, which had been forced to convert, however reconverted to Hinduism after shifting from native village.

On July 26 police recovered dead body of a civilian Om Prakash, S/o Sita Ram R/o Muradur from Bathuni Nullah near Rajouri. In Kupwara recently a Khatri trader was strangled to death at his residence.

Terrorists indulge in Brutalities

KS Correspondent

Brutal Killings of civilians at the hands of terrorists continue. On June 28, 2007 Shabir Ahmed Koli S/o Ismayal Koli, R/o Nowkoot was kidnapped during night from his house by terrorists. He was beheaded in neighbouring area of Thandi Shah in Banihal. Only a day before another civilian Mohd Ismayal Gujjar was killed by terrorists in Banihal.

Nassar Din, a 40 year old man was shot dead by terrorists on July 21, 2007. At 10 PM two terrorists entered the house of the deceased after breaking the door and dragged Nassar Din out. His wife and five children were locked inside a room. After a few minutes terrorists pumped bullets into him. Earlier Nassar's brother who had joined the Army had been shot at Bafliaz.

On June 8 terrorists had gunned down Saifuddin Piswal and his 28 year old son Ghulam Hussain in Sanimarg, Kellar (Pulwama). Maternal uncle of Hussain-Latif Ahmad was critically injured by terrorists at nearby Kathallan village. On April 1, 2007, 58 year old congress leader Jan Mohd Kakroo was killed at a shrine in Baramulla.

On July 26, 2007 terrorists kidnapped 45 year old Mohd Ibrahim S/o Gh. Qadir Lohar from his house at Naka, Sumbar in Ramban district. He was taken to a nearby field and tortured before slitting his throat. Terrorists were all locals. Body of Ibrahim bore torture marks all over.

Three persons including two real brothers were abducted by HM terrorists in Gool area of Ramban. The three civilians identified as Shabir Ahmed Wani of Dalwa, Gulzar Ahmed and Mohd Ayub both sons of Gul-Mohd-Shah of Gaga Vsula in Goal were tortured throughout night in a house in Sulbala village before they got opportunity to escape from clutches of abductors. Reports identified culprits as local ultras of HM outfit, including a couple.

Two local terrorists affiliated to LeT were thrashed by people at Waripora, Kreri (Pattan) on August 2 when they entered the house of tailor Nazir Ahmad Wani with an intention to kill him. Displaying extraordinary courage the tailor and his family caught hold of them and disarmed them. The villagers thrashed terrorists before handing them over to the police.

Earlier, Three local terrorists belonging to HM outfit had kidnapped a govt. teacher Abdullah Gujjar at Duniki, Sumbar (Ramban district) on July 30 and then beheaded him. Of late the incidents of civilian killings and kidnappings had gone up in Ramban. In Kishtwar area the decomposed body of civilian identified as Arif was recovered in Inshan-Afti area on July 30. He had been kidnapped in March this year.

Terrorists target Amarnath Yatra

KS Correspondent

The modus operandi of Islamist terrorist groups is to attack yatris and then disown the attack and claim that HM believed 'Yatra is a religious duty and Hizb (HM) believes in communal harmony. The 'freedom struggle' of Kashmiris is not based on communal lines'. JK police has said that it had inputs about terrorist plans to target the yatra. A grenade attack at Baltal camp left one dead and another critically injured. In the 2nd attack within a week 13 Amarnath yatris were injured when terrorists hurled a grenade towards a Yatri langar at Pahalgam on July 21, 2007. 7 persons received serious injuries, 3 of them were critical. Reacting to the Baltal grenade attack, Shri Amarnath Shrine Board said, "It is not merely a terrorist act. There is something more to it."

A document recovered from the possession of slain top LeT terrorist alias Abu Ummar revealed that he had directed terrorist Abu Muslim LeT's 'incharge operations' for Ramban-Banihal to target the yatra in Nachlana area of Banihal.

On July 20, 2007 there were four grenade attacks in highly sanitised summer capital, Srinagar—one near State Assembly another at Boulevard Dal Gate, one each at Batmaloo and Narbal. These attacks are believed to be part of a campaign by Islamist terror groups to sabotage yatra by scaring away pilgrims. During two months of yatra, active mobilization of security forces in terrorist infested areas puts sufficient pressure on terrorists. Terrorists have been trying to foil yatra with a twin objective as part of talibanisation campaign and secondly, to relieve pressure of security forces. A section of mainstream political parties has been lending support to the terrorists' designs by demanding restriction of yatra to few days and claiming that heavy rush to Amarnath pilgrims leads to environmental degradation.



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COMMUNICATION

Parochial Thinking will be disastrous

We are celebrating 60th Anniversary of our independence. Some national security challenges before us are-

1) **Kashmiri migrants:** It is a matter of the national shame that thousands of Kashmiri Hindus had to leave their hearths and homes in the year 1989-90 due to terrorism, killings and open warnings. These migrants have become refugees in their own country and nothing has been done so far to solve their problems. All political parties are mum and no body talks about this grave matter. These migrants are living in deplorable condition in Jammu and other cities.

2) **Article 370:** Article 370 of our constitution which was temporary is still there. This article is root cause of Kashmir problem. It gives encouragement to separatism. No body talks about its abrogation.

3) **Terrorism:** The country is facing terrorism from its borders as well as internally also. Some neighbouring countries are sending terrorists to skill innocent people and disturb our peace. As far as internal terrorism is concerned, it is spreading in the name of Naxalvad in about 12 states. The naxalites are killing innocent

people and looting arms from the policemen. J&K and whole of the northeast are badly affected due to continued attacks on common people. The terrorism of the north-east is being supported by some local organisations.

4) **Appeasement:** We are soft towards anti-national elements. It is due to policy of appeasement. Acts like POTA and others are being repealed. Terrorists get emboldened due to this.

5) **Regionalism:** National thinking is disappearing. Now nobody talks about the nation due to narrowness of the thinking. There is no leader who talks about the whole country. Regionalism is also a threat to our integrity.

6) **Reservation:** The provision of the caste-based reservation was created in our constitution for some years. Now it has become permanent as our politicians are taking it as 'Vote Bank'. Due to reservation in every field and at every stage it has become a threat to genius students. Top ranking and qualified persons are being denied to avail occasions due to policy of the reservation. More and more castes are coming in its perview. It has become challenge for us. It is a matter of surprise that

none has come forward against it due to thinking of 'Vote Bank'.

If we do not pay our attention towards these challenges, the day will come when it will be disastrous.

—K.D. Tiwari
21, MIG, Barra-7
Kanpur-27

Arrest of Muslim Doctors

Sir,

I agree that communal conflict in India and Indian State's poor record of dealing with it have provided recruits to terror groups such as, LeT, JeM and HUJI. But the same did not create any Sikh or Hindu outfits after thousands of Sikhs were murdered in Delhi allegedly by Congressmen or ethnic-cleansing, killings, rape, burning of Hindu properties by Muslims in Kashmir. I can understand the feelings of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as Sikhs were branded terrorists. However, I do not buy pious homilies of secularists like Mr Manmohan Singh and others that terrorists have no religion, as terrorists are motivated only by religion.

—A.V. Shanker, 3/17, Mall Road,
1050, Deffodi's. Secunderabad (AP)

Indian State dumping its own men

(From Page 15)

persons were selected by none other than Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh.

I am also referring to the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and other partners of the ruling coalition in Jammu and Kashmir, including the PDF, the CPI-M and the CPI, as well as somewhat intimate relationship between these separatist-friendly formations and the Congress, which is ruling both in the State and at the Centre. I am doing so to tell that there is no difference whatever between what the chairmen of these two committees have recommended and what the partners of ruling coalition, who try to paint the Indian Army and paramilitary forces black and denounce the anti-terror laws in downright language, are consistently demanding..

What they are not just demanding what I referred to above. They are – apart from asking the Union Government to render the borders between Pakistan, epicenter of global terrorism, and India, victim of terrorism, and Line of Control irrelevant and porous - also demanding financial packages for the militants operating in the territories under the illegal occupation of Pakistan, as also permission so that all these trained militants are able to come back to Kashmir. Besides, they are asking the Union Government to give financial packages to the widows and orphans of the anti-India elements, who got killed while fighting the Indian State. As for the Jammu and Kashmir Government, it has already implemented a scheme under its "healing touch policy" that entitles each (surrendered) person with anti-India background to get Rs 3000 per month as honorarium, Rs. 2 lakh in the form of fixed deposit and bank loan on easy terms.

Contrarily, those, who call themselves as proud Indians, are the most neglected and discriminated lot. The common people are starving and dying a miserable death. Valiant Soldiers, who are fighting splendidly in

Jammu and Kashmir and elsewhere braving all odds and despite the indifferent attitude of those controlling the Indian State, are suffering. The people of Jammu and Ladakh, who want free flow of the Indian Constitution, are suffering because they do not subscribe to the separatist ideology. Unemployed and frustrated young men, including technocrats, are sitting on fast-unto-death. They are organizing hunger-strikes, protest marches and dharnas to attract the attention of the Indian establishment, so that

CONTINUATION

each one of the unemployed youth could earn a paltry sum of Rs 1500 per month. They are being ignored by the Indian State because they have refused to adopt violent methods. Over three lakh Kashmiri Hindus – all victims of terrorism - are living in subhuman and pathetic conditions in the unlivable refugee camps outside Kashmir, with the Indian State dismissing them as part of the problem, and not part of the solution. Our secular intellectuals, like the radical Islamists and Kashmiri separatists, dismiss them as no more than fifth columnists. Some of them have turned magnanimous and they want the Government of India to recognize their right to return to Kashmir.

The fact of the matter is that those seeking to defeat the anti-India elements are at the receiving end. A reference to just one instance in this regard would be quite in order. On June 26, 2007, a close associate of the JKLF leader Yasin Malik, who is supposed to have links on both sides of the political divide, and Yasin Malik launched a scathing attack on Liaqat Ali, a pro-India ideologue, leading counter-insurgent leader from Kashmir and now a frontline political mobilizer for India in Anantnag. He condemned Liaqat Ali, who had declared while abandoning the path of separatism

that "he would not like his son to become a terrorist" and that "he would want the Union Government to abrogate Article 370", and other pro-India mobilizers, while addressing a meeting of the JKLF activists in the Anantnag town's Nagbal area (Sher Bagh). He was so personal and abusive about the counter-insurgent movement. As for the JKLF leader, he attacked Tahir, who had earlier worked with Liaqat Ali as a counter-insurgent and who now is a Captain in the Indian Army. There is no need to point out that both have benefited from the Indian State but have been consistently and persistently maintaining an anti-India line.

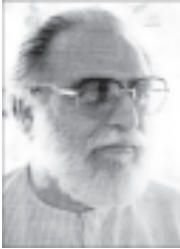
All this must make the concerned Indians to sit up and discuss and decide if what the authorities in New Delhi and their tools in Jammu and Kashmir are doing is conducive for the health of the Indian State and if they come to the conclusion, which they surely would, that it is not, then they should act accordingly to ensure the defeat of those who are directly and indirectly helping the anti-India elements. You simply cannot afford to watch the process of disintegration as a mute spectator any longer.

*(Formerly Dean of Jammu University's Faculty of Social Sciences)

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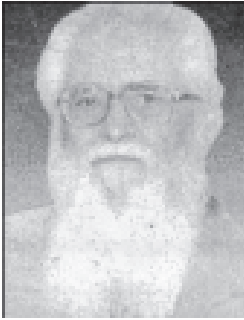
Kashmir Sentinel & Panun Kashmir condole the passing away of Pt. Arun Koul, a noted filmmaker. He passed away in New Delhi on 21st July, 2007 after a brief illness.



Pt. Arun Koul

SHRADHANJALI

Prof. Prem Nath Kachroo was born on 16th October 1924 in a middle class Kashmiri Pandit family at Srinagar. After completing his early education up to Intermediate at Srinagar, he went to Lahore (then capital of erstwhile Punjab and now in Pakistan) for further studies. He secured first class in First Position in B.Sc. in the University in 1946. He then joined Forman Christian College for pursuing his M.Sc. (Hons) in Botany under the guidance of Late



Prof. Prem Nath Kachroo

Prof. Prem Nath Mehra. He again secured first class first M.Sc. degree in 1948. Later, he joined as Senior Research Scholar for his Doctoral research on Chromosome Morphology at Amritsar. He accomplished this task with high credibility. He got married to Kumari Prem Lata in 1946. He joined as Lecturer in Post Graduate Department of Botany at University of Gauhati (Assam). In 1953 he became Fellow of the Linnean Society (London). He went to United States of America for further studies at Alaska University, Michigan. In 1959 he joined the Indian Council of Agricultural Research New Delhi as Editor of Research Publications. In 1967 he joined Jammu and Kashmir University as Professor and Head of Department Botany at Srinagar. He retired in 1984 but continued writing books till last. He breathed his last on 11th August 2007.

Panun Kashmir and Kashmir Sentinel condole the death of Prof. Prem Nath Kachroo and pay homage to the departed soul for eternal peace.

Terrorist funding needs to be tackled firmly

(From Page 22)

According to National Security Advisor religious charities were another important source of funding. He said many of the charities were already designated as 'terrorists front organizations, yet most continue to operate under new labels.'

Mr. Narayanan states that though India has specific legislation such as **Foreign Exchange Management Act and The Prevention of Money Laundering Act** "the globalization of terror and the ability of the terrorists to exploit state-of-the art technology has enhanced their ability to move hot money across international borders". He added that a combination of conventional money laundering techniques, with placement of funds by using 'the underground and parallel banking system (hawala) has made it extremely difficult to track funds utilized for terrorist purposes since no audit or paper trail is available'. Mr Narayanan further informed that real and fraudulent ATM cards were being used at times.

The National Security Advisor has called for the lifting of banking secrecy and the corporate veil in terrorist-related cases. He said security agencies had detected many instances of funds received via banking channels from so-called safe locations such as Dubai and UAE that were intended for terrorist groups.

Debate has also started on the concept of so-called Islamic banking floated by certain groups in India. It is being said that in booming stock market India is becoming the next hub for Islamic investment in South Asia. The argument trotted out is that Indian Muslim investors were wary of investing in 'Usury-based' stock markets and financial markets.

Drug Money:

Narcotics has been another source of terrorist-funding in India. A study carried out by Institute of Conflict Management, New Delhi says that Maoists in Orissa have been raising funds through opium cultivation. In Malkangiri, the district worse-affected by Maoist violence, hundreds of acres of land is under ganja cultivation.

Poor tribal farmers are forced to grow ganja. While one plant yields ganja worth Rs 200, the yield per acre is Rs one lakh. This makes it more lucrative than agriculture. The same study says ten thousand quintals of ganja are produced in Chitrakonda and Kalimela areas of Malkangiri annually. Cultivation is maintained round the year in the Maoist affected tribal pockets of Janvai,

Peper metla, Poplur, Maligudaodia, Manamkonda. From Malkangiri district Ganja is exported to nearby townships of Orissa including Bolangir, Sambalpur and Rourekla and thence to Nepal and Pakistan. Naxalities are flush with money, raised through extortion from Industrialists, rich people, nexus with criminal mafia and 'levy' imposed on poor tribals whose cause they claim to plead.

A report carried by fortnightly **Frontline** says that the narcotics mafia in J&K has benefited from ceasefire. In December 2005, BSF troops interdicted a record shipment of 25 kgs of high grade heroin, worth Rs 25 crore, in RS Pora sector in Jammu. In November, 2006 3 JK Rifles intercepted one Lal Chand and recovered 7 kgs of heroin worth Rs 8.5 crore. During the investigation it turned out that he was only the carrier and was working with Vivek Mahajan and Sanjeev Mahajan, a Pathankot-based physician. As per the same report the ladies

too were being used as couriers. Cases of narco-trafficking in Jammu sector rose from 15 in 2004 to 44 in 2006.

Since the summer of 2003, the flow of narcotics into J&K has been on the rise. Same year Kashmir police arrested drug traffickers in Srinagar and Bandipora. In January 2007 police recovered 1.7 kg of heroin from Srinagar-based alleged narcotics trafficker Abdul Majid Rather. Narcotics and arms worth Rs 2.5 crore were recovered on June 8, 2007 from house of an international smuggler at Kathua. In north Kashmir heroin and cocaine worth Rs 75 lakh were seized from the possession of a smuggler Mushtaq Ahmad Rather in Manasbal, Safapora area on July 24, 2007.

Frontline correspondent **Praveen Swami** warns, "Even as India and Pakistan move forward, it is still possible to envision a less optimistic future. The Jammu border could still lapse into war-or disintegrate into the kind of drug-fuelled hell that supposedly peaceful frontiers are in areas such as Manipur".

Recently, sleuths of the Indian Narcotics Control Bureau (NCB) arrested Sanjay Kedia, the founder and Chief Executive of **Xponse Technologies**, a Kolkata

based software development company and its two associate call centre companies, on the charge of dealing and selling drugs over the internet, primarily in the north Indian market. Kedia was said to be the kingpin of an international internet drug trafficking racket along with a US-based associate, Steven Mahana, who owns a 49% stake in Xponse. As per NCB Kedia

in 2004 and Rs 1.12 crore in 2005 (till March). It is believed that fake currency is routed in Indian through Dawood Ibrahim's network across Dubai, Colombo Malaysia, Thailand, Nepal and Bangladesh.

The first six months of this year have seen lot of fake money being seized. On 26th June Special Cell of Delhi arrested three Muslim youth involved in fake currency racket. The mastermind of this racket. Iqbal Kana, was as per police, operating from Pakistan at the behest of ISI. The three youth belonged to Hapur and Muzaffarnagar.

At the instance of Kana couriers brought smuggled fake notes concealed in dinner sets, carboards, cartons and other articles through the Indo-Nepal border. One of the couriers in this racket was arrested early this year with fake currency worth Rs 10 lakh. Jamil, one of the youth involved in racket had sent two women couriers, Rashida and Mehrunisha, to Pakistan with a consignment of cosmetic items aboard the Thar Express. On return the ladies brought along the thread rollers fake currency worth Rs 33 lakh. After they handed over the money to the contacts, the latter were nabbed by Delhi police. Their interrogation revealed that the ongoing rate of exchange was Rs 40,000 to Rs 65,000 for one lakh of fake currency, depending upon the quality of notes.

Another major racket was busted by J&K Police in June this year by arresting State Vigilance organisation driver, son of a cleric, a Civil Secretariate employee, a Jammu jeweller and a Kashmiri from Nadia district in West Bengal. The racket is believed to have been operating for over a year. 40 year old Ghulam Ahmad, resident of Pampore was a kingpin in the racket. He had settled in Nadia 8-9 years back as part of a larger plot and had married a Bengali girl to evade doubts of the police. Ahmed had also settled three more groups of Kashmiri people at Nadia and engaged some Bengali people in the network. As per police ISI's three hitman hailing from Chapra, Nadia and Murshidabad were part of the racket with linkages

to New Delhi, Mumbai and J&K. Ahmad had circulated Rs 30-35 lakh of fake currency in J&K through his agents, while the amounts delivered in Delhi and Mumbai were believed to be much more. Ahmad revealed to police that he had delivered Rs 18 lakh in J&K to LeT and Hizbul Mujahideen. Ahmad and Mohd. Islam were said to be incharge of fake currency racket in J&K, 3 Bengalis were looking after Delhi and Mumbai. Ahmad during interrogation named a BJP leader of Anantnag, Showkat and half a dozen people as part of the racket. Besides these people others involved included two shopkeepers and a land grabber already arrested by the police.

Fake currency printed in Dhaka in a Government Press at the instance of ISI was brought to hideouts in West Bengal in border areas. From Kolkatta it was smuggled by cleric's son, Showkat Ahmad and then circulated among terrorist groups.

On 13 July 2007 another racket of fake currency was busted, when Gujrat Police arrested 6 people, including two Pak ISI agents and fishermen from India and Pakistan. The network used to smuggle arms, narcotics and fake currency into India.

On July 23, 2007 Anantnag police arrested Gh. Hassan Bhat of Ashajipora and recovered fake currency worth Rs 1 lakh in denominations of Rs 50, Rs 100 and Rs 500. Two other persons involved in printing and circulation of the fake currency have been identified as Irshad Ahmad Thokar of Roh Mangal and Gh Nabi Mir of Pethbug, Anantnag.

In April 2007 two persons were arrested with Rs 50 lakh fake currency. In May the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence arrested a person with Rs 20 lakh fake currency (printed in Pakistan) at Kozhikode Airport. Rs 30 lakh worth of fake currency was seized from 3 people in February this year at Chennai Airport. A 77 year old woman Laiquan, resident of Trilokpori in Delhi, was arrested same month at Delhi Airport with fake currency worth Rs 10 lakh. She had come from Lahore. Reports say counterfeit currency worth Rs 1 crore was seized from Mumbai, Chennai, Kozikode Airports between March and May this year. Quality of money seized was so good that even experts had difficulty in detection. Many countries which are facing menace of fake currency are switching over to use of plastic notes, which are said to be more counterfeit proof.



Yaseen Malik booked under POTO in March 2002 for alleged involvement in Hawala Case.

and Mahana were involved in trafficking psychotropic substances, mainly phentermine and are said to be linked to a Colombian drug Cartel.

Kedia, an ITI graduate is alleged to have been running the racket for the past 2 years and earning about US \$500,000 a month from his thousands of customers mainly in the US, Canada and Sweden. As per zonal Director of NCB, Kedia had opened an account in a Luxembourg bank with a fictitious name and deposited \$10 million. Besides, thousands of dollars were also found stashed in various local banks.

Counterfeit Currency:

Pakistan is floating fake currency in India with a two-fold objective-to fund terrorist groups and secondly, to destabilize buoyant Indian economy. Despite facing cross border terrorism for more than 25 years, the soft Indian state is yet to devise a strategy that would adequately deal with this threat.

As per one estimate till 2000, the extent of fake notes circulating in India was around 61,000 million pieces worth Rs 1,69,000 crores. Actual seizures totaled mere Rs 5.57 crore in 2002, Rs 5.29 crore in 2003, Rs 6.81 crore

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