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# Panun Kashmir submits alternate draft on Shrines protection

## **KS Correspondent**

JAMMU, Apr 9: Panun Kashmir has presented an alternate draft for protection of religious places and endowments of Kashmiri Hindus in Kashmir. This frontline organization has been busy in building national sensitivity on destruction/ forcible grab of Pandit's shrines and property in Kashmir through Sakshatkar during the past two years. 'Sakshatkar', an exhibition which depicts the scale and pattern of destruction/ grab of Pandits' shrines and property has already drawn good response in New Delhi, Mumbai, Pune, Pimpri, Osmanabad and Jalgaon. Responding to the growing national concern over this dimension of religious-cleansing the J&K govt. brought forward a bill titled 'The J&K religious places and Endowments of Kashmiri Hindus Bill, 2005 to provide for an integrated management of all the religious places of Kashmiri Hindus located in the region of Kashmir and in order to provide for their preservation and maintenance to prevent illegal transfer, sale or occupation of their property and to utilize their income for general welfare of the Kashmiri Hindu community.' The projected Bill was sent to the Pandit Community for suggestions and alternate opinions.

Panun Kashmir organized a series of meetings with the office bearers at the helm of various committees, trusts and registered bodies of various Hindu temples/ shrines/ religious places of Kashmir valley to discuss the proposed bill. More than 52 temple Committees, belonging to all the districts of the valley, were contacted for the purpose. A joint meeting of the office bearers of these temple committees was held at Sharda Mandir, Bantalab on 1st April, 2007. The august gathering discussed in detail various aspects of the bill and after

unanimously pointing out the limitations and drawbacks of the Bill evolved an alternate draft. This draft was submitted to the J&K government.

The amended draft was released at a joint press conference in Jammu on April 09, 2007. Highlighting the urgency for protection of Pandits' shrines/ asthapanas Prof. BL Fotedhar, senior Panun

was not acceptable.

Panun Kashmir impressed on the Govt. that a total survey of all the temples whether or not possessing revenue generation prop- erties be brought under the supervision of a Surveyor General who should be a retired Kashmiri Hindu IAS officer of J &K cadre. Panun Kashmir demanded that the Surveyor

the State, which should primarily include a retired Kashmiri Hindu IAS officer, a Kashmiri Hindu social activist, a Kashmiri Hindu Dharmacharya and the representatives from existing Prabandhak committees of Kashmir division'. Prof Fotedhar said that the suggestion that first Governing Board will be nominated in consultation with All India Kashmiri Samaj was not acceptable. He added, "we unanimously agreed that only Prabhandak committees of Kashmiri Hindus be consulted in this regard."

Panun Kashmir also criticized the state government by saying that the draft bill was silent on the process and methodology of elections to the Prabandhak committees and the Governing body. It suggested that the principle of universal Adult franchise be kept in view and that elections should not be held before making a proper voter list, and updating it from time to time.

Panun Kashmir also suggested that the funds accruing from the religious places, temples /shrines be spent exclusively for the preservation, development and management of the Kashmiri Hindu religious places (irrespective of the fact whether or not these religious places have revenue generating assets or properties) in accordance with approved development plans in the Kashmir division and institutions that have Hindu minority control in the state.

Prof. Fotedhar criticized the government for preparing an annexure in the bill arbitrarily which did not include religious places in Baramulla, Sopore and Bandipore.

The press conference was addressed among others by Sh. ON Trisal, President of All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference, Sh Kuldeep Raina, Gen. Secretary Panun Kashmir, Sh. BK Zutshi, Sh. ML Bhan, Sh Rajnath Raina.

## COVER STORY



**Prof. B.L. Fotedhar addressing Press Conference.**

Kashmir leader said, "Whereas all these religious places have provided faith anchor to the minority community, these religious places in Kashmir are not simply prayer houses but icons of religious tolerance, communal amity and universal brotherhood in the religio-cultural ethos of Kashmir and therefore it becomes imperative that these symbols of religious heritage are maintained and preserved through a mechanism that is transparent and just"

Panun Kashmir has voiced strong objection to the govt. proposal that the Governing board shall appoint one or more revenue officers not below the rank of Naib-Tehsildar (Assistant classII) as special officers—for the purpose of making a survey of the properties of Kashmir Hindu shrines. Prof. Fotedhar said appointing a revenue officer in service from the State Govt. for the purpose

General will elicit information tehsil wise from general Kashmiri Hindu public and will have the authority to call for any information and data and record from any govt. functionary or any other person( persons)etc." The surveyor after inquiry would submit the report to the governing board in complete details-ownership, categorization, status of property and assets, extents of illegal encroachment etc.

The alternate draft presented defines Kashmiri Hindus' religious places as the following -Temples, shrines, sacred springs, hillocks, places of pilgrimage, road -side and river -side temples, smadhis, cremation grounds, caves, Trees etc.

On the issue of 1st governing board, Panun Kashmir draft demands that 'the composition of the first governing board be made only by the Governor of

ON Kaul:  
A Tribute



Veteran Agriculture specialist Sh ON Kaul, son of Late Sh. Vishambar Nath Kaul and son-in-law of Late Sh Bal Krishan Garyali suddenly departed for his heavenly abode on March 24, 2007 in Jammu.

Fondly known as 'Kaul Sahib', he had retired as Joint Director, State Agriculture Department, J&K and was currently senior consultant to the prestigious Agriculture Finance Corporation. An alumni of Amar Singh College, Srinagar and Pune University he specialized in entomology, a rare field of study in the sixties.

Besides, being an entomologist he was also a great sportsman, having captained the Hockey team, representing University of Pune.

He left his lucrative job in the private sector with Cibageigy in Mumbai and joined the State Agriculture Deptt. J&K in 1967.

During his tenure, he served in Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh, and regions of Kishtwar and Doda. He travelled to far flung and often inaccessible places on foot to help develop agriculture in the state. He was instrumental in Research and Development of various crops, especially Farming techniques for Saffron, Mashroom, jeera and mint, corresponding to the varied weather, soil and other geographical conditions in different parts of the state. He is remembered for having initiated and implemented various projects and schemes that benefited the local farming communities.

His robust personality, straight forwardness and caring attitude endeared him to all and made him immensely popular within his fraternity and with common folks wherever he went.

After the migration in 1990, he was actively involved in helping the affairs of the community. He mobilized the migrant Agriculture employees and was the founding member and Chairman of the Agriculture Displaced Employees Welfare Association (ADEWA). He continued to be the lifetime partron of ADEWA and was regularly approached for his guidance.

Being nostalgic about Kashmir, he always promoted the cause of the displaced community. His ideals will continue to inspire the community. Panun Kashmir prays may his soul rest in peace.

THOSE WHO LEFT US

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

1.

Smt Rattan Rani (Kamaljigri) W/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Razdan originally resident of Sathoo Sheetal Nath Sgr; presently at H.No: 123, Lane No: 4-A, Basant Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 1/3/2007
2.

Sh. Makhan Lal Raina (Saraf) resident of 219-Rehari Colony opposite Scorpion Restaurant Jammu originally resident of Malik Angan Fatehkadal Sgr; presently at 2/3/2007
3.

Smt. Shobawati W/o Sh. Niranjan Nath Bhat, R/o Batargam Kupwara Kmr; presently at H.No: 407, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar Upper Muthi, Jammu. 2/3/2007
4.

Sh. Jagar Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Amar Chand Pandita of Chanam Baramulla Kmr; presently at Paltiyar oppsoite Shiv Mandil Garhi Udampur. 2/3/2007
5.

Sh. BK Mota (Bhan) originally resident of Khardori Habbakadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 126, Lane-11, Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 3/3/2007
6.

Sh. Nidam Joo Raina S/o Late Sh. Prasad Ram Raina original resident of Pethbug Dialgam Anantnag Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 482, ODI Migrant Camp Nagrota, Jammu. 4/32007
7.

Smt. Shobawati Ganjoo (Ubey) W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Ganjoo originally resident of Chandapora-Kralkhud Sgr; and presently at D-2, Sector-39 Noida (UP) 5/3/2007
8.

Smt. Somawati Raina of Machipora Handwara Kmr; at present anesh Nagar Patoli Barahmna Akhnoor Road, Jammu. 5/3/2007
9.

Smt. Dulari Pandita W/o Sh. Shyam Lal Pandita originally residento f Chanapora Sgr; presently at 679-F02 Shalimar Garden Extn-I Sahibabad, Ghaziabad (UP) 5/3/2007
10.

Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita original resident of Kargam Handwara; presently at H.No: 8, Lane-3, Bharat Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 6/3/2007
11.

Sh. PN Razdan original resident of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently at Shambuvan 199-P, Ext-I Mandir Lane, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 6/3/2007
12.

Smt. Roopawati Pandita W/o Sh. Jagar Nath Pandita of Sirru Dangerpora Pattan Kmr; presently residing at H.No; 606, JMC Surya Vihar Temple Lane-17, Bohri Patta Jammu. 6/3/2007
13.

Smt. Madhumati Zutshi W/o Late Sh. Madhusudan Zutshi presently residing at Delhi passed away on 6/3/2007
14.

Smt. Kamla Wati/Danvati Dhar W/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Dhar of Tral Pulwama, Kmr; presently residing at QZ-20 Pushingpura near Sunil Dairy C-2, Jankipura, New Delhi. 7/3/2007
15.

Smt. Krishna Raina W/o Sh. SK Raina, R/o 799 Subash Nagar, Jammu. 8/3/2007
16.

Smt. Mohini Saraf (Vidyawati) W/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Saraf of 15-Aghahamam-Habbakadal Sgr;presently residing at 65-A, Sector-B, Tirath Nagar, Talab Tillo, Bohri Jammu. 8/3/2007
17.

Sh. Aka Lal Bhat originally resident of Verinag Anantnag Kmr; presently at BSNL-Exchange Qtrs. Nagrota, Jammu. 8/3/2007
18.

Sh. Dawarika Nath Trakroo S/o Late Sh. Thakur Joo Trakroo, R/o Search Chowdhary Bagh (Nunar) Ganderbal Kmr; presently at Migrant Camp Batal Ballian Community Centre Udampur. 8/3/2007
19.

Smt. Mohini Bhat W/o Sh ML Bhat originally resident of Khrew Kmr; presently at Vaihuvihar Sector-28, H.No: 39 on 8/3/2007.
20.

Sh. Brji Lal Mujoo S/o Late Sh. Shudhar Joo Mujoo originally resident of Syed Ali Akhbar Sgr; presently residing at 47-D, Inderpure Ambala Cantt (Haryana). 8/3/2007
21.

Smt. Shanta Kaul W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Koul orignal resident of Dilsoz Colony Natipora Badgam Kmr; presently at 49-Pocket-1, Sector-25, Rohini Delhi. 8/3/2007
22.

Sh. Neel Kanth Khar S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Khar originally resident of Mattan Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 74-A, Phase-II, Muthi Camp Jammu. 9/3/2007
23.

Smt. Rattan Rani Sumbly W/o Late Sh. Madhan Lal Sumbly originally resident of Chattabal Bagh Sunder Balla Sgr; presently at 103- Gowerdhan Kaushabhi Appartments near Anand Vihar Bus Stand Gaziabad. 9/3/2007
24.

Master Rohit Bhat S/o of Sh Ashok Kumar Bhat of Kandiwara Kokernag, Anantnag, Kmr; presently at residing at H.No: 728, Sector-3, Vniayak Nagar Muthi Jammu 10/3/2007
25.

Smt. Chanda Koul W/o Sh. Pushkar Koul (Aschkan); presently at B-74, Sector-36 Noida (UP). 11/3/2007
26.

Sh. Mohan Lal Kachroo S/o Late Sh. Laxman Joo Kachroo orignially resident of Sathu Chandpora Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 47, Toph Morh, Neelam Colony Jammu. 11/3/2007
27.

Sh. Radha Krishan Dhar S/o Late Sh. Mahanand Ram Dhar of Batapora Shopian Kmr; presently at C/o Sh. Susheel Jain Salasar Stand, Nani Gate Sikar Rajasthan. 11/3/2007
28.

Sh. Ramesh Bhat S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Bhat of Fatehpura, Anantnag Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 34, Batal Balian Migrant Camp, Udampur. 12/3/2007
29.

Smt. Kamlavati Koul wife of Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul original resident of Kachwamuqam Baramulla; presently at Qtr. No: 65-F, Purkhoo Camp, Phase-IInd Jammu. 14/3/2007
30.

Smt. Shamrani wife of Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Raina. originally resident of Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at Shastri Nagar, Vasar Road, Mumbai. 15/3/2007
31.

Sh. Prathivi Nath Jotshi (Advocate High Court) originally resident of Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 1-Kailash Kunj Gill Colony Saharanpur (UP). 15/3/2007
32.

Smt. Rajni Tiku W/o Late Sh. Rattan Lal Tiku originally residentof inside Fire Brigade Lnae Kani Kadal Sgr; presently at 104-C, Pocket B-10, Udaigir 2nd, Sector-34, Noida (UP). 16/3/2007
33.

Smt. Nancy Jee (Guddee) D/o Sh. DN Dhar and W/o Sh Vinod Kumar Bhat originally resident of Dassi Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; present residing at 283-Lane No: 13, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 17/3/2007
34.

Sh. Rajnath Koul S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Koul originally residento f Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently at Kamla Niwas-325 Colonel Colony Talab Tillo, Bohri Jammu. 17/3/2007
35.

Sh. TN Koul S/o Late Sh. Anand Ram Koul originally resident of Tankipora, Dadikadal Sgr;presently residing at KC Door, H.No: 27, Lane-4, Akhnoor Road Muthi, Jammu. 18/3/2007
36.

Smt. Roopa (Shubawati Safaya) W/o Sh. Shamboo Nath Safaya; presently residing at Katra behind Durga Bawan Katra Jammu originally residento f Ladhoo Batpora Kmr. 18/3/2007
37.

Smt. Omashori (Rani) wife of Late Sh. Omkar Nath Raina (Langar) originally resident of Shallayar, 2nd Bridge Sgr; presently at B-31, Pamposh Enclave New Delhi. 19/3/2007
38.

Smt. Jai Kishori Kaul wife of Late Sh. Jia Lal Koul original resident of Kuloosa Bandipur Kmr presently at H.No: 78, Lane-8, KC Door Muthi Jammu 19/3/2007
40.

Smt. Mohan Rani Kaul W/o Late Sh. Mohan Lal Kaul (Waffa) originally resident of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 207-Vipin Garden Kakrola Uttam Nagar, New Delhi-59. 19/3/2007
41.

Sh. Prem Nath Zalpuri S/o Late Sh. Aftab Koul (Zalpuri) orignally resident of Karapora, Khushki Rainawari Sgr; presently at F-6, Deepa Apartments Pat-Pat Ganj New Delhi. 19/3/2007
42.

Smt. Jai Kishori Munshi wife of Late Sh. Amarnath Munshi; presently at B-121, Panchvati Apt,t. Vikaspuri New Delhi. 19/3/2007
43.

Smt. Kishni Devi wife of Sh. Bal Krishan Kalla originally resident of Devi Anagan Hari Parbhat Sgr; presently at Mandlik Nagar, Paloura, Jammu. 20/3/2007
44.

Smt. Radhika Rami Sahib wife of Late Sh. Radha Krishan Sahib residing presently at N-193, Sector-25, Noida. 20/3/2007
45.

Smt. Primla Ji daughter of Late Sh. Nand Lal Ji of Katrasoo Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 16-A, Sector-2, Shardha Colony Patoli Brahmana, Jammu. 21/3/2007
46.

Sh. Pran Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Shiv Ji Koul Originally resident of Salia Anangnag, Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 72/F, Phase-IIIrd Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 22/3/2007
47.

Pandit Shambu Nath Koul F/o of Neelam and Tej Koul; presently residing at M-153, Greater Kailash-II New Delhi. 22/3/2007
48.

Smt. Prabawati Raina (Sheela Ji) wife of Sh. Prem Nath Rania originally resident of Turigam Kulgam Kmr; presently at 9-New Delhi appartments Vasundra Enclave. 23/3/2007
49.

Smt. Sheela Malla wife of Sh. Makhan Lal Malla originally resident of Babapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently at residing at H.No: 72 Lane-2, Anand Nagar Bohri Talab Tillo. 24/3/2007
50.

Sh. Triloki Nath Khar of 21, Ashok Nagar, Canal Road, Jammu Formerly 94-Karan Nagar Sgr. 24/3/2007
51.

Sh. Omkar Nath Kou S/o Pt. Vishambar Nath Koul originally resident of Barbarshah Sgr, currently residing at SHUHUL-R-9, Ashram Lane Trilokpur Road Gole Gujral Jammu. 24/3/2007
52.

Sh. Dina Nath Pandita S/o Late Ram Chand Pandita originally resident of Panzwa Verinag Kmr; presently residing at C/o Tirath Ram Gupta (Sailan) Talab Udampur. 24/3/2007.
53.

Sh. Brig Nath Raina S/o Late Mohisvar Nath Rania originally resident of Sallar Anantnag Kmr; presently at residing at Tarang Narvana Dharamshalla Kangra (HP). 24/3/2007
54.

Sh. Amit Koul Jalali S/o Sh. TK Jalali resident of H.No: 10, Lane No: 2, Nasseeb Nagar, Jankpur Jammu. 24/3/2007
55.

Sh. Vinod Kumar Bhat S/o Sh. Niranjan Nath Bhat originally resident of Wanpora Khanda Pulwama Kmr; presently at H.No: 1, C/o CL Rania, Kamini Nagrota Jammu. 25/3/2007
56.

Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul of Kachwa Maqam Baramulla Kmr; prsently at Lakshmiporam Chinore Jammu. 25/3/2007
57.

Smt. Kishori Koul W/o Sh. Kanya Lal Koul originally residentof Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 58, Krsihnagar Jammu. 26/3/2007
58.

Smt. Meenawati wife of Late Sh Gopi Nath Bhat originally residento f Khrew and then 77-C, Indira Nagar Sgr; presently residing at E-26 Nawada Housing Colony Kakrota Morh Uttam Nagar, New Delhi. 26/3/2007
59.

Smt. Leelawati wife of Late Sh Gwasha Lal Kar of Gund Gushi Anderhama Kupwara Kmr; presently at Community Hall Purkhoo Camp Phase-I Jammu. 26/3/2007.
60.

Sh. Soom Nath Dhar S/o Sh. Neel Kanth Dhar originally of Purshiyar Habakadal Sgr; presently at H.No: 77, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 26/3/2007
61.

Sh. Sanjay Haksar son of Late Sh. Girdhari Lal Haksar originally resident of 5-Wazir Bagh Sgr; presently at H.No: 21, Nandbab Colony Lale Da Bagh Jammu. 26/3/2007
62.

Sh. Moti Lal Wuthoo of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently at H.No: JMC-272, Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 27/3/2007
63.

Sh. Govind Koul of Simoo Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 139, Amar Colony Camp Gole Gujral Road, Jammu. 27/3/2007.
64.

Sh. Kashi Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Mahadev Ram Bhat resident of Delina Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at Sangtara Mohr Madubhan Lane No: 2, Jammu. 28/3/2007
65.

Sh. Jawahir Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Tarachand Raina originally resident of Nowbagh Veeri Anantnag, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 3, Lane 6, Sarawati Vihar Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 28/3/2007
66.

Sh. Omkar Nath Bawani S/o Late. Sh Radha Krishan Bawani originally resident of Martand Mattan Anantnag Kmr; presently resident H.No: 325, Sector 4, Gangyal Jammu. 28/3/2007.
67.

Prof. TN Koul (Kilam) formerly resident of Shivpora Sgr; presently at 65/14 Rajpura Road Dehradun. 30/3/2007
68.

Smt. Janki Devi (Jaikishori) W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul originally resident of Sholipora Budgam Kashmir; presently resideing at H.No: 51, Sector-1, Vinayak Nagar Muthi Jammu. 30/3/2007
69.

Sh. Naranjan Nath Koul originally resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently at Lane-5, Adarsh Nagar Barnai Road, Banatalab Jammu. 30/3/2007
70.

Smt. Shobhawat Bhat wife of Late Pt. Sarvananda Bhat originally resident of Chukar-Pattan Kmr; presently at H.No: 150, Ambica Vihar Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 30/3/2007
71.

Smt. Kamlawati Peer wife of Late Sh. Bal Jee Peer of Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 140, Block-D Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 30/3/2007
72.

Sh. Madan Ji Koul S/o Lt. Sh. Raghunath Koul of Chandapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently at Gole Colony near Baba Sehaj Nath Temple Gole Pully Talab Tillo, Jammu. 30/3/2007
73.

Sh. Kanaya Lal Kak S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Kak originally resident of Upper Sathu, Sgr and presently at 645-D, Sainik Colony, Jammu. 31/3/2007
74.

Sh. Moti Lal Pandita S/o Sh. Shyam Lal Pandita of Khanda Batpora Kmr; presently at 50-A Basant Nagar Janipur Jammu. 13/3/2007
75.

Smt. Santosh Kachroo W/o Sh. Shiban Krishen Kachroo R/o 172/2 Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu erstwhile resident of Narparistan Bana Mohalla Sgr. 13/3/2007
76.

Sh. Badri Nath Ji Wangoo W/o Sh. Shridhar Joo, R/o Traparpora Shopian Kmr; presently at H.No: 151, Sector-3, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 13/3/2007
77.

Sh. Moti Lal Tickoo of Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at GH-14/885-Paschim Vihar New Delhi. 13/3/2007
78.

Sh. Jitender Mohan Tiku S/o Late Dr KN Ticku original resident of 13-A, Parcey Bagh, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; present residing at Ahmedabad. 13/3/2007



## EDITORIAL

# Third Round Table Proposals

Islamist insurgency, now in its 19th year, has exacted a heavy toll of human life, property and the entire value-system in Kashmir. It has left behind a trail of religious-cleansing of the indigenous Kashmiri Hindu minority, smothered all forms of internal dissent, led to collapse of every institution of accountability and initiated process of brutalization and talibanisation in Kashmiri society.

Rebuilding national security, retrieving secularism and ensuring participatory democracy where no social group feels left out from the process of political and economic development, remain India's principle objectives in Kashmir. Quite often, Indian state and its political leadership have waxed eloquent on these objectives. In fact, Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh while inaugurating the first RTC in New Delhi last year said that the RTC initiatives had been primed to see the fruition of these very objectives.

Interventions made by the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister at the Second RTC at Srinagar had infused much hope that UPA govt. would not countenance any proposal that would jeopardize even remotely India's position in Kashmir and put spokes in the return/rehabilitation of Displaced Kashmiris. However, the recommendations made by the Working Groups at the recently concluded RTC in New Delhi have caused dismay and concern in nationalist circles. The people who handled the destiny of the Working Groups have displayed utter lack of realism and poor grasp of national interests. Instead of subjecting the recommendations to threadbare discussions, inviting the attention of acknowledged experts to study the long-term implications of the proposals and giving due credence to the concerns voiced by the nationalist groups participating in the RTC, the UPA Govt. seemed to be in hurry to craft a 'Joint Statement', conveying the acceptance of these recommendations. Is this the way to build a national consensus on such a sensitive issue like Kashmir?

Secularism has been the principle casualty of Islamist secessionist campaign in Kashmir. Religious-cleansing of the entire Hindu minority, emergence of moral vigilantism to reinforce talibanisation campaigns, concerted attempts to efface Kashmir's regional, historical and pluralistic identity to bring it in line with the talibanised ethos, increasing stridency in politics of competitive secessionism and communalism engaged in by the regional outfits are grim reminders of it. Kashmir's regional parties and the civil society have stood mute to the demands for retrieval of secularism---be it the reversal of genocide of Kashmiri Hindus or the need for secularization of social polity in Kashmir. Instead of standing up to religious reaction and neo-conservative Islamists the 'secular' regional parties have been championing the cause of

fundamentalist and secessionist groups. This has given legitimacy to the anti-national and fundamentalist forces. Ali Shah Geelani's recent rally at Idgah and the subsequent hartal need to be viewed in this context. What measures the Working Groups have suggested to counter such secessionist-fundamentalist forces? The Working Groups are silent on how the secular edifice is to be rebuilt in Kashmir by reversing the ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus. Problems faced by Kashmiri Hindus have been the consequence of their exclusion from the political system and total political marginalization. An honest Govt. would have asked the Working Groups to study the magnitude and dimensions of religious-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus. Solutions would have flown from this honest appraisal. If conditions are not created for the return of the entire Kashmiri Pandit community for whom the so-called university or reservation of few assembly seats would be needed.

The Working Groups have pontificated on the desirability of zero-level tolerance on Human Rights violations and recommended relief and state care for the dependents of terrorists killed or 'missing', yet not a word has been said about the effect on morale of the security forces when false allegations are raised consistently by the cover-fronts of Pakistan. The recent judgment by Supreme Court in this context underlines the difficult job the security forces are performing in Kashmir. The Working Groups have talked about the desirability of creating 'soft borders' and making 'borders irrelevant'. Why are WGs silent on the action which needs to be taken against those who are under a design defaming the Indian state at the behest of agencies operating across the border?

Participatory democracy is the key to stability of the polity. A dispensation where no group feels discriminated against would be healthy substratum for the growth of secular politics. Since 1947 successive govt.s at the Centre have patronized a section of population in Kashmir in the name of beating back the international intervention. Much greater share in political power, administration and economic benefits has flowed to this section. This group has been engaged in politics of blackmail and raking up emotions and has been raising too often the bogey of alienation to further maximize its interests. The centre has never displayed political will to counter this political blackmail. The result has been that institutionalized discrimination against Jammu, Ladakh, Kashmiri Pandits, Gujjars, etc continues to persist. How is Panchayati Raj going to help if one group continues to receive the premier share of the cake at the cost of other groups?

RTCs, howsoever well-intentioned, can yield little if the Central govt. is not sensitive enough to the concerns voiced by the discriminated groups in J&K and to other issues concerning national unity. A national consensus on Kashmir would continue to remain elusive till then.

## LETTERS

### Soft on Terror

Sir,

Home Minister Shivraj Patil's assertion that we are not soft on terror is quite amusing. The people of the country want to know the results of investigation in finding the killers of hundreds of Kashmiri Hindus particularly the killers of:-

1) Prof. K.L. Ganjoo at Sopore town of Kashmir and kidnapping of his wife in 1990 which is still a mystery.

2) Killing of I.A.F. officers in broad-day light at Rawalpura Chowk, Srinagar.

3) Killing/rape of Sarla Bhat of SKIMS, Srinagar in the institute premises.

—V.S. Ganesan  
Bangalore.

### Disastrous Policy

Sir,

To discuss the demand for withdrawal of troops from J&K, one of the States of the Union of India, raised by Pakistan President and taken up locally by the PDP would confer legitimacy to the Pak claim over the State. The Government of India and principally the Congress party bear all costs and consequences of this disastrous policy.

—PN Kaul  
Talab Tillo, Jammu

### Sardapeeth University

Sir,

Exile has once again proved that the biggest asset possessed by the politically marginalised community of the Kashmiri Pandits is their intellectual acumen. There are shortcomings that are still present in our Society but the intellectual heritage that has been following in our blood is still in good percentage.

Now the time has come to convert this intellectual heritage into tangible form. So that, progeny is able to trace their links to our beloved "Homeland" with great pride and honour.

The only way we can preserve our art, culture, language, history etc. is by setting up an institute of educational excellence, Where the key forms should be to uphold our "intellectual heritage" that

has been the key USP of the Kashmiri Pandits. An institute that can bind together the intelligentsia of this exiled community for developing vision through scientific research. That can create a think tank which can shape the contemporary political movement for the intellectual renaissance of this exiled community.

So that the community is sharpened at educational level. The intelligentsia of this community needs to come on the common platform to neutralise the educational and political climate; to cultivate the youth that will be incessant for the movement i.e. the regain of Homeland. That can mobilise the international opinion for the political justice that this community is long awaiting for nearly two decades now.

What I want to say is that—We need the "University of Kashmiri Pandits" that can create the ambience of research and innovation.

If we want to re-energise ourselves intellectually then the establishment of the "Shardapeeth University of the Kashmiri Pandits" is the urgent need of the hour for the socio-political re-engineering of this exiled community.

And the "*Kashmir Sentinel*", and the "*Panun Kashmir*" need to start the debate on this topic.

I hope my humble suggestion will generate debate at least amongst the intelligentsia of his community.

If possible—the *Kashmir Sentinel* should come out with a special issue on "Shardapeeth University of the Kashmiri Pandits".

—Mahesh Kaul  
C/o Shree Institute of Education, Amphalla Karan Nagar, Jammu.

### Judiciary Role

Sir,

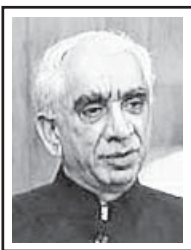
PM Manmohan Singh's homily to the judiciary on dividing Line between judicial activism and over-reach is the result of UPA Govt's frustration at being check-mated by the judiciary on various policy decisions of Sonia Gandhi. Chief Justice Balkrishan has made his attitude very clear. It is a pity that the Congress Culture has rubbed off on Mr Manmohan Singh.

—H.R. Bapu Satya  
Narayana, Mysore.

# Pressure building on UPA Govt to make “Back-Channel” Diplomacy public

## BJP REACTION:

Pressure is mounting on the UPA government to take the nation and Parliament into confidence on “back – channel” discussions between



India and Pakistan on Kashmir. In its first major criticism of U P A government’s handling of K a s h m i r policy BJP mounted an offensive in Parliament. Its leader of opposition in Rajya Sabha, Sh. Jaswant Singh urged the Central government to honour the unanimous resolution passed in Parliament on Feb 20, 1994, which declared POK as an integral part of India. He regretted that prime minister Manmohan Singh was shying away from taking parliament and opposition into confidence. Mr. Jaswant Singh criticized the agenda of “soft borders” and “making borders irrelevant”. He upbraided the UPA government for being soft on Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the Hurriyat leader and allowing him to stage a rally in which LeT terrorists displayed arms and weapons openly. Mr. Jaswant Singh also took strong exception to the trend where “state governments where dictating foreign policy on Kashmir”. He said “it is highly dangerous to fragment the foreign policy and leave it to be decided by the state government”.

Earlier at Kanpur, BJP leader Sh LK Advani said that no self –respecting country would compromise on sovereignty . Describing “Indo –Pak joint mechanism on terrorism” as a farce, Mr. Advani had said that terrorism in India was being perpetuated by Pakistan only and added, ” on one hand while Pakistan talks of fighting terrorism jointly, on the other it wants J&K to be kept out of its ambit”. He also opposed the demand for “de-miltarisation”, saying troop pullout would lead to religious –cleansing of Hindus in J&K.” Mr. Advani also criticized the demand for autonomy.

BJP president Rajnath Singh had claimed at Aurangabad that

UPA government had already withdrawn six thousand army troops, which led to targeting of Hindu minority in Budhal area of Rajouri .

Prof. VK Malohtra, BJP MP said, that his party has already served a notice in parliament that the PM take the country into confidence regarding talks on Kashmir. He added, “if Islamabad says the Kashmir issue is near settlement, the Prime Minister must tell the country and the Parliament where we have reached in these talks. “It’s high time he spoke about it now”. Former BJP Prime Minister MrAB Vajpayee also wrote to UPA government, cautioning against any hasty move in the peace process, especially with regard to Kashmir . BJP also strongly opposed the demand for withdrawal of Disturbed areas Act and Armed Forces Special Powers Act.

Protestations by BJP have come in the wake of “disclosures” by Pakistani leaders and PDP that a settlement on Kashmir was round the corner . Sardar Abdul Qayoom Khan, the high –profile POK leader, who recently Visited New Delhi said the 4-point proposal on Kashmir floated by Gen Musharraf had evoked a good response in India. On April 21 last, Pakistan President, Gen Musharraf had claimed that the two countries were moving towards a settlement on Kashmir. He had said that no compromise would be reached on the issue without meeting the “aspirations of Kashmiris” . He told Sardar Atiq Khan, POK Leader, “We respect the ‘sacrifices’ rendered by Kashmiris. Their blood will not go waste. Kashmiris are the main party affected by dispute”.

## PAK POSTURING:

Pak Foreign Minister Khurshid Ahmed Kasuri repeated the claim that Pakistan and India were moving towards the settlement of the Kashmir issue that might not be the “first best”choice for all the three parties, including the Kashmiris”. Kasuri said, “Lot of ground has been covered for agreement on Kashmir and some areas of differences are being

sorted out,” adding certain steps are needed to create a conducive environment so that the two governments could sell “package to the people of Pakistan, India and Kashmir.” Kasuri said progress made on Kashmir package was beyond imagination and irreversible. He, however, refused to disclose the details of the package. “The Nation”, the Pakistan daily which carried Kasuri’s interview, also quoted a senior Pakistani official as saying that the proposed package bears resemblance to president Musharraf’s 4-point Kashmir plan “seeking self- rule for Kashmiris, demilitarization of the territory, free movement across LOC and joint management.”

Earlier, Pak Prime minister Shoukat Aziz had said on the sidelines of the 14th SAARC Summit in New Delhi, ” the proposals made by Musharraf are the basis of discussion process at the Secretary level, , Minister-level and Heads of the State level talks.”

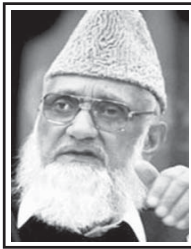
Mufti Mohd. Syed, former J&K chief minister and PDP patron, told CNN-IBN recently that the centre was considering the idea of giving “self-rule” to J&K under which J&K state would be kept out of the purview of Article 356. He claimed that Pak government was contemplating a similar step for the parts of the state under its occupation. He said, ” There is back-channel talk with UPA government going on and they are considering the idea of self rule . Various formulae are being discussed.”PDP leader also said “demilitarization” was on the agenda of the government. While making suggestion to make J&K ‘a free economic zone’ –with free movement of the people and goods, Mufti demanded, ” Give both parts of Kashmir “self-governance”. Then have a joint mechanism and include both the countries and make J&K a free economic zone.

ML Kotru, an eminent columnist quoted a retired senior Indian government official connected with unofficial dialogue process as saying, “Kasuri does not seem very much of the mark. He confided that an agreement with Pakistan was very much on the cards.” Mr Kotru also stated that India had

withdrawn the security forces, the army, particularly from some of the domestic sectors . He blamed US, the European Union and the ‘domestic blackmailers’, for putting pressure on Congress leadership to yield concessions to Pakistan. In view of the political fallout of leakages made by Pakistan leaders, central congress leadership has been maintaining discreet silence on the issue. Prime Minister Manmohan singh dismissed claims of Pak government leaders by saying that “these assertions do not give a correct picture.” While Pakistanis are publicly claiming the settlement” was moving in the right direction”, India is observing silence.

## QAYOOM KHANS’S VISIT:

Recently, Sardar Abdul Qayoom Khan, senior POK leader who has been described as “first terrorist” visited New Delhi as an emissary of Gen . Musharraf and met senior central and state govt. leaders . He was hailed as an “emissary of peace” in India , though what he said was contrary to that. POK leader defended cross border terrorism by



saying no training camps for terrorists existed in Pakistan and argued LeT was not a terrorist organization but a religious body with specific objectives. Demanding general amnesty for terrorists, he said safe passage for terrorists was under discussion. About self- rule and de-militarization Qayoom said these have not been defined. Speaking about the mission of Qayoom Khan the noted columnist Wilson John observed that Qayoom was one of the pawns in the new game on J&K being set by the Pak army and added “Gen. Musharraf’s scheme is to create a smokescreen of peace and rapprochement with India while keeping the option of jihad alive in J&K.”

Separatist conglomerate Hurriyat conference leader Mirwaiz Umar Farooq in a meeting at Qazigund on May 2

said, ” There was no secret pact on the resolution of Kashmir but asserted that the peace process between India and Pakistan was going in the right direction .”He asked Delhi to hold a separate Round Table meet with all separatist groups without any preconditions and “with an open mind .”A section of media has reported that this meet was going to be held at the end of this month.

## RECOMMENDATIONS AT THIRD RTC:

Recommendations made by the working groups at third RTC have sent a wave of anger and alarm in nationalist circles . The recommendations which had bearing on the separatist constituency were unambiguous, specific and time bound . The recommendations which concerned pro –India groups were vague, which had to be decided through “further discussions”. Weightage was being given to perpetrators of violence rather than to its victims. The recommendations favoured unconditional dialogue with terrorist groups. While favouring it the working groups suggested that the central and the state government may consider application of internationally accepted policies in consultation with experts. The working groups’ recommendations included withdrawal of AFSPA and Disturbed areas act in J&K, general amnesty for terrorists, rehabilitation of surrendered terrorists, free passage to Kashmiri youth from Pakistan, scholarship to kins of killed terrorists, relief to the children of ‘missing’ persons, strengthening of State Human Rights Commission at par with NHRC.

On the issue of refugees, the working groups displayed strong anti-hindu bias. On West Pakistan refugees of 1947, who to this day remain stateless citizens, the working groups suggested “Rehabilitation problems of 1947 refugees need to be examined and settled once for all “. About Kashmiri hindus it said there should be talks with representatives of Kashmiri migrants and identification of ‘such categories’ willing to

(Contd. no Page 5)



Pressure building on UPA Govt to make “Back-Channel” Diplomacy public

(From Page 4)

return to valley in next three years .... to their original places”. It suggested jobs for migrants against retirement vacancies in Police, Civil secretariat, knowing well how few Kashmiri Pandits were employed in these departments. Kashmiri Pandits had been mostly serving in education department. In case of illegal encroachment of properties of Pandits, the working group does not call for complete removal of all encroachment of Pandit property, instead it takes recourse to suggestion for ‘compensation’. In Round table discussions there was talk of reserving 3-4 assembly seats for Kashmiri Hindus and granting of a minority university . If no efforts are made for reversing the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus and creating conditions for the return of entire community what would be use of this? Display of lack of realism on the part of working groups towards issues of national security has come in for serious criticism by well acknowledged think tanks. G Parthasarthy, a former diplomat and an expert on Pakistan laments that “not a single working group has stated that there can be no sustained economic or social development in J&K unless political parties and civil society organizations stop working as virtual apologists for terrorists trained across LOC and join hands to isolate terrorists. ”

The State Governor, the Chief Minister, the army establishment have strongly opposed demilitarization proposal . Governor Gen. Sinha said as India has borders with a hostile neighbour, withdrawing troops was not possible even if there were complete normalcy . About Joint management he said it would infringe on the country’s sovereignty. On the issue of ‘self rule’ Gen. Sinha said J&K people enjoyed higher degree of democracy. He added that if there was any need for ‘self-rule’ it was for parts under occupation of Pakistan. Lt. Gen. HS Panag, GOC in C Northern Command strongly defended special powers for army in insurgency situations . He argued “The army is not a police force with constitutional authority to maintain law and order for all times but called for a specific period for restoring order when situation is out of control and hence need special

powers for its judicial functioning to execute the assigned task”. ESL Narsimhan, former IB chief has stressed the need to take care of the morale of the forces as well while dealing with the Human Rights violations. Representatives from Kargil, and Mr. Usman Majid, MLA from Bandipore strongly opposed the demand for demilitarization at the Third Round Table.

While report by working Group on centre –state relations, headed by Justice (Rtd. ) Sageer Ahmad is yet to submit its recommendations, a former bureaucrat, Wajahat Habibullah was asked to present a plan on “devolution of powers”. Wajahat Habibullah has advocated five regional assemblies-one each for Ladakh, Kargil and Kashmir but two for Jammu region. When it comes to delimitation of assembly seats Jammu region is ignored. Previously Kashmir was given 9 more seats than Jammu, in new delimitation Kashmir will get 12 more seats than Jammu. This will perpetuate political discrimination against Jammu region for all times to come . Wajahat model advocates two regional assemblies for Jammu which is more or less in tune with the model proposed by Kathwari. It has been cleverly couched, in secular terms -- ‘mountaineous’ and ‘plain areas’. It may be recalled that soon after 1947 Sheikh Abdullah had carved out Doda as a Muslim majority district as part of ‘Greater Kashmir plan’. Wajahat plan on Jammu would reinforce these fears in the Jammu region. Congress had recently granted District status to Kishtwar and Ramban which was welcomed by both the communities in erstwhile Doda district . Wajahat model, if accepted would mean undoing of this secular move . Rather than ensuring decentralization, Wajahat plan would lead to communal consolidation. The issue of Gujjars and the homeless Kashmiri Pandits has not been addressed by Wajahat Habibullah model. The way recruitment process has been carried out for CRPF and JKAP recently has deepened further alienation of Jammuities and Ladakhis.

**‘JOINT MANAGEMENT’ AND ‘POROUS BORDERS’:**

Proponents of ‘Joint Management’ have being claiming that this too was under

discussion in ‘back-channel’ diplomacy but UPA government has been consistently maintaining that it would discuss jointly only issues of common concern-trade, tourism, Education, Health, Environment and water resources.

Experts have also questioned the wisdom of ‘porous borders’ at a time when Pakistan was in the grip of serious crisis-demographic implosion, as epicenter of Islamic terrorism which exports terrorism, prospects of a failed state headed by a discredited, illegitimate military leadership.

**MUSLIM LOBBY PRESSURE:**

Why is India yielding concessions to Pakistan at a time when it is better placed to protect its interests? US recently designated HUM, JeM and LeT as terror outfits and denied visa to Ali shah Geelani. It even put other terrorist groups –CPI (Maoist), ULFA, HUJI, HM, and JUM in the category of ‘Groups of concern’. This affords us greater leverage to counter the Islamist and neo-fundamentalist groups in

Kashmir. What did we do ? Geelani was arrested only after great furore in parliament.

It is being said that domestic Muslim lobby was putting pressure on congress to yield concessions on Pakistan. It had also been behind the appointment of Sachar panel.

**THE PROSPECT:**

Whether the ongoing “peace process”\_ domestic and bilateral negotiations will lead to any settlement remains a moot point. Political situation rules out any settlement which impairs India’s position in Kashmir. There are other reasons as well. Loud thinking on peace process remains limited to top echelons in Congress and BJP; it is not shared by middle level leadership and rank file. Both Congress and BJP have suffered massive erosion of their base and faced electoral reverses recently. A beleaguered BJP with no major issue to counter congress can only fall back upon national security, with Kashmir as the principle focus. Strong reaction by BJP leadership is to be viewed in this context. Yasin

Malik, JKLF leader, who was peeved by BJP reaction, was not off the mark when he said peace process was baby of Vajpayee and Brijesh Mishra. It was strong pressure by local BJP which forced Mishra to retract his statement he made on NDTV on Kashmir autonomy. Similarly, the fiasco of Muslim card, the high rate of inflation and shrinking of its electoral base limits Congress’s options on any deal with Pakistan . Moreover, congress’s main base in J&K is in Jammu province . Any model which weakens interests of Jammu will lead to total rout of the party in the state . Congress leadership has started taking damage –limiting measures. It cancelled the US sponsored Pugwash conference at Kochi. The Pugwash group had been subverting public opinion in India to yield concessions on J&K. Many of the Pugwash proposals floated through Indian members have been the subject of track-2 discussions. There was also strong opposition within UPA Government on allowing Sardar Qayoom Khan to visit India.

**SHEELA TEXTILES  
UDYOG  
& ANGEL SILKS**



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# Panun Kashmir organises meet

**KS Correspondent**

JAMMU, May 13: Sounding optimism, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr Ajay Chrungoo said that Kashmiri Hindus have more friends today and presently the Kashmiri Pandit is politically more important than any other time in the recent history..

The PK leader was speaking at a function at Muthi organized by the Organization in continuation of its programme of interacting with the community brethren.

Addressing the well attended gathering Dr Ajay Chrungoo said that unlike at the outset of exodus, there is more understanding on the issue of KPs and the Pandits cause is championed by the unexpected quarters.

At the outset of exodus, the political elite in the country thought that Kashmiri Pandits were not victims of the problem but were the problem itself as some saw us as progeny of Pt. J.L. Nehru, whom they accused to be responsible for the Kashmir crisis, while others saw us as the high caste Brahmins who were responsible for the repression of other classes. But today there is more understanding of the prob-

lem and most of the politicians across spectrum admit that Pandits have been victims of Muslim Communalism that is at the root of Kashmir problem," asserted Dr. Chrungoo. Referring to Round Table Conference and meeting of Working Groups, Dr Chrungoo said that most of the leaders had no option but to champion the cause of Pandits. "Even BSP talked about our rights and PDP leader Muzaffar Hussain Baig went to the extent of advocating amendment in the constitution to get seats reserved for the community for upholding their political rights".

Lauding the resilience and continued struggle of the community, Dr Chrungoo said that the enemy had hounded us out with the hope of pushing the community to extinction but the community stood its ground and frustrated their nefarious designs. "Despite the enemy having population mass and economic power behind it, the Pandits not only withstood the onslaught but rose like proverbial phoenix to contest them," Dr Chrungoo said. Dr Chrungoo added that contrary to the enemy's hopes it is Kashmiri Pandit represented by Panun Kash-

mir who contested all antinational and communal propositions like autonomy and self-rule in the RTC and WGs' meetings on the basis of logic and reasoning.

Panun Kashmir Chairman informed the community that as per indications, the announcement of employment package for the community is a matter of time but added that the government will have to address the core issue of rehabilitation of the community which is possible only with the creation of Homeland.

Prof. M.L. Koul, Member Advisory Committee Panun Kashmir, in his address, cautioned the community to be cautious of the machinations by the vested interests to enforce symbolic return of the Pandits by luring some individuals to the advantage of the enemy. He exhorted the people to resist all such forces and be committed to the collective return to the Homeland. Referring to the continued exodus of the community, Mr Kaul said that the present exodus is the seventh major exodus of the community and the community will not return now to face with similar conditions again. He added that this time the commu-

nity has taken a decision to return to the Homeland on our own terms and conditions and live there as a matter of right and not on the good will of majority community that has betrayed us time and again.

Accusing the Pakistani leadership of turning bankrupt of ideas, Mr Kaul said that there is dearth of ideas in Pakistan which is reflected in the four point proposal of Musharraf. He added that the Indian leadership, perhaps, has also contracted the disease that is why it failed to reject the proposal forthwith as a sovereign nation can't be dictated by any other nation where to deploy its forces. Mr Kaul wondered that a person who has strangled democracy in his own country, which has witnessed Army Rule for most of time since its inception, is counselling for 'self-rule' to a country which has one of the best flourishing democracies in the world.

Launching a scathing attack on Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, he said that it is ironical that Mr Sayeed is part of the coalition government but is pursuing the agenda of Musharraf and furthering the interests of Pakistan.

Mr Koul described him as the architect of 1986 riots.

Describing Muslim Communalism as the base of present crisis, Sh. O.N. Trisal, President All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference, said that this communalism needs to be faced with in the same spirit as the British Colonialism was fought with that resulted in the Independence of India. "Before Independence imperialism was the main concern and the people transcended all other concerns to defeat the menace. In the post independence era, Muslim communalism is the main concern and should be fought with transcending all concerns to defeat the menace", asserted Mr Trisal. Mr Trisal patted Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr Ajay Chrungoo for his eloquent presentations and denuding the communal forces of their communal and anti-national agendas.

Mr Trisal warned the community brethren that there are elements within who are harming the interests of the community and asked them to isolate such forces.

The programme was moderated by the PK Secretary Sh. B.L. Koul.



# Chimp, Hangul And Person

By Shyam Kaul

In Vienna there is a 26-year old chimpanzee, named Hiasl. He is fond of eating pastry, enjoys watching TV, and his faourite pastime is painting. But he abhors coffee.

Hiasl's lovers and other animal rights advocates are now busy waging a legal battle to get the chimp legally recognised as a "person". If they succeed, it would entitle Hiasl to get donations for his food and upkeep, as the monthly expenditure on this account runs into thousands of dollars. Under the Austrian Law, only the status of a "person" could give Hiasl a legal entity and enable him to hire a paid guardian to taking care of his upkeep and other needs. It would also qualify him for the right to own property.

Here in Kashmir, we are having, more or less, a similar situation. But in this case it is not an "animal" that is seeking to get the status and rights of a "person". It is actually someone who is already a "person", but is being denied his natural and fundamental rights as a "person". It is the exiled Kashmiri Pandit (KP), who, inspite of being a "person" of the status of a hereditary citizen of Jammu and Kashmir, is for the past two decades, languishing in homelessness and running from pillar to post to establish his inherent right to live in his own home, in his own land of ancestors, as a free citizen, without fear or danger to his life and property.

Kashmir, it is relevant to mention here, is also the exclusive habitat of the majestic stag, called Hangul or Hangal, which is among the endangered animal species, and has been for a long time, struggling between survival and extinction. It is an interesting coincidence that among the Pandits of Kashmir, Hangul of Hangal is a surname. No doubt, it is limited only to a small number of families, but going by the turmoil, violence, terror and killings of past two decades, with all the diastrous consequences, especially for the KP community, it would be apt to apply the surname Hangal to the entire endangered human species of Kashmiri Pandits.

Today in the din of happenings like Round Table Conference (more curved than round), internal dialogue (less dialogue, more cuss words), peace process (more ballyhoo, less process), safar-e-Azadi (Safar sans azadi) and the deafening tumult about self-rule, joint management, troop reduction, demilitarisation, human rights violations, and what have you, nobody has time, nor inclination to listen to the voice of the displaced Pandit, who, undoubtedly is among the worst victims, if not the worst, of the two-decade old scourge of militancy and terrorist violence. Nobody has any answers to his questions, his demands, and his problems, and to the ultimate question of his return to his land of birth, and rehabilitation in honour and dignity.

Winston Churchill said once that, "There are a lot of lies going around..... and half of them are true."

All that the Pandits in exile have been hearing, coming from the government during the past 18 years, are lies, but let alone "half of them", not even one tenth have come true. What, for instance happened of the lie that the successive governments over the past

18 years have been feeding the KPs with that their return and rehabilitation in Kashmir was a "top priority" of the government? Or the lie about the government having ordered, several years ago, a survey of the KP properties, lands and other assets in Kashmir, with a view to preparing a detailed inventory for the benefit of the concerned community as well as the government? Or the lie about district commissioners having been asked to expedite the district-wise survey and compile the inventory at the earliest possible? Or the lie about the assurance of the government that all encroachments, forced takeovers and illegal occupations of KP houses, lands, orchards and other properties would be ended forthwith and the properties would be restored to lawful owners? Or the lie that

the government had plans to assume supervision of all Pandit properties, back in Kashmir, in order to save these from falling into the hands of illegal grabbers? Or the lie about the government's "determination" to stop vandalisation, encroachment and occupation of KP temples, shrines and other religious properties in the Valley? Or the lie about taking "stern action" against the illegal sales of Kp religious properties, by some individuals, including non-state subject persons, who were not authorised by anyone to do so? Or the lie about opening up new avenues of employment to thousands of jobless KP youths, including those living in the Valley?

It is interesting, and perhaps not for nothing, that Chief minister, Gulam Nabi Azad, unlike his predecessors and preceding governments in power, is maintaining a studied silence on the issue of KPs return to Kashmir? He appears to be acting on a popular Kashmiri saying; "Silence is silver; when observed, it is gold." Or is it a hint, an indication, of Delhi and Srinagar having finally wrapped the ribbon round the issue of the return of KPs to Kashmir and locked it up for all time? If, however, it is a lie too, then all that we can do is to hope that this one will not come true, either.

History tells us of the obliteration of people, groups, and communities, at different times, but the one that the KPs in perpetual displacement are faced with is unique. No doubt it started with the onslaught of the alien cult of terror and violence, dyed in religious fundamentalism, but the process is being systematically completed by our own secular, democratic and representative government. It is a clear instance of pushing a whole community, by no account obscure or unknown into disappearance from its own land of inheritance, before consigning it to the oblivion of history.

Is there no power of conscience, justice, fairplay and human concern, in this country, that would join the displaced and exiled KP in his struggle for reclaiming and regaining his inborn status and rights as a "person" of the soil of Kashmir? The fulfillment of the dream of this "person" of Kashmir will harm none whatsoever, but it will give him eternal peace and contentment "to breathe this native air, in his own ground."

## DEBATE

# Mongols, Central Asian Rivalry and Kashmir-II

By M.M. Munshi

In 1530 Humayun ceded Punjab and Indian frontier to his brother Kamran in addition to Kabul and Kandhar which were already in latter's possession. He dispatched a sizable force to annex Kashmir which reached Srinagar without facing any serious opposition but combined forces of various Kashmiri factions inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mogul forces near Athwajan [ Baharistan Shah Tariq-i-Haidar Malik].

The country had hardly two years when it was invaded for the first time in historic times via the Zojilla route by armies of Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar. Having completed subjugation of Baltistan and Ladakh dispatched under Mirza Haider Dughlat and Sikandar Khan who were Turks and not Mongols four thousand horsemen reinforced by many axillaries provided by defeated Balti and Ladakhi chiefs [Tariq-i-Rashidi] Kashghari army entered Kashmir via Zojilla pass in 1533, met very feeble resistance at Drun Nar, a narrow and dangerous defile below Sonamarg and proceeded up to Nowshahar. After resting for a few days at Nowshahar they advanced southwards pillaging and destroying whatever came their way.

Kashmiri forces mostly foot soldiers offered them battle near Mattan but proved no match for Kashghari horsemen.Kashmiris retreated to steep hills and narrow glens where Kashgharis could not attack them. After suffering a series of defeats Kashmiris by getting fresh reinforcements and courage of despair finally succeeded in defeating the Kashgharis somewhere south of Srinagar. Mirza Haidar wanted to stay in Kashmir and subdue the country but was forced to quit due to discontent, spread in his troops by his subordinate commanders.

After reaching Ladakh he was reinforced with fresh troops from Kashghar with the object of capturing Tibet but the mission failed due to long supply line and aid extended to Tibetians by Raja of Jumla [A.H.Francke "Antiquities of Indian Tibet" Archeological Survey of India 1065]. After the death of Kashghar ruler his successor Rashid Khan was not kindly disposed towards Mirza Haider and withdrew most of the forces

to Turkistan. Mirza Haider was forced to flee Ladakh, made his way upto Yarkand valley through Tagbundash, formidable Pamir passes and Badakshan to Kabul and finally Punjab.

Humayun who was still toying with the idea of annexing Kashmir gave assistance to Mirza Haider Dughlat who was poised to invade valley at the invitation of one of the warring Kashmiri factions. King Ibrahim Shah was disposed and Mirza Haider placed a puppet of his own on the Kashmir throne and himself ruled himself for about decade when he was killed by Shia rebels for his pro-Sunni policies. Kashmir again passed into the hands of weak and ineffectual kings of Chak clan till it was annexed by Akbar in 1586.

### Conclusion

A preview of the above leaves no doubt, that except for intrusions of Dulacha and Alacha during the rules of King Sahadeva (1301-1320) and Udayanadeva (1323-39) who entered Kashmir via Baramula and Hirapur routes in 1313 and 1324 respectively no other Mongol invaded or penetrated Kashmir during known historic times. Mongolia remained divided into small tribal kingdoms for about a millennium till it was unified into an empire by Genghis Khan (1611-1227), expanded by his successors and held for about a century. In between the power rivalry in central Asia was restricted to China, Kashmir etc on one side and Tibet,the Abassid Califate (Arabs) and Turkistan on the other side. As such Mongolians having penetrated Punjab or Delhi via Kashmir especially during the eight century as stated by B N Sharga and others is far from the truth and nothing short of distortion of history.

Rinchan was a Ladakhi prince, a descendant of Nyi-ma -gon of Tibetan origin and not of the Hun race of Mongolia and entered Kashmir as a refugee in early 14th century with a handful of followers was given shelter by Ram Chandra minister and commander in chief of king Sahadeva. Since he was not accompanied by any army the question of his generals marrying Kashmiri Women and raising families has also to be ruled out.Most of the invasions of Kashmir from Prehistoric times to 1819 were from west, north west and south i.e. Baramula-Kishenganga side and western passes on the Pir Panjal range. The only exceptions are the invasion via Zojilla Pass by armies of the Kashghar ruler in 1533 and minor skirmishes from across the Saribal range from Kishtwar which was used as a hideout and sanctuary by disposed Kashmiri Kings and rebels from time to time.

--(Concluded)



**KS:** *What was the impact of ‘Quit Kashmir Movement’, launched by National Conference?*

SS: ‘Quit Kashmir Movement’ did not take off the way it was envisaged. NC had thought that they would be able to create a situation where Maharaja Hari Singh may face a situation similar to the one faced by the British government in 1942 during ‘Quit India Movement’. Local Kashmiris did not support to the extent Sheikh Abdullah and NC leadership had hoped and expected. The movement did not enthuse the masses enough. After 15-20 days the life in Srinagar was normal. However, this movement did help National Conference to gain political space vis-a-vis Muslim Conference.

**KS:** *What were the reasons for the lack of success of the movement?*

SS: The major factors were—divided political loyalties in Kashmir between NC and MC and pre-emptive action by the State administration headed by Prime Minister RC Kak. The latter did not help NC to reap the rich harvest of all its plans against Dogra ruler. Sheikh Sahib and many other leaders were arrested. Those who went underground managed to evade arrest and operated clandestinely. Some others like Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Kh. GM Sadiq escaped to Rawalpindi and made Lahore their base. The leadership of the underground movement went into the hands of Kh. Mohi-ud-Din Karra. He became popular leader of the movement. The intellectual class of NC-Maulana Masoodi, Mirza Afzal Beg, Pt. Janki Nath Zutshi, Pt. Kashi Nath Aima and others were in jail. Due to all this the ‘Quit Kashmir Movement’ failed to achieve fully its objectives. Of course, an overriding situation was the fast moving political scene in the country. This had an impact on J&K too. In the meantime, the Cabinet Mission had come to India and visited Srinagar for two days.

**KS:** *How severe was the State repression during the Quit Kashmir Movement?*

SS: There was no large-scale repression or oppression by the State administration. The families, whose members had gone underground to evade arrest during the movement, were put to trouble.

**KS:** *What was the attitude of Kashmiri Pandits and the political forces outside J&K towards ‘Quit Kashmir Movement’?*

SS: The educated intellectual class among Kashmiri Pandits sympathised with and participated in the movement. Leaders like Sh. Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai etc. visited the State. Pt. Nehru courted arrest to express solidarity with the movement. It were these leaders who organised the legal defence of Sheikh Abdullah.

**KS:** *Did Maharaja’s govt. and National Conference meet the Cabinet Mission in Srinagar?*

SS: It was reported that Maharaja Hari Singh had prepared a memorandum for submission but no meeting took place. Reports current at that time did say that the memorandum was given to

# Sati Sahni— A Conversation-III

the leader of the Cabinet Mission by an emissary of the Maharaja. Although no authentic details are available the local Urdu press of Lahore said that Maharaja Hari Singh had supported withdrawal of British from India as the only peaceful option. In the absence of top leadership, NC was also not able to submit a formal memorandum. The Cabinet Mission stayed at the State Guest House, near Amar Singh Club.

**KS:** *There were communal riots in Punjab on 16th March 1947. What was its impact on J&K? What was Muslim League policy towards Princely States?*

SS: Communal violence in Punjab did have an impact here. Ch. Hameedullah Khan, Vice-President of Muslim Conference had tried to use that situation to inflame sentiments of Muslims in Kashmir and Jammu. He was leader of Muslim Conference in Praja Sabha. A meeting of Muslim Conference under his chairmanship was called in Jammu on 19th July. A resolution was adopted asking Maharaja to accede to Dominion of Pakistan, which was coming into being. The resolution asked Maharaja to accede in three subjects— Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

Earlier, on 17th June, All India Muslim League held a meeting in which Jinnah made a formal announcement confirming what Indian Independence Act had proposed—that the decision of a princely state to accede to either of the two dominions would be the exclusive right and prerogative of the ruler to decide. This was opposite to the stand taken by the Congress, which said that the right belonged to the people.

**KS:** *Can you throw some light on Mountbatten’s mission to Kashmir?*

SS: Mountbatten Plan had been announced on 3rd of June, 1947. On 19th of June Lord Mountbatten and Lady Edwina came to Srinagar on a four day visit. Obviously, the visit was intended to persuade Maharaja to take a decision to accede to either of the dominions.

Situation in Kashmir was altogether different. Maharaja Hari Singh had almost made up his mind not to become part of either of the Dominions. There were some reasons for this. Firstly, it was the statement of Muslim League that the ruler was the ultimate authority to decide the issue of accession. Secondly, he feared that the Muslim majority state would not willingly support him if he decided to accede to India. Lastly, he did not want to accede to Pakistan for obvious reasons.

Two other major influences working on him were—Prime Minister RC Kak, who reportedly advised him to delay decision to accede till after the two Dominions had been created and the second influence was Maharani Tara Devi. She was under the overpowering influence of Swami Sant Dev, the family Raj Guru. It was reported then that Sant Dev had conveyed

to the Maharaja that he had dreamt that the Maharaja’s flag was flying over Lahore Fort. He also reportedly conveyed to Maharani that the planetary configuration also supported such an eventuality. All these things perhaps influenced the mind of Maharaja.

Perhaps on this account Maharaja avoided any meeting with Mountbatten during his 4 days stay in Kashmir. For the first two days he sent Mountbattens to Thicker Fishing Lodge near Mattan to enjoy fishing. On the last day when Mountbatten was to leave in the afternoon a meeting was fixed in the forenoon. Early in the morning Maharaja conveyed to the Viceroy his regrets, saying he was suffering from colic. So he avoided the meeting and the decision could not be forced on the Maharaja.

**KS:** *Around same time the British Govt. decided to terminate the 60-year lease of Gilgat Agency, which the Maharaja had given to them in 1935. How did the situation evolve there subsequently?*

SS: Gilgat Agency, which had an area of 13 00 sq kms, reverted to Maharaja’s administration on 1st August, 1947. Maharaja had decided to send Brig. Ghansara Singh, a serving officer of State Forces, as Governor of Gilgat. On 29th July, 1947 Brig. Scott, Chief of Staff of State Forces and Brig. Ghansara Singh flew from Srinagar to Gilgat in Maharaja’s plane to take the charge of the leased territory formally. Brig. Scott returned the next day leaving Brig. Ghansara Singh to look after the administration of the territory.

The situation was not very happy for Brig. Ghansara Singh because local Rajas of the area— Hunza, Punial etc. did not want a military man as Governor. In any case Brig. Ghansara Singh found that it was not only the local Rajas but also two wily British officers of the local levy— Gilgat Scouts he had to contend with. This area erupted with the local revolt, which I shall take up separately.

**KS:** *Gandhiji’s visit is considered by many a turning point in shaping Kashmir’s contemporary history. What was the background in which his visit took place? When did he visit Srinagar?*

SS: First invitation was extended to Gandhiji by Maharaja Partap Singh in 1915, after he came from South Africa. Though Gandhiji accepted the invitation but he could not avail of this opportunity. Again in 1932 Gandhiji was persuaded by his followers in Lahore to visit Kashmir to assuage the feelings of people in Kashmir in the wake of violence that took place in July, 1931. This visit also could not take place—obviously because of his political engagements in the rest of the country.

Following Pt. Nehru’s arrest in Kashmir in 1946 Gandhiji was persuaded to make a visit to Kashmir but because of intense political activity and confabula-

tion with Viceroy on one hand and Jinnah on the other he could find no time. In July 1947 it was made known that Gandhi had been persuaded to visit Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh wrote to Viceroy that it would be unwise for Gandhiji to visit Kashmir at that juncture. He added that the visit could be postponed till after the creation of two Dominions. The Viceroy reportedly sent a copy of this letter to Gandhiji. This seemed to have steeled the resolve of Gandhiji to make the visit before India attained Independence.

Gandhiji travelled from New Delhi to Rawalpindi by Frontier Mail. He was due to reach Rawalpindi on 31st July. At Amritsar Railway Station a small black flag demonstration was staged against him. The demonstrators were reportedly protesting against the killing of innocent people in communal riots. On this account Rawalpindi District Administration sent a senior Police officer to Railway Station at Chaklala, a few miles short of Rawalpindi to advise Gandhiji to de-train at that station only because of the fear of another demonstration at Rawalpindi Railway Station. The District Administration wanted him to go in car from Chaklala to the place of his residence in Rawalpindi. At Rawalpindi he stayed in the house of Dev Raj Anand, the Congress leader who was President of Rawalpindi Municipal Corporation. A prayer meeting was held there.

At Chaklala Gandhiji was received by National Conference leaders—Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Kh. GM Sadiq, who also arranged for the transportation of Gandhiji and his party to Srinagar by two cars. Starting on 1st of August in the early morning from Rawalpindi the party reached Kohala bridge (border between British India and J&K State). Bakshi and Sadiq accompanied Gandhiji up to Kohala and went back to Lahore. Representatives of Maharaja Hari Singh received Gandhiji at Kohala with a request that he may agree to stay at Srinagar as guest of the Maharaja. Two cars had also been sent by the Maharaja for use of Gandhiji and his party. However, Gandhiji declined the use of Maharaja’s cars and also his offer of hospitality at Srinagar.

Enroute he had his frugal lunch at Rampur and continued his journey. At Baramulla there was a small demonstration by Muslim Conference activists who raised anti-Congress slogans and made an attempt at stone throwing.

Normally, Gandhiji should have been guest of NC but since Sheikh Sahib was in jail it was decided that he would stay as guest of Seth Kishori Lal Sethi, a businessman affiliated to Congress. Originally, a Punjabi he was associated with Kashmir for many years as a leading Forest Lessee. His wife, a lawyer by profession, was a Congress activist of many years. Sethi was also close to NC leadership, including Sheikh Sahib and Bakshi Sahib.

**KS:** *So Gandhiji stayed at Seth Kishori Lal’s house.*

SS: Yes, Seth Kishori Lal’s rented villa was located at Barzulla. The house had a big orchard with sprawling lawns as well. At Barzulla a large crowd was

(Contd. on Page 9)



# Sati Sahni—A Conversation-III

(From Page 8)

present to receive him inspite of slight drizzle that was taking place.

After some rest Gandhiji was taken for a drive in a motor car around Dal Lake. Since it was first of August, the day Gilgat Agency reverted back to Maharaja's administration the state buildings had been illuminated. Gandhiji enquired about the reasons for illumination. When informed about reversion of Gilgat territories to Maharaja, Gandhiji said it would have been better if the opinion of the local population had been taken into consideration.

On return to Sethi residence Gandhiji went to rest as he was feeling tired. He was accompanied by his Secretary, Pyare Lal and two nieces.

**KS: Did you do the Public Relations job for Gandhiji during this visit?**

SS: Since Pyare Lal was unfamiliar with local dignitaries and did not know much about Kashmir politics Seth Kishori Lal whom I knew for many years asked me to take up the assignment as Gandhiji's local secretary during his stay there. This provided me a great opportunity of having good fortune of being close to one of the greatest human beings of this century.

**KS: What are your impressions about him?**

SS: His physical touch sent an electrifying effect throughout my body whenever he rested his hand on my shoulders or when I passed something to him. I was able to watch him at close quarters, hear his voice, feel his touch and sense a special feeling of his aura wherever he sat or walked. His skin glowed like polished marble, it was smooth, shiny, without wrinkles. His toothless smile was infectious and won over even his strong critics. He had the capacity to get down to the level of person sitting opposite to him, be it the child, an adult or even an old person. He read all his correspondence personally, wrote in long hand whether it was reply to a communication, a statement for release or even an editorial for one of his newspapers. He wrote on postcard, not on the letter-head and chose to be brief-writing just 4-7 lines. He was a strict disciplinarian for himself, working almost like a clock. He functioned throughout his waking hours. His pocket watch was his constant companion.

**KS: Which dignitaries met him during his visit?**

SS: He was visited twice by Prime Minister RC Kak on the mornings of 2nd and 3rd August.

Although no details were given out, it was conjectured that Gandhiji had advised Maharaja through RC Kak to keep in mind the views of the majority of the population and the interests of all sections of public when deciding future affiliation of the State.

On the morning of 3rd of August, RC Kak conveyed to Gandhiji the invitation of Maharani Tara Devi to spend sometime with the Maharaja, herself and the Yuvraj (Dr Karan Singh). Gandhiji visited Hari Niwas Palace to meet Maharaja, Maharani and the Yuvraj. It is obvious that not much of politics could have been discussed.

Gandhiji received Begum Abdullah and her daughter Khalida. On former's invitation he went to Soura residence of Sheikh Abdullah. Begum Abdullah had for the first time forsaken Burqa and decided to come out in open to take part in public affairs. She had laid a very elaborate table with large number of delicacies at tea time. Gandhi admonished her-firstly it was not correct to offer so much to a simple old man and secondly, the money spent could have been put to better use.

**KS: Did Gandhiji hold prayer meetings during this visit?**

SS: Gandhiji stayed here for 3 days. People in Srinagar were eager and keen to attend his regular prayer meetings. He was informed that since prohibitory orders under Section 144 were in force no public gathering could be organised. Gandhi, therefore, refused to address a prayer meeting on 1st August. When Prime Minister Kak visited Gandhiji on the morning of August 2nd he was told that no prayer meeting could be held because of prohibitory orders. Kak immediately informed the host, Mr Sethi that the Government will have no objection if a prayer meeting was held within premises of his residence. Therefore, the prayer meeting was organised on the evening of 2nd August. A high platform was constructed on the lawns of Sethi residence from where Gandhiji participated in Ramdhun and recited his other favourite *bhajans*.

**KS: Gandhiji also visited Dr. SN Peshin's National Hospital.**

SS: Dr. SN Peshin was a leader of National Conference. He had called on Gandhiji and requested him to visit his Hospital. Gandhiji went to the Hospital and talked to patients.

**KS: When did Gandhi leave Srinagar?**

SS: 4th of August was Mon-

day, Gandhiji was observing his weekly silence. By car he left for Jammu and spent the night there. Next day he left via Sialkot and Rawalpindi for NWFP to keep an appointment with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

**KS: Did Gandhiji advise Maharaja Hari Singh to replace his Prime Minister RC Kak?**

SS: It is widely believed that there was a connection between removal from office of Pt RC Kak and Gandhiji's meeting with Maharaja and his family. According to information available with me Maharaja hesitated to discuss politics with Gandhiji. The information available to Pyare Lal, Gandhiji's Secretary was also along these lines. Secondly, Gandhiji did not have interest in the Maharaja's administration. He was more concerned with Maharaja's thinking about alignment with one of the two Dominions. If Gandhi wanted PM Kak's replacement then he may have suggested somebody. Evidently, Gandhiji neither knew nor could have recommended a non-political, a retired military officer with no administrative experience i.e. Major General Janak Singh.

**KS: What then led to PM Kak's resignation?**

SS: Recently, I have secured valuable information to substantiate the view that Gandhiji had

no hand in Kak's displacement. Between 1943-1945 Maharaja Hari Singh had three Prime Ministers-Raja Maharaj Singh, Col. Kailash Narain Haksar and Sir BN Rau. As soon as he appointed one, the Maharaja started cultivating someone else to counterbalance him. Kak was appointed in 1945 when Sir BN Rau went away. Maharaja Hari Singh, it transpires, did not appreciate fully Kak's handling of 'Quit Kashmir Agitation' nor his views on future affiliation of Kashmir State. It is now learnt that Kak visited Delhi in July 1947 and met Mountbatten and Sardar Patel. According to Kak's elder brother Pt. Amarnath Sardar Patel told Kashmir Prime Minister that Maharaja was in search of a new Prime Minister. Patel advised Kak to write to the Maharaja that either he repose full confidence in him or else he may retire him and appoint someone else. Again, according to Amarnath Kak, Pt. Ramchandra Kak on 28th July conveyed this to the Maharaja. On hearing the same the Maharaja was reportedly upset but asked for a Note to be sent to him. The Note was sent to Maharaja on July 30th and a copy was sent to Sardar Patel for information. There was no immediate response from Maharaja. After Gandhiji's departure from the state on August 4, the

Maharaja went out for a shoot from where he returned to Srinagar on 10th August. Next day he sent a letter to Kak "announcing his retirement from Prime Ministership and having asked Thakur Janak Singh to take his place. Within half an hour Major General Janak Singh took over as Prime Minister.

On the 11th of August in the Old Secretariat Major General Janak Singh arrived by car from his residence. The Chief Justice administered the oath of office to him. I was present in the audience. Two types of slogans were being raised '*RC Kak Muradabad*', '*General Janak Singh Zindabad*'. There was no mention of Maharaja.

**KS: What then was the significance of Gandhi's visit? Did senior leaders of NC meet him?**

SS: In political terms Gandhi's visit was more emotional than political because he thought his visit would act as balm on bruised psyche of Kashmiris. It was caused by fear of Pakistan, Maharaja's indecision and lastly, the entire NC leadership was in jail or in exile. Only Kh. Ahsanullah was overground. I think except Begum Abdullah and her daughter Khalida no NC leader met Gandhiji. The two were accompanied by K. Gh. Mohammad Butt (not Gulraida. who was underground).

## Why this secrecy?

### PM must come clean on Kashmir

**T**HAT the UPA Government's Jammu & Kashmir policy is shrouded in mystery and lacks clarity has been highlighted yet again by Mr Jaswant Singh, the Leader of Opposition in the Rajya Sabha. It is not just that there is an absence of coherence or that the Union Government does not seem to have any overarching vision for the future of the State or a plan to achieve it. What we have instead are vague statements masquerading as policy emanating from the highest offices in the land even as extremist and anti-India forces in the State are patronised and pandered to. We have the recent statement of the Prime Minister,

referred to by Mr Jaswant Singh, in which he has talked of a "*naya Jammu, naya Kashmir and naya Ladakh*". But the Prime Minister has not bothered to explain what he means by this strange choice of words. The semblance of a 'policy' that has taken control of the Government's Jammu & Kashmir agenda appears thoughtless and even downright dangerous; it certainly does not seem to factor in national interest. There is the odious example of the move to relocate troops in Jammu & Kashmir on the whims of the PDP; a submission to the worst kind of political blackmail by allies and others, detrimental to external and internal security. The Prime Minister and his advisers have deliberately ignored the fact that were the security situation in Jammu & Kashmir to deteriorate in the

absence of appropriate security cover, it would be a severe setback for any process of engagement within the State or, indeed, of any kind of peace process with Pakistan.

It also seems to escape policy-makers that the appearance of a meltdown in violence in the State and fall in instances of cross-border terrorism is but the product of special circumstances that, among others, includes pressure on Pakistan by the international community. What should have been seen as an opportunity to consolidate the national position in Jammu & Kashmir and to bring it more fully within the national mainstream, is instead being squandered in meaningless debates at preposterous

'Round Table' conferences even as anti-India organisations openly defy authority in Srinagar. Meaningless activity has, however, not

prevented the Government from being obscure when it comes to policy pronouncements with even Parliament being kept in the dark about latest developments and policy moves. This lack of transparency is astounding given the importance of Jammu & Kashmir in the national consciousness. That the people have a right to know the contours of emerging policy with regard to the State, the changes, if any, being thought of in political and constitutional arrangements as also the status of negotiations with Pakistan, is but to reiterate a truism. However, it would not be surprising if — given the different power centres that operate in the UPA Government — nobody quite knows what's cooking.

(Source: The Pioneer)

### Media Scan



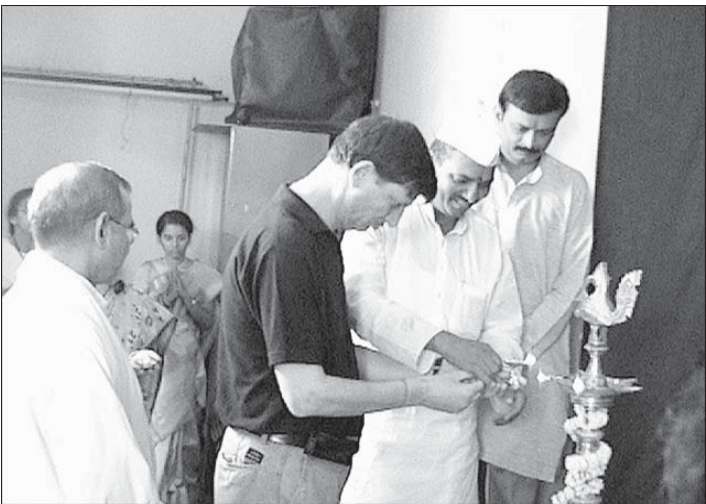
Sakshaatkaar  
(Maharashtra)  
A Photo-Essay



Sh. Sanjay Godbole President Sant Sewa Samiti, Pune lighting the lamp during the inauguration of Sakshaatkaar at Pune. Also seen in the picture are Dr. Ajay Chrungoo & Swami Govind Dev Giri Maharaja.



Dr. Ajay Chrungoo taking Dr. Sammant, Swami Govind Dev Giri Maharaj and others around the Exhibition at Pune.



Sh. Kuldeep Raina lighting the lamp at Chinchwad Pune.



Sh. Kuldeep Raina addressing during the inaugural ceremony at Chinchwad. Maharaj Chincholkar with Dr. Sammant are seen on the dias.



Rajender Gansham Palve, an activist (Commonly Known as Sadak) of Hindu Janjagrut Samiti at Pune.



Sh. Lakshman Kakdee Vogholee an activist (Commonly Known as Sadak) of Hindu Janjagrut Samiti at Dhara Shiv.



Sh. S.K. Handoo & Sh. Virendra Koul with the Chief Pujari Sh. Kadam of Tulzapur Devi Asthapan at Tulzapur, Maharashtra.



A view of the audience during inaugural ceremony of Sakshaatkaar at Chinchwad, Pune.



Maharaj Mangesh Ji of Shri Ram Temple Jalgaon, Maharaja Upasani Ji alongwith Sh. S.K. Handoo & Sh. Kuldeep Raina during the Sakshaatkaar at Jalgaon, Maharashtra

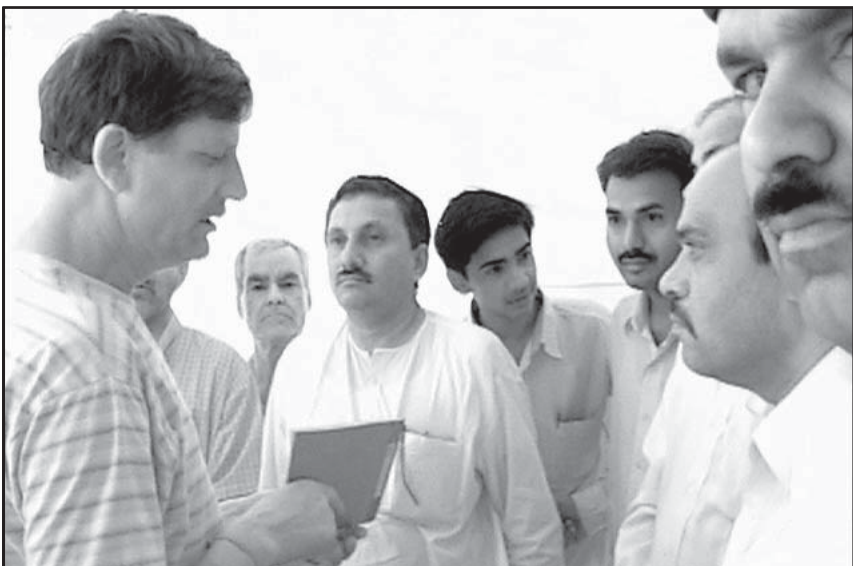


Inaugural Ceremony of Sakshaatkaar at Jalgaon Maharashtra.





*(L to R) Dr. Durgesh Samwant (Spokesman Hindu Jan Jagrut Samiti) Sh. Kuldeep Raina General Secretary Panun Kashmir, Sh. Virendra Koul PK representative Pune and Dr. Viren Tawde President Hindu Jan Jagrut Samiti at Chinchwad Pune.*



*Sh. Kuldeep Raina explaining among others to Adv. Miland Patil ex-MLA BJP at Dhara Shiv, Maharashtra.*



*Inaugural ceremony of Dhara Shiv, Maharashtra.*



*The Sakshaatkaar banner.*



*Maharashtrians draw a Rangoli for Panun Kashmir.*

## Panun Kashmir Meets' at Delhi, NCR



*Dr. Ajay addressing prominent KP's at Sharika Bhawan, Faridabad*



*Dr. Ajay addressing the KP's at Shalimar Garden, New Delhi*



*(Left) Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, addressing KP's at Vipin Garden. On his right is sitting Sh. Bhat, President Kashmiri Pandit Association, Vipin Garden, Delhi*



# Kashmir Dispute-The Myth-VII

**By Dr. M.K. Teng**

Gandhi's press statement administered a jolt to Maharaja Hari Singh. Maharani Tara Devi favoured reconciliation with the Congress leadership. She cautioned Hari Singh against the isolation into which the State was sinking fast. It is a lesser known fact that the Maharani tried to bridge the gulf between Hari Singh and the Indian leaders.

Shortly after Gandhi left Kashmir Hari Singh removed Ram Chandra Kak from his office and appointed General Janak Singh, one of his close kin the Prime Minister of the state. Ram Chandra Kak headed the State Government during the last years of the British Raj in India. Kak served the Maharaja with unflinching loyalty and devotion. Kak belonged to the Kashmiri Pandit community in Kashmir, which played a pioneering role in the growth of national consciousness in the State. While in office, Kak acted as an interface for the Maharaja with the British as well the Muslim League, at a time, when the Princes were struggling to place the State in between the British Crown and an independent Indian nation. The political Department of the British Govt. of India, with Conrad Corfield, a diehard British Civil Service officer, as its head, spared no efforts to assure the Princes that the British would not abandon the Princely India and would ensure the continuity of the treaties between the States and the Crown. Like the other Princes, Hari Singh was suddenly brought on the crossroads, when India was divided and the British Paramountcy was withdrawn. The British refused to continue the protection, the Paramountcy had provided the States and the Muslim League claimed Jammu and Kashmir for the Muslim State of Pakistan on the basis of the Muslim majority of its population.

During the days, the future of the constitutional organization of India was taking shape, Ram Chandra Kak was at the Centre-stage of the negotiations between the Princes, the British and the Indian leaders. The Princes were not left with the choice to seek a place outside the constitutional organization

of the two successor Dominions of India and Pakistan. The undersecretary of the State for India in the British Government, clarified in the British Parliament, during the debate on the Indian Independence Bill, that the British Government would not recognize the States as the Dominions of the Commonwealth nor would extend it recognition to their independence. Kak was no longer relevant in the political context in which Jammu and Kashmir was left with no choice except to join India, the option to accede to Pakistan was not acceptable to Hari Singh or Kak.

Hari Singh turned away from the British, when he refused to abide by the advice of the Viceroy of India tendered to him to come to terms with Pakistan. He earned the displeasure of the leaders of the Muslim League, when he refused to grant permission to Mohammad Ali Jinnah to visit Jammu and Kashmir, during the days, the transfer of power in India was in process of completion. Jinnah sent several of his emissaries to persuade Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan on conditions which he specified. A second world war veteran Major General Shaukat Hayat Khan, arrived in Kashmir with a peculiar proposal from him. Khan met Hari Singh in his palace. He told the Maharaja that he had been commissioned by Jinnah to convey to the Maharaja that he could lay down any conditions that he chose, to accede to Pakistan and that Pakistan would deposit a huge amount of money in British currency worth hundreds of millions of Sterling Pounds, in the Bank of England, as guarantee against any breach of the conditions laid down by him. Hari Singh was slighted, but he did not lose his poise. He told Shaukat Hayat that he would take a decision on the accession of the State only in consideration of the interests of his subjects. Naseeb Singh, an Army officer, of the Signal Corps, who was in attendance on the Maharaja those days, told the author in an interview: "I heard him (Shaukat Hayat) tell his aides, how strange of the Maharaja it was to have turned down the offer. As he saw me standing bye, he recoiled and fell silent". Thakur Kartar Singh, a close kin of the Maharaja and a former Revenue Minister of the

State, told the author in an interview in Jammu. "His Highness was severely intolerant of any suggestion about his relations with Pakistan. He felt hurt by what happened around him. He had given a long rope to Ramchandra Kak. He waited patiently, though that was not in his habit, for an opportunity to save the State from going to Pakistan. Pakistan pressurized him to agree to accede to that country, offering to accept any number of conditions that he would lay to safeguard his interests. But he "withstood all pressures".

Hari Singh offered a Standstill Agreement to India as well as Pakistan for which the Indian States Department and the State Department of Pakistan had provided the option. The Indian Government did not take any action on the Standstill Agreement, though it extended the period of accession by two months for both the States—

Jammu and Kashmir as well as Hyderabad. Hyderabad was the other Princely State, which did not accede to the Indian Dominion by 15 August 1947.

That Pakistan had adopted a policy of confrontation with the State Government was signalled by the formation of the Provisional Government of 'Azad' Kashmir, by pro-Pakistan Muslim flanks and the cadres of the Muslim Conference, at Trad Khel on 30 August 1947. Sardar Ibrahim Khan founder of the Provisional Government of 'Azad' Kashmir, took the salute of a contingent of armed volunteers of the Provisional Government which march passed before him in a military formation. The volunteers were armed with the rifles supplied to them from Pakistan.


Hari Singh proclaimed a general amnesty for all political prisoners who were involved in the Quit Kashmir Movement and against whom proceedings were

in process in the courts of the state. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Acting President of the National Conference, who had taken refuge in the British India, during the Quit Kashmir Movement, alongwith other leaders of the National Conference, arrived in Srinagar on 12 September 1947. He received a tumultuous welcome, from the people in Srinagar.

The leaders and cadres of the Conference who had gone underground, had already begun to emerge from their underground quarters. Mohi-ud-Din Qara the Head of the War Council, which had been constituted to direct the Quit Kashmir Movement, came out of his underground quarters, alongwith a number of his senior cadres. Among them was Onkar Nath Trisal, a senior communist party activist, who later played a memorable role in the defence of


(Contd. on Page 19)

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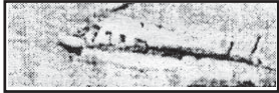


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# 'Sancha'-Ancient Treatise of Himachal Pradesh—A Glorious Gift from Kashmir

By Upender Ambardar

In the times bygone Kashmir excelled in many spheres of art, literature and culture, in which it achieved great heights. The cross Cultural-religious strands that stretched between Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh successfully withstood the centuries old time-wrap and refused to fade-away into oblivion. Apart from the natural brilliance of the landscapes, both states share the deep rooted faith of the people in the time tested traditions, belief systems and ancient wisdom, which are enshrined in the holy scriptures. They form an integral part of our common heritage.

The ancient Sancha scripture of Himachal Pradesh is an illustrious example of the same. It is a combination of Jyotish and tantric knowledge. Even today, in the present scientific age, this ancient priceless knowledge is quite popular in Shimla, Sirmour and Solan areas of Himachal Pradesh. The 'Sancha Granth' is believed to have travelled to Himachal Pradesh from Kashmir hundreds of years back. The present day custodians of this ancient legacy, who are natives of Himachal Pradesh are believed to be the descendants of Kashmiri Brahmans. The 'Sancha' treatise is a unique combination of '*Mantra*' (sacred incantations), '*Yantra*' (hallowed implements) and '*Tantra*' (mystical hymns or invocations). The scripts of Sancha treatise are known by the names of '*Bhatakshri*' or '*Pabuchi*', which are Himachali variations of '*Shardha*', the ancient language of Kashmir. In earlier times, the said script was also known as 'Takri'.

In Himachal Pradesh, in addition to 'Bhatakshri' and 'Pabuchi', the ancient 'Takri' dialect has survived in many resembling forms like '*Chambyali*', '*Kalluvi*' '*Mandyali*' and '*Sirmouri*' etc., which are the present day spoken dialects of Chamba, Kallu Mandi and Sirmour areas of

Himachal Pradesh. In earlier times, the scholarly and learned Himachali Brahmans were known as '*Pabuch*' due to their demonstrative grip and hold over the ancient 'Sancha' knowledge.

The 'Sancha' growth deals with a wide range of topics ranging from necromancy, black magic fall-out from the witchcraft, occult effects and negative influences of evil spirits besides demonology. The 'Sancha' text offers solutions and remedies to the persons who are troubled by the negative influences of the above. In addition to it, all those persons, who are saddled by anxieties and worries arising out of afflictions by various ailments can find health assuring remedies by consulting 'Sancha' system.

The 'Sancha' treatise also guarantees a triumph over one's 'hidden' enemies by recitation of certain '*mantras*' i.e. secret incantations. Its help is also sought in adopting a religious recourse to the matters connected with almost all the Hindu '*Sanskars*' right from birth to death. In addition to it, 'Sancha' knowledge also aids in the recovery of stolen items by giving clues and hints about the identity of the thief, the time of the occurrence of the theft and number of persons involved in the act. An accurate and exact knowledge of the auspicious timing or '*Hora*' is also possible by consulting 'Sancha' text.

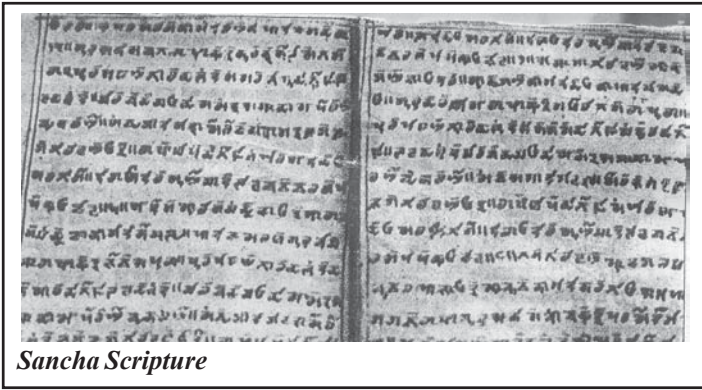
The word 'Sancha' owes its origin to the Sanskrit word '*Sanch*' or '*Sanchai*', which means a repository or a compilation. The Brahmans well-versed with the 'Sancha' knowledge are called 'Pabuch' or '*Baat*'. In addition to 'Pabuchi' or 'Bhatakshri' dialects, the 'Sancha' texts are also found in '*Chandvani*', '*Pandvani*' and '*Butakhshri*' dialects. The script employed by the Brahmans of the 'Panda' sect is called 'Pandvani', while as the inscription used by the Brahmans of the 'Bhat' sect is known

by the name of 'Bhatakshri'. According to a legend, an ancient ruler of the erstwhile Sirmour Kingdom came under the spell of a curse by a female dancer. As a consequence, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Sirmour was completely submerged under water and the royalty became kingless.

Depressed by the loss of entire royal clan and to ensure a new heir to the Sirmour throne, two ministers of the Kingdom namely Roymoan and Roy Gopal are said to have travelled all the way from Sirmour to Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir in the eleventh century A.D.

The two Sirmour ministers are believed to have requested the then Kashmir King to send a Kashmiri Prince, who can take charge of the Sirmour Kingdom. According to the legend, out of the two queens of the then Kashmiri King, one had an adopted son, whileas the second one named Sumitra was in a family way at that time. In pursuance of the then prevalent bestowal of alms custom, the King of Kashmir agreed to send his pregnant queen in the form of 'Shaya Daan' to the princely state of Sirmour. In furtherance of it and to facilitate the subsequent coronation of the Kashmiri Prince as a King of Sirmour, the queen Sumitra of Kashmir went to Sirmour. She was accompanied by a host of '*Rishis*', saints, learned Brahmans, bards, artists and minstrels, in addition to numerous footmen and domestics. The accompanying Kashmiri Brahmans are said to have carried with them their prized possession the 'Sancha' knowledge system. In the historical documents of Himachal, this notable event is recorded in the following lines "*Loia Aana Mangtoo, Purohit Sath Loia Aana Raoy Baat Loia Aana Vikram Samvat Saat thi todi 1152 Mahina Magh.*"

It fully affirms and supports the historical fact that the carriers of the 'Sancha' treatise or



Sancha Scripture

knowledge to Himachal Pradesh were none other than the Kashmiri Pandits. Corresponding to the above Vikram Samvat, the exact year of the said event can be said to be 1095 AD.

The Kashmiri origin of the 'Sancha' treatise is further collaborated by the fact that even today before consulting the 'Sancha' text, Himachali Brahmans pay obeisance to Kashmir in the following lines, "*Vidhya Suri Kashmiri Lagan dekh Shodan Vichar*".

The Sancha Granth has a detailed information about astrology, planetary placements, interpretation of Zodiac and planetary movements. Based on the intricate knowledge of 'Sancha Granth', the 'Pabuchi' scholars prepare a local variation of almanac (*Jantri*) called '*Chri*'. The three important components of 'Chri' are '*Var*' i.e. day of the week or an occasion, '*Tithi*' i.e. a lunar day or date and the planetary movements and their positions.

The '*Chiri*' is based on the solar planetary system, which regards Baisakhi as the first day of the New Year. To get solutions, answers and remedies for the different paradoxes that rock the day to day life, the 'Sancha' text is always consulted for the required help. Resembling a gambling dice, the 'pasha' or '*pasa*' is employed in deciphering the required information from the 'Sancha' text. The 'pasha' or '*pasa*' has an inscription of four numerical digits marked as 0,00,000 and 0000, which have the corresponding numerical strength of 1,2,3 and 4 respectively. These numerical digits are marked on the individual pages separately. Each numerical digit with an individual value of sixteen '*Horas*' make a sum total of sixty four '*Horas*', with one '*Hora*' being equal to one twenty fourth part of a day.

The 'Pashas' or '*Pasa*' are specially prepared only on auspicious days and involve elabo-

rate religious rituals. The different '*Horas*' that are in-vogue in the 'Sancha Granth' are known as '*Kaalgaymi Hora*', '*Bhoot Prashan Hora*', '*Lagan Ki Hora*' and '*Tithi Ki Hora*' etc. The square shaped 'pasha' or '*pasa*' is usually made up of an elephant tooth, being 1½ to 2 inches in length and with a width of a finger.

According to a belief in Sirmour area, the 'Yantra' and 'Lagans' made from the soil brought from the village Chanan, give better results while consulting Sancha' text. The Brahmans engaged in the 'Sancha' profession take every care to maintain the knowledge secrecy and imparting of it's knowledge is confined only within the family.

The Kashmiri origin of the 'Sancha' text has also been acknowledged by Sh. Sudershan Vashisht, who is a well known author and researcher of Himachal Pradesh and has done note-worthy research work in this direction.

The ancient and precious Sancha texts are also found in tehsil Chopal, tehsil Shilayi and Chakrota area of Uttar Pradesh. Pandit Om Prakash and Pandit Devi Ram, the native Brahmans of the village Khadanka in Sirmour are experts in Sancha knowledge and it's system.

Another Brahman named Pandit Shivanand, a resident of the village Janloag in Sirmour has also thorough knowledge of 'Sancha' texts. He makes accurate predictions based on it's knowledge. Pt. Mohan Lal, a native of the village Dehar in Sirmour is a well-known name due to his thorough and intimate Sancha knowledge.

Undoubtedly, 'Sancha' is an ancient and sacred 'knowledge of Kashmiri origin, which is a historical cultural heritage. It is a glorious part of our rich past and a proud contribution of Kashmiri Brahmans, who have left an indelible mark on the pages of history.



# Saiva Saints of 19th-20th Century Kashmir

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

For over twelve centuries Trika Shaivism has remained a dominant creed in Kashmir, influencing almost every aspect of social life of Hindu society of Kashmir. Its rich legacy reflected in philosophy, folklore, aesthetics, literature, art and architecture, rituals, place names, surnames, even food and dress etc. is a proof of it.

Philosopher Vasgupta was the first to enunciate principles of Kashmir Saivism to fashion an ideological response to Buddhism. The latter had held strong sway in post-Kushan Kashmir. Further contours were defined by Bhatta Kallata, Somananda and Utpaldeva. It was Abhnavupta who codified it as a complete world-view. Such outstanding scholars—Kshemaraja, Jayaratha, Yograja, Madhuraja, Vardaraja etc. wrote exhaustive commentaries to make the tenets of Kashmir Saivism intelligible to the people. The last in this line was Sivopadhyaya, the author of commentary on *Vijnan Bhairava*. He lived in 18th century, in the times of Pathan Governor Sukhjiwan Mall.

The place of pride, however, goes to Lalla Yogeshwari, the great 14th Century Saint-poetess of Kashmir, who brought Saivite message down to the common man, from elitist discourse. She has been described as a Saivite Yogini, who used the native language and idiom to versify the Saiva ideals. For this remarkable contribution she has not only been hailed as a great Saiva scholar but also as one to whom Kashmiris feel indebted for giving life to Kashmiri language. Her appeal transcended class and community.

How has Kashmir Saivism been able to maintain continuity, despite adverse conditions, with its appeal remaining all pervasive? The corpus of Saiva literature, both historical and contemporary, is silent about the institutions that perpetuated Saiva creed over centuries. Unfortunately, philosophy of Saivism rather than its social dimensions have remained the main focus of the native as well as foreign scholarship. However, there are stray references which indicate that Saivite tradition found its continuity through the institu-

tion of *mathika*, a *Saivite asrama*. Mathika maintained and established the traditions of a *guru-sisya (guru-parampara)*. As per Dr VN Drabu, the author of *Saivagamas*, the mathika accommodated the viewpoints of its different *sisyas* who came from all orders and *varnas* of society. These *mathikas* preserved the unbroken tradition of the *guru* and the disciple. Madhuraja, the famous South Indian Saivite, who visited Abhinavagupta's *asrama*, has left for us an interesting account of this in his *Gurunath Pramarsa*.

It is likely, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, that at no time in history the institutions that perpetuated the Saivite tradition faced collapse. It is safe to speculate that these institutions changed forms and methods of functioning from time to time, depending upon the exigencies required. Saint-poetess Lalleshwari did not turn to Saivism just because she was wronged by her in-laws. This hagiography has sought to suppress the well-organised *guru-sisya parampara* which functioned so well, where even common woman had all the freedom to take to Sanskrit and philosophy. Had *guru-sisya parampara* been dead during late medieval times how could social milieu give birth to *Sivopadhyaya*? Bhaskar Razdan, to whom we owe first written collection of Lalleshwari's verses, lived in 17th Century. He was an ardent Shaivite and a good Sanskrit scholar. So was his grandson Manas Ram. Balak Bhat of Bulbul Lankar, who lived during Pathan rule, had written a commentary on Sivasutravali of Utpaldeva. Anand Pandit, the great scholar of Grammar, Rhetoric, Sanskrit etc. was a direct descendant of *Sivopadhyaya*. He was a resident of Purushyar and lived in first half of 20th Century.

The intention in taking recourse to history is to emphasise that Saiva institutions of 19th and 20th Century Kashmir did not emerge all of a sudden. They represented the organic continuity of Saiva Institutions through history. Some day researchers might be able to lay hand on the direct evidence regarding Saiva Institutions of turbulent medieval lines.

*Gaash*, the inaugural issue brought out by Shri Ram (Trika) Shaiv Ashram (Fatehkadal), Gole Gujral, Jammu to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of the

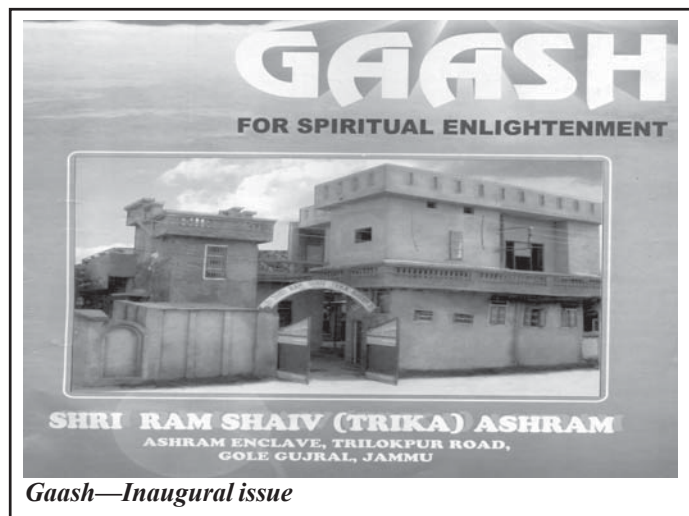
great Saiva Saint-Scholar, Swami Ramjoo, has filled an important gap in historiography of Kashmir Shaivism. It is a pioneering effort on two counts. One, it shifts the focus from philosophical to social dimensions of Kashmir Saivism. Secondly, for the first time an attempt has been made to present rich biographical material about Saiva saints of 19th and 20th century. The editor, Shri Upender Ambardar, an ace researcher himself has done a commendable job to reach out to the families associated with these great saints.

*Gaash* carries four articles on Swami Ramji, two on Swami Govind Kaul Jalali, one each on Swami Vidyadhar Ji, Swami Gash Kaul Jalali and Late Kashi Nath Kaul. The other 4-5 write-ups deal with philosophical aspects about which there is no dearth of literature. There are also excellent photographs of the Saints in this magazine. The Ram Shaiv (Trika) Ashram was established in 1884.

The popularity of these Saiva Saints was partly due to their teaching of Saivism and partly because of *Tantra Vidhya* that they practised. The miracles attributed to these saints reflect their mastery over *Tantra Vidhya*. Common people felt relieved while bringing their tales of woe to these saints. Others flocked to the *ashram saints* in search of spiritual quest.

Swami Ram Ji was succeeded by Swami Mehtab Kak. After him Swami Govind Kaul Jalali took the responsibility of running Fatehkadal Ashram. He was succeeded by Late Kashi Nath Kaul. Presently, it is headed by Mrs Chand Rani Wangnoo, the tradition of teaching of Shaivism continues under the guidance of Sh. Vishnath Jyotishi and Bansi Lal Wangnoo. Among illustrious disciples of Swami Ram Ji were Mehtab Kak, Swami Vidyadar Ji, Narayan Joo Jyotishi, the great Sanskrit scholar and Raj Purohit of Maharaja Pratap Singh, the three Jalali brothers—Aftab Kaul, Govind Kaul and Gash Kaul, Sudhamaji Miskeen, Lal Kaul, father of Prof. Jaya Lal Kaul, Thokur Kaul Bhan (Grandfather of Prof. TN Bhan). The latter had compiled biography of his Guru in Persian verse.

It was at Swami Ram Ji's insistence that Pt. Narayan Das Raina named his son as Lakshman, the former initiated him into Saivism. His outstanding contribution to Kashmir Saivism has been in making



Kashmir Saivism known internationally. At Ramji's advice Mehtab Kak was appointed his tutor. Swami Vidyadhar Ji took Saivism to rural masses through his extensive travels in the countryside. His disciples included Mahadev Kak, Dr Srikanth, Anand Joo Hashia, Mrs. Tarawati of Tral etc. His *ashram* is presently located at Paloura, in Srinagar it functioned from Karan Nagar.

The best read disciple of Swami Rami Ji was Swami Govind Kaul Jalali. His disciples were Tarachand, Kashi Nath Kaul, JN Bazaz, BN Nazir, Arzan Nath, Dr TN Ganjoo, Prem Nath Nehru, Nath Ji Dral, Ramchand Jalla. Dr. Jaidev Singh, the renowned translator of Pratibhijna and Shaiva Sutra into English, enjoyed close relationship with Swami Govind Kaul Ji.

The essays in *Gaash* do not tell us much about Lala Joo Kokroo, Mansa Ram Monga, Ishwar Joo Shair, Ishwar Joo Handoo—the illustrious predecessors of Swami Ram Ji. All of them had played good role in grooming him up. There are no references to such great Saiva scholars of 20th Century—Ram Joo Saudagar, Janki Nath Bakshi, Moshar Razdan, Ramjoo Kokiloo, Pt. Shivji Bhat (father-in-law of PN Bazaz) etc. Ramjoo Saudagar was trained in Saivism by Swami Ramjoo. Initially, Swami Ramji had asked Ramjoo Saudagar to teach Saivism to Swami Lakshman Joo. Somehow, Lakshman Joo felt more comfortable with Mehtab Kak. Since later was not good in teaching, the job was ultimately assigned to Pt. Moshar Razdan of Bana Mohalla. Late Moshar Razdan was a Saivite scholar par excellence. JC Chatterji, the former Director Archeology and celebrated author of *Kashmir Saivism* learnt Saivism through

Moshar Razdan. Moshar Razdan's brother Pt. Mukand Ram Razdan too was a great scholar. Pt. Visheshwar Razdan, son of Pt. Mukand Razdan, died quite young, he too was a great scholar of Sanskrit and Shaivism.

Pt. Ramjoo Kokiloo and Pt. Janki Nath Bakshi were initiated into Saivism by Sh. Ramjoo Saudagar. Pt. JN Bakshi retired as DIG customs, his knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and English was superb. Ramjoo Kokiloo taught Shaivism at his house in evening mehfil. These were attended by Har Lal Zutshi, Chief Accountant of Food and Supplies Deptt., Dam Kak, Mahadev Joo, Vish Kak etc.

In *Gaash* there are conflicting versions on how Swami Ram Joo's wife and his son died. Sh SK Mam in his essay '*Swami Ramjee—A Perfect Siddha*', says Swami Vivekananda met Swami Ramji at his Fatehkadal Ashram in 1892. As per Pt. Dina Nath Yaksha Swami Vivekananda did not meet Swami Ji. He quotes Vivekananda (In Eastern and Western description) 'I missed to see Fatehkadal Saint. Swami Ramjoo did not go to meet anybody. He had free will, was Swantantra Vadak unlike *Paramahans* who addressed with emotions'.

Kashmir Saivism will continue to survive. Some of the best scholars of Europe are presently engaged in conducting research into its various aspects. Their better methodologies would lead to important breakthrough in Saiva research in near future. *Gaash* can play a good role if it can help in collection of local Saiva lore of 19th and 20th Century by reaching out to all those people whose families were connected with Saiva Ashram/Saiva Saints.



# BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY AND THE KASHMIRI PANDITS-II

By **G.K. Gurtu**

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D began his association with the B.H.U. when he became one of the First Trustees of the Society proposed for the Hindu University, Banaras. Later on, with the coming-up of the B.H.U. Act and the dissolution of the Society, he was made a member of the Committee Management to manage the affairs of the Hindu Girls' College Society, Banaras, as a stopgap arrangement. He, along with Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, a famous lawyer of Allahabad, was elected, among others, a member of the First Court under class III-Elected Category in 1916 and participated in the proceedings. His son Justice P.N. Sapru was also a member of the Court for a number of years. Sir Sapru was appointed in July 1923 as an Honorary Professor (Constitution Law and Jurisprudence) along with P.N. Sapru and others for a period of two years by the Council. Sir Sapru was Dean, Faculty of Law from 1924 to 1938. An honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was awarded to him at the nineteenth annual Convocation in 1937. He had the honour of addressing the twenty-fourth annual Convocation in 1941.

Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, a leading lawyer of Allahabad, was, for a number of years, a member of the Court. The Council appointed him in July 1923 as an Honorary Professor of Law for a period of two years. In 1950 an honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him. He was a minister in the first Interim Govt, in UP. and in later life he served the nation as the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, the Home Minister and as the Defence Minister of India and the Governor of West Bengal.

Pt Manohar Lal Zutshi was the first Kashmiri Pandit to serve the B.H.U. as its Registrar during 1917-18. He would have continued for a longer period but had to leave the post to take up another assignment. He was appointed the Principal of Teachers' Training College, Banaras when it was established in 1918. This Principalship was another first to his credit. His son Pt. B.K. Zutshi also served the B.H.U. as Assistant Registrar for a number of years. When Pt. Manohar Lal Zutshi left, Rai Pt. Brij Narayan Gurtu stepped in to offer himself to work as the Registrar in an honorary capacity in view of the vacancy and was appointed on an honorarium of

rupee one per month for a period of five years.

Major Shivnandan Lal Dar, son of Pt. Raghunandan Lal Dar, although he joined the B.H.U. as a Professor of Philosophy (1929-51), was first appointed as Deputy Registrar and then elevated to the post of Acting Registrar in 1955. Later on he adorned the post of the Registrar from 1956 till his retirement in 1967. He was made an honorary Major for life on account of his long association with N.C.C. The pinnacle of his career was the monumental book *History of The Banaras Hindu University* which he co-authored in 1966 on the occasion of its golden jubilee.

Those who served the Central Hindu School as its Headmaster were Pt. K.K. Sukhia (1921-23), Pt. K.L. Kitchlu and Pt. S.N. Wali. Professor P.N. Razdan served not only as the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School, Banaras but as the Principal of Teachers' Training College, Banaras also.

A selfless and dedicated social worker of repute and long-standing, Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu was perhaps the only Kashmiri Pandit who was associated with the B.H.U. from the very beginning of the movement and remained so all through his active life spanning four decades. He left his flourishing legal practice at Kanpur to serve the cause of education, thus preferring a life of austerity and simplicity over the life of ease and comfort. His achievements as a fund-raiser have already been recorded. He served as the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School, Banaras from 1908 to 1913. He was an Honorary Professor of History in Central Hindu College, Banaras. Although he had served as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad from 1932 to 1938 he did not hesitate to take up the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor, B.H.U. and served for two terms from 1940 to 1945. He was a member of the Court and the Council. He was elected as an Honorary Treasurer of the University in December 1945 for a period of two years. He exercised a sobering influence over the students and was instrumental in maintaining a fruitful dialogue and liaison with the Authorities on the one hand and peace on the Campus on the other hand during Quit India moment. Incidentally, Dr. Moti Lal Dhar, ex-Director Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow happens to be the only Kashmiri Pandit to serve as Vice-

Chancellor, B.H.U. from Feb. 1977 to Dec. 1977 till date.

Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu was one of the Joint-Secretaries of the Management Committee of the Hindu University Society in 1911 and was a member of various Committees like the one to effect changes in the B.H.U. Act & Statutes, Financial Organisation Committee etc. He tackled the problem of graded salary and graded post, of pension and provident fund of teachers and other staff and, of deficit and overdraft successfully and was able to present a budget which had surplus. An honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon him at the twenty-seventh annual Convocation in 1944 in appreciation and recognition of his services and had the privilege of addressing the same Convocation. A hostel building stands in his name to immortalize his memory. A commemoration volume (*Abhinandan Granth*) was published on his seventy-sixth birthday on 25-9-1953. At the time of his retirement he donated a total sum of rupees three thousand and five hundred for a scholarship named "Rai Pt. Kishan Narain Gurtu Scholarship". He used to distribute homeopathic medicines free of cost. He was the first President of the Kashmiri Pandit Association, Banaras in 1946. He took keen interest in the welfare of the Kashmiri hostellers and his house was always open to welcome them. He was such a noble soul.

The time moved on. The founder-generation, having accomplished the task assigned to them by *Baba Vishwanath*, faded from the scene. If *Baba Vishwanath* and the Holy *Ganga* attracted the people for spiritual advancement and enlightenment, the B.H.U.—the temple of learning— attracted the young for educational advancement and intellectual enlightenment. And the Kashmiri Pandits, being devotees of *Shiv* and blessed by the Goddess *Saraswati*, were no exception. Varanasi became their destination because the B.H.U., unlike other universities, offered Courses in numerous technical and professional subjects like Engineering, Medicine & Surgery, Ayurveda, Pharmaceuticals, Mining & Metallurgy, Geology, Agriculture, Teachers' Training, Music & Fine Arts, Theology, Oriental Learning etc. under one roof. Smt. Brij Kumari Hukku was

the first Kashmiri Pandit graduate from among the first batch of twenty-six students who appeared for B.A.(Final) exams, in 1918, and got her degree at the first Convocation in 1919 from Mrs. Annie Besant (1847-1933), a great theosophist and an educationist.

However, with time and need their role also underwent a significant change. To illustrate the point, some of those who joined the B.H.U. as students opted to serve it as teachers like Major Shivnandan Lal Dar, M. A., LL.B., the Professor of Philosophy and later on, the Registrar. Among others are Dr. P.K. Tikku, M.Sc, Ph.D., who taught as Professor of Chemistry. He was also Dean, Students' Welfare. Professor S.K. Kak became a Professor of Electronics. He was Incharge Computer Center also. Dr. M.N. Wali, M.Ed., Ph.D. and a Gold Medalist, was a Reader in Education Department.

Professor P.N. Kaula, although a Librarian, was elevated to become a Professor of Library Science and retired as Dean, Faculty of Library Science. He is well-known for his scholarly work on the subject. He became President, Indian Public Library Science Association, Lucknow and lives there. Pt. T.N. Munshi was assigned the work of supervision and maintenance of *Kamachha* hostels. Pt. Dwarika Nath Kaul was the Office Superintendent in the University office.

Others, after completing their education from B.H.U, took up jobs elsewhere, rose high, made a name and brought glory to their *Alma Mater*. One of them was Smt. Kamla Razdan, M.A., L.T. who joined Education Department and retired as the Inspector of Schools, Kanpur in 1970. Among others are Pt. Bhuvanesh kaul, son of Professor J.L. Kaul of Kashmir, who joined the College of Mining & Metallurgy, in 1943. He took up employment in Martin Burn in Jamshedpur and retired as a senior executive. Professor B.B. Dhar came for B.Sc.(Mining Engg.) degree in 1956 and joined as Professor in 1960 and became Head of the Department of Mining. He was also made Chief Proctor. Later on he joined Central Mining Institute of CSIR, Dhanbad as its Director. Air Vice Marshal Autar Krishna Zadoo, VSM, did his M.Sc.(Electronics) in 1963. He topped in M.Sc. (Prev.) in 1962. He joined the Air Force and retired as Air Vice Marshal in 1998. He was awarded

*Vishisht Sewa Medal* in 1986. He is an Aeronautical Engineering Consultant and lives in Gurgaon. Air Vice Marshal Kapil Razdan, BE, also joined the Air Force and retired as Air Vice Marshal in 2001. He was awarded *Vishisht Sewa Medal* in 1982. He now lives in Kanpur. Pt. Brijnandan Lal Dar, BE, joined National Engineering Industries Ltd., Jaipur (Birla Group of Industries) and retired as its Vice-President in Sept, 2006. Pt. Gautam Dar, BE, joined Durgapur Steel plant and later on he shifted to Hindustan Copper Ltd., District Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan and retired as Chief Training Engineer. He now lives in Gurgaon. Pt. Rameshwar Nath Gurtu son of Pt. Onkar Nath Gurtu (Allahabad)—my cousin— did his B.Pharm in 1972. He was a good and a popular badminton and cricket player. He obtained P.G. Diploma in Management from Punjab University, Patiala in 1986. He started as Manufacturing Chemist, Searle India Ltd., Bombay (1972-75) and after a steady rise as Deputy Production Manager, Indian Drugs & Pharmaceuticals Ltd., Hyderabad (1975-96), as Production Manager, Cheminor Drugs Ltd. (Dr. Reddy's Group), Hyderabad (1996-99), as Head, Formulation Department, Granules India Ltd., Hyderabad (1975-96), is now General Manager (Technical), Ocean Pharma Coat Pvt. Ltd., Hyderabad. Miss Vijaya Shivpuri, M.A. (Eng.), M.Ed., Ph.D., is Principal, KFI Vasanta College for Women, Varanasi.

To wind up the assessment it can be concluded that the role played and the contribution made by the Kashmiri Pandits without craving for the limelight is a matter of pride for all of us. This encourages us to aspire and to endeavour to attain the lofty ideals. I close with the couplet of Firaq Gorakhpuri:

*Insan Ki taqdeer to koi taqdeer nahin Taqdeer to kaumon ki hua karti hai.*

*(The Author Shri G.K. Gurtu belongs to that group of migrants which settled in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow (U.R) around 1800. He was Secretary, Kashmiri Samaj, Agra between 1988-90. He retired as Superintendent, National Sample Survey Organisation (Govt of India), New Delhi in 1995. He lives in Faridabad and pursues creative writing and helps the needy).*

— (Concluded)



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By Prof. Tej Nath Dhar

Edward Said’s rise to eminence as an Arab American intellectual as well as a pioneer in cultural studies is deeply intertwined with his political activism, especially his indefatigable fight for the freedom of the Palestinian people. If his groundbreaking work in the field of literary studies won him accolades and respectability, his role as an outspoken and intrepid intellectual gave him vulnerable visibility and a large number of wily detractors. In spite of receiving hate mail and death threats, and suffering vandalism in his Columbia University office, Said continued, till the very end of his life, to speak at every conceivable opportunity, at different places and on different occasions, leaving behind a huge corpus of interviews. The volume under review brings together twenty-five such interviews, spanning three decades from June 1972 to December 2001. The chosen pieces vary in length, range, and depth. Some of the interviews have been transcribed from tapes of their radio and TV versions; others, such as the ones with Bill Ashcroft and Ania Loomba, et al, have first appeared in

# Interview with Edward Said

academic journals around the globe. The one post-9/11 interview, with London novelist Joan Smith, makes particularly intriguing reading.

Carefully chosen to comply with the requirements of the University Press of Mississippi’s Public Intellectuals Series, the volume editors claim quite justifiably that these conversations not only represent the diversity of Said’s interests but also provide a “point of entry for both the specialist and general reader.” Their lucidly-written introduction is like a carefully crafted mosaic of these interests, woven around the selected pieces that provide a useful gloss on Said’s major writings, his intellectual affiliations, and the mainspring of his political activism, as well as its varied sources and manifestations.

The editors must be complimented for ensuring that the volume does not duplicate texts that have appeared in another volume of interviews that was apparently compiled by former student Gauri Viswanathan under Said’s direct gaze. The Singh-Johnson volume thus not only supplements the Viswanathan effort, but it also evinces a stronger variety by incorporating several pieces in which Said listens to vehement attacks from his critics and



Edward W. Said

defends his position with persuasive vigor, helping the reader to see the relative merit of these contrasting positions in proper perspective. In his interview with Taiwanese scholar Te-hsing Shan, Said claims that an interview is “a learning experience,” which “allows me to clarify some of my own ideas and to see some new ones.” The texts in this volume perform this task admirably well for the readers too, for they help us to understand Said’s growth as an academic, theoretician, and thinker, and, above all, as a human being, somewhat sad but hopeful, ploughing with unbounded spirit a lonely furrow in a world out of tune with his beliefs and aspirations. Together, these interviews also capture moments in Said’s personal life: his Palestinian connection, which was exploited by his opponents in America to accuse him of faking certain details; his exile; his family; his love for music; his dreams; and his fads, too.

The breadth and sweep of Said’s interests can be judged best by focusing on the key issues that emerge from these interviews. Although credited with being the inaugurator of postcolonial theory, Said says time and again that his work was meant only to raise questions and to promote understanding, as for example in *Orientalism*, and not to encourage people to encode reality in rigid categories. To him, doing so only perpetrates stereotypes that often pass as secure knowledge. If he accuses the West of inventing the Orient to propagate a malicious and mindless view of the Arabs and Muslims, he holds the Arabs equally guilty for “mythification of the West.” If he denounces schematic theorizations that propagate monstrosities like the “clash of civilizations,” he chastises the Arabs for their self-imposed insularity, for confining their studies to the narrow fields of literary production by ignoring the “worldliness” of literature and

art.

Some of the latter-day interviews also reveal how Said outlived his early influences to give a purposeful direction to his labors and learned to see inadequacies in the work of theoreticians, such as Baudrillard and Derrida, and even in Raymond Williams, whom he otherwise held in great respect. Almost in the same vein, he is critical of postcolonial critics such as Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak for falling into the trap of “rebarbative and inaccessible language.” Although he concedes that all art is encoded politically and needs to be read sensitively and creatively, he bemoans that quite often texts in postcolonial praxis are read “slavishly and reductively.”

Said believes that his vocation is intimately connected with the role of intellectuals in society. Unfortunately, in the West, more often than not, intellectuals are co-opted by the establishment in subtle and insidious ways; in the Arab and Third World, they diminish themselves by playing the role of “counseling,” and not “questioning,” the establishment. In both cases, the intellectuals deviate from their main role of speaking truth to power. And yet many of them find their role quite enabling, for it gives them a fine sense of discrimination. If this helps Said to appreciate the genuine sense of idealism of many Americans, which is reflected in the country’s long tradition of dissent, it also enables him to understand how and why the “American political empire” is repulsive. Because of its arrogance, US foreign policy often sets its own scales of judgment and fails to differentiate between democrats and dictators.

Again, it is his ability to see difference and to accommodate dissent that defines Said’s attitude towards Palestine and its leader, Yassar Arafat. As some interviews related to significant moments in the Palestinian struggle indicate, while Said’s attitude towards Palestinian leaders or strategies changes over time, what remains unshaken is his commitment towards the people, to their right to live freely and with dignity in their homeland. He speaks loud and clear, even in hostile forums, of their dispossession, confinement, and captivity, and of the repression perpetrated on them by successive governments in Israel through arrests, detentions, and bombings of their areas. However, for

their unmitigated suffering and the ever-increasing cycle of bombings and violence, he lays part of the blame at the door of the Arabs, especially for their lack of intellectual leadership. Though supportive of Arafat in the initial phase of Palestinian struggle, he becomes critical of him after the latter signed the Oslo Peace Accord, which, in his view, was nothing less than a betrayal of his people. He dubs him a “parody of Latin American dictator,” a species of “micromanager,” a mere provider of jobs for keeping himself in power. For such criticisms, Said’s books were banned in his native land. Interestingly, we also learn of Said’s numerous attempts to bring together the Palestinians and Israelis, for he believed that the two could live together, even within a single binational state, if only allowed to do so.

The volume is both engaging and enjoyable. It lives up to its promise of providing a readable introduction to Said’s intellectual labors, academic attainments, political engagements, and his life in the US as a permanent exile; it also clarifies issues and concepts that some commentators on his work have obfuscated through the opacity of their language. Said’s work has become critical to our evolving understanding of both multiethnic and postcolonial literatures, and this volume should be of special interest to all of Said’s readers.

●**Tej N. Dhar has remained Professor of English and Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Asmara University, Asmara. He has published over thirty-nine essays in journals and anthologies, in India and abroad, in the areas of American literature, African literature, Indian English writing, Canadian fiction, and postcolonial theory and practice. He has also published two books: History-Fiction Interface in Indian English Novel (Prestige 1999) and Under the Shadow of Militancy: the Diary of an Unknown Kashmiri (Rupa 2002; rpt.2004).**

## Jeevan Darwesh

## A Saint and A Legend

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

Jeevan Derwesh lived at Sopore in the 2nd half of 19th Century and was deeply spiritual. Dervesh family belongs to the clan of **Sopore Pandits**. As per a legendary account Jeevan used to leave his home in wee hours of morning, cross river Jehlum on Khrav (wooden sandals) and pray at Kali Temple, near Khankah. It was a daily routine. Even his family was unaware about this. He had two sons and a daughter. Soon his fame about spiritual attainments spread in the neighbourhood.

One day he left, telling his wife that he would go to nearby Nandkeshwar temple at Seer. Jeevan added that he would return by the time turmeric rice and Satyadeev were ready. It was the day of Shravan Purnima. Though Seer was only 5 kms away, yet Jeevan did not return by evening. It gave anxious moments to his wife. She turned to neighbours for help, children were too young to look for their father. Neighbours assembled. She felt apprehensive, wondering whether Jeevan had got drowned while crossing the river Jehlum. Neighbours assured her that such a spiritually elevated person like Jeevan could never get drowned.

Meanwhile, a neighbour caught sight of a writing on the door. Jeevan had scribbled, "I have left for ever. Don't make any search for me." He never returned home. There were conflicting accounts about his fate. Some said he had run away to Anantnag to set up a Jeevan Ashram. Others claimed Jeevan had settled down at Gosain Naar near Ludov. There were some who believed Hardwar became his final destiny.

Unable to bear this shock, his son Thokar Darwesh moved to Watterkhani in Kupwara district and made his living as a shopkeeper there. In 1947 Thokar Joo too entered the pages of history when tribal raiders attacked him.

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# Salman Rushdie and Kashmiri Pandits-II

By Prof. G.L. Jalali

He was notorious for his promiscuous relations with women. Boonyi's appearance showed Max in true colours. The womanizer in him took front seat. "Then Boonyi Koul Noman came out to dance and Max realised that his Indian destiny would have little to do with politics, diplomacy or arms sales, and everything to do with the far more ancient imperatives of desire." She was carried to Delhi, where the poor, innocent Pandit girl became the object to satisfy the lust of sex-hungry American ambassador. She was provided with all the amenities of luxurious life. The Pachigam girl turned into a Panchewing whore. "In short she could not get her cuckolded husband out of her mind, and because it was impossible to talk to her American lover about anything important. She spoke heatedly of "Kashmir." Instead whenever she said "Kashmir" she secretly meant her husband, and this ruse allowed her to declare her love for the man she had betrayed to the man with whom she had committed the act of treason" (page 197) Salman Rashdie has been very unfair to Boonyi, the innocent Pandit girl. It is unthinkable to think that a Pandit lady can jilt her husband as Boonyi did to satisfy her carnal desires. The novelist has failed to understand the ethos of the Pandit community. There is too much distortion in depicting the character of the debased Pandit whore. "The excess of Delhi deranged her. She became addicted to chewing tobacco. She consumed drugs. She took to gluttony... Yes, she was a whore she admitted to herself with a twist of the heart..." (Page 202) Boonyi became pregnant and carried Max's girl-baby in her womb. "She had grown so obese that the pregnancy had been invisible, it lay hidden somewhere inside her fat, and it was too late to think about an abortion, she was too far advanced and risks were too great" (page 204). Max's scandal with Boonyi became a hot subject of public debate and street gossip. The American ambassador was recalled in utter disgrace. A Kashmiri girl was ruined and destroyed by a powerful American. That was the general impression in New Delhi. Peggy Ophuls, the legal wife of Max,

prevailed upon Boonyi to give her newborn child named India so that Boonyi would escape the shame of giving birth to an illegitimate child. She assured the Pachigam girl that she would take every care of the baby and carry her to America. Boonyi was flown to Elasticnagar where from she was taken to Pachigam in a vehicle. As they reached Pachigam it began to snow. She was dropped a few miles away from Pachigam. Poor Boonyi, the whore daughter of Pandit Pyarelal Koul, died in a snow blizzard that lashed Pachigam and its surrounding areas. Thus ended the story of Boonyi. Rushdie has wonderfully depicted her emotions "at the last stage of her life". "She saw them all through snowstorm, circling her like cows, keeping their distance. She called out, but nobody called back, One by one they approached her Himal, Gonwati and Shivshanker Sharga, Big Man Misri, Habib Joo - and one by one they receded..." (page 221) Boonyi fell flat on the snowy ground like a "Booni" (Chinar tree) majestic in appearance with a sad tale of love and infidelity written on every withered leaf of the majestic Boonyi (chinar tree). "When her father came hopping awkwardly through the snow she felt sure that the spell would break. But he stopped six feet away and wept, the tears freezing on her cheeks. She was his only child. He had loved her more than his own life until she died. If he did not speak now her dead gaze would curse him". A rejected child can place the evil eye upon the parent who spurns her, even after death" (page : 222). The story of her Pachigam husband, Shalimar the clown, starts where the story of his wife Boonyi ends He joins the rank of militants and vows to kill the former American ambassador Max Ophuls. He succeeds in killing him as far as in Los Angeles.... he goes to Afghanistan for arms training. He becomes the member of Lashker-e-Pakistan (LeP).

The infidelity of his wife, Boonyi, is a personal tragedy for Bhand-actor, Shalimar the Clown. He takes revenge in a

volatile political background which is marked by the Jihadi terrorism and Muslim insurgency. Shashi Tharoor writes in the Hindu dated October 9, 05 "As always with Rushdie, the personal is

ongoing Muslim insurgency in J&K state. The main ideologue of the ongoing Muslim fundamentalism as depicted in the 400-page novel Shalman the Clown is Maulana Bulbul Fakh. Says the novelist, "The iron Mullah Maulana Bulbul Fakh was their appointed superior. His breath was still the sulphurous dragon-breath that had earned him his striky name Fakh and still spoke in the old harsh way... He carried a lump of rock salt at all times: This is Pakistani salt," he told the liberation front commander and his men. "This we will bring to Kashmir when we set it free. He wrapped the salt in a green handkerchief and put it away in a bag." The green is for our religion which makes all things possible," he said (page 264). The iron Mullah was the guide for militants. He would brainwash the new recruits. The novelist gives a peep into the daily routine of militants who would offer prayers five times a day. According to Bulbul Fakh, "the true warrior was not primarily motivated by worldly desires, but he believed it to be true. Economics was not primary, ideology was primary" (page 265). He represented the essence of Jihadi fundamentalism:

"It was a part of his gift to the revolution, a part of God's work." The Iron Mullah, Bulbul Fakh, was responsible for the suicide attacks on army camps including Border Security Force Camp at Bandipore, Army Corps. HQ, at Badami Bagh, Civil Lines, Srinagar. He was the embodiment of the hatred for Kashmiri Pandits. At his bidding Shalimar Noman's dreaded terrorist brother Anees Noman killed the Pandit inhabitant of Shrimal village, Man Misri in cold blood. Man Misri's widow zoon committed suicide. The village of Pachigam, known for song and dance all over the valley, was razed to ground. Its inhabitants were mostly killed by the Gagroo brothers. Salman Rushdie gives a pen picture of the widespread devastation caused by militancy in the valley. The destruction of Pachigam and Shrimal stands for the destruction of the Kashmiriat which forms the integral part of Kashmiri culture and ethos. How

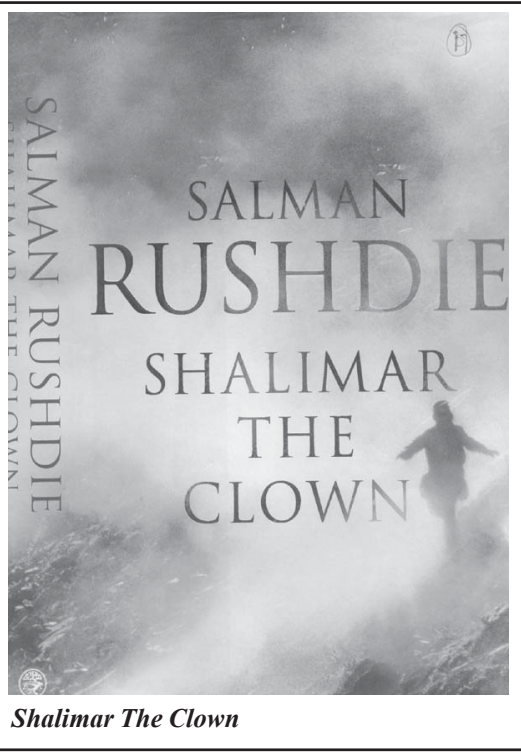
pathetic the life of Kashmiris proved! Old people had nostalgic memories of past - the past that was a glorious period in their placid lives. They were given to day dreaming. Rushdie describes the bruised psyche of Pandit Pyarelal Koul as under. "He closed his eyes and pictured his Kashmir. He confused up its crystal lakes, Shishnag, Wular, Nagin, Dal, its trees, the walnut, the popular, the Chinar, the apple, the peach; its mighty peaks, Nanga Parbat, Harmukh. He saw the beauty of the golden children, the beauty of the green-eyed women, the beauty to blue eyed men. He stood atop Mount Shankaracharya and spoke aloud the famous old verse concerning the earthy paradise; it is this, it is this...." (Page 305) The prophecy of Nazribaddoor came true with Kashmir becoming a hell. The novelist portrays the grim picture of the valley, which was once called the "Earthy Paradise." Now, death has overtaken it under its paw. "Every one carries his address in his pocket so that at least his body will reach home" (page 305). The novel, Shalimar the Clown, is a dirge in prose lamenting the death of Kashmiriat which Rushdie so beautifully and lovingly evokes in the depiction of the idyllic rural life where Hindus (Pandits) and Muslims laughed, danced and loved together.

While evaluating Salman Rushdie's novel **Shailmar the Clown**, the reader cannot ignore the description of the miserable plight of 3.5 lakh Pandit refugees by the novelist. He has graphically described these details from page 294 to 297. Kashmiri Pandits were pushed out of valley by gun-toting militants with an idea to change the demographic character of the valley and turn the whole of Kashmir into an Islamic state with Nizam-i-Mustafa (Shariat laws) in force. Hundreds of Pandits were brutally killed by the Mujahideens.

Salman Rushdie has no inhibition to draw the pen picture of the atrocities committed on the minuscule Kashmiri Pandit community.

"In the time of Sikandar Butshikan Muslim attacks on Kashmiri Hindus were described as the falling of locust swarms upon the helpless paddy crop. I am afraid

(Contd. on Page 19)





Chronology of Events (March 1-April 7, 2007)

Mar 1:	PSO turned terrorist Mohd. Yasin was killed in an encounter at Mohra Daraj, Rajouri. Terrorists killed a released HUJI terrorist and his father in the outskirts of Kishtwar. NC dared PDP to quited and contest election. 93 cross LoC from Aman Setu.		
Mar 2:	The diary entries of killed terrorist Yasin suggest links between terrorists and politicians. Govt. appoints special prosecutors to pursue fake encounter cases.		
Mar 5:	A child was killed in a blast and his cousin was injured in a grenade blast at Chatroo, Kishtwar. A jawan was injured in an encounter at Dhundak, Surankote. Three suspects were held in Rajouri. A terrorist was killed in an encounter at Gund Jehangir, Sumbal. Terrorists launched a grenade at security forces at Karan Nagar, Srinagar but the grenade did not explode.		
Mar 6:	An injured Pak terrorist and six locals were arrested in Kashmir. A love affair led to the killing of LeT Commander Abu Talha, EU report disfavours plebiscite in J&K.		
Mar 7:	Six terrorists were killed in two gunbatles in Kupwara district, a Lt. Col. was injured in one of the encounters. An HM terrorist was arrested in Pampore. A CRPF jawan shot himself dead at Kakpora, Pulwama. Opposing demilitarization demand, Ram Vilas Paswan said that the demand is fraught with danger.		
Mar 8:	Even as police arrested a cop and a cleric in fake encounters, a local court directed jail authorities to allow the accused police personnel to contact their families telephonically to engage lawyers. Amidst reports of serious illness of Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the government issued passport to him. Prime Minister claimed that peace efforts with Pak were yielding results.		
Mar 9:	An HM terrorist was killed at Dachan Yaripora, Kulgam. The government said that demilitarization is possible only after reduction in terrorist threat.		
Mar 10:	Two civilians and two terrorists were killed in two separate gunbattles in Tral, Pulwama. A CRPF jawan was killed and another injured in a grenade attack at Noorbagh, Srinagar. A Pak national was arrested in a forward village of Abdal in Arnia sector. J&K situation was reviewed at a high level meeting at Delhi.		
Mar 11:	Even as angry people buried the two civilians killed in encounters, a terrorist was killed at Naibagh, Tral. Arms and explosives were recovered in Arnia. Amidst apprehensions of terrorists using sea-route, there are reports that eight terrorists have sneaked into India through Mumbai. Ram Jehtmalani said that time was not ripe for withdrawal of troops from J&K. More terrorist outfits join to warn cable operators in the Valley.		
Mar 12:	Three HM activists, including two women, were arrested with Rs 4.21 lakh Hawala money and Satellite and mobile phone. 97 cross LoC in Poonch. Indo Pak Foreign Secretary level talks begin in Pakistan.		
Mar 13:	India wants terror on its soil tackled under ATM. Union MoS Home Sriparkash Jaiswal reiterated commitment of Centre to talk to all groups in Kashmir.		
Mar 14:	Even as Pakistan sought to keep J&K violence out of Anti-Terror Mechanism (ATM), India said that ATM is to deal with all the violence in India. Mufti Mohammad Sayed hailed Indo-Pak Joint Statement while Lt. Gen. (Retd.) SK Sinha said that Army would return to barracks only after peace in Kashmir.		
Mar 15:	CRPF took over counter insurgency operations from BSF in 10 towns in the Valley. Asking India not to insist on past; Pakistan said that it will assess the evidence given by India.		
Mar 16:	One person was killed and 10 others injured and dozen shops damaged in a powerful blast near Bus Stand Baramulla. A SPO was injured in an encounter at Kallar, Surankote. A terrorist hideout was busted at Forewan, Doda.		
Mar 17:	Terrorists blasted an explosive laden motorcycle at Tengpora soon after a convoy passed from the road. A terrorist was nabbed from village Sangoo, Narbal in Kakapora. An injured blast victim of Baramulla, succumbed to his injuries. Inaugurating the International Seminar on Kashmir Shaivism, Governor J&K said that return of Pandits would be indicator of peace in Kashmir.		
Mar 18:	A wanted terrorist was killed in an encounter in Kokernag, while another encounter was on in Lolab valley. CRPF claimed that terrorism in Kashmir was at last stage.		
Mar 19:	An HUM commander was among four terrorists killed in Kashmir Valley. A terrorist was arrested in capital city. A LeT module was busted in Sopore as police arrested six youth congress leader and cousin of Chief Minister J&K, Mohammad Sharief Niaz said that terrorist politician nexus was on under the very nose of security agencies. Afzal facing death sentence, sought end to solitary confinement.		
Mar 20:	An Army Captain, a jawan and four terrorists have been killed in an encounter in Diver forests of Lolab Valley. Four jawans were injured in an accidental grenade blast at Keri, Rajouri. Eight Bangladeshi were arrested in Indo-Pak border in RS Pura sector.		
Mar 21:	Amidst the issue of demilitarization threatening the coalition government in J&K the European Union cleared a report opposing the demilitarization. Geelani was admitted to Mumbai Tata Memorial Hospital after delay in grant of visa to the USA.		
May 22:	Police arrested three terrorists in Kashmir valley. A doctor of Jammu Dr Rishi Gupta was found dead under mysterious circumstances in his Hostel		
May 23:		at SKIMS, Srinagar while a CRPF jawan ended his life. BJP warned the Centre on troop reduction in J&K. A 10th standard student was shot dead by terrorists in Shopian. A soldier was buried alive under an avalanche in Karnah.	
May 24:		Tension was defused in Mendhar which was caused by majority community as they tried to encroach land of a Hindu. J&K Police goes for Narco Analysis of OGW's. 22 jawans were injured in an accident near Qazigund. Police apprehended a terrorist while terrorists injured a youth and kidnapped another.	
Mar 25:		Police recovered body of a kidnapped SPO. Explosives were recovered near rail track at Supwal, Jammu. Defence Minister said that troop reduction was not possible at this functure, the US asked Musharraf to stop rebels from attacking India.	
Mar 26:		Police killed body guard of a HM Commander in an encounter at Laggani Khrog in Arnas (Rajouri). 82 cross LoC in Poonch.	
Mar 27:		A terrorist was found dead, a terrorist arrested while terrorists surrendered in Uri. Three youth impersonating as terrorists were arrested in Poonch. A jawan committed suicide in Srinagar.	
Mar 28:		A Pakistan terrorist was killed in Mendhar while a civilian was beheaded by terrorists in Rajouri.	
Mar 29:		Working Group meet on "Strengthening Centre-State Relation" witnessed heated exchanges as people from Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmiri Pandit representation opposed NC's autonomy demand.	
Mar 30:		In a bid to save the coalition government in J&K and give face-saving formula to PDP, Centre sets up high powered committed to review "relocation and reconfiguration" of security forces in the state. Five labourers of minority community were killed and four others injured as terrorist struck at Panglar, Rajouri, the labourer of majority community was spared by the terrorists. A Subedar was killed and two jawans wounded in an accidental grenade explosion. 12 civilians and a police cop were injured as suspected terrorists lobbed a grenade targeting Kishtwar Police Station.	
Mar 31:		Police killed a LeT Commander at Kither, Kishtwar and arrested a PHE employee and an ex-Army soldier for supporting terrorists in Doda district. Labourers were cremated as CM assures of security Cops hunted for terrorist Inqaillabi. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed said that Sonia Gandhi saved J&K coalition.	
Apr 1:		Terrorist gunned down prominent Congress activist Jan Mohd Kakroo on the occasion of Eid-e-Milad-ul-Nabi outside the Dargah-e-Alia at Baramulla. Elsewhere in the Valley two terrorists and a soldier were killed. Two terrorists and a jawan were killed in an encounter at Kushal in Chatru, Doda. The security of the Tibetan spiritual leader, Dalai Lama was strengthened amidst terrorists threat from LeT. European Union asks Pakistan to disarm terrorists and shut down terrorists camps.	
Apr 2:		A top wanted terrorist of HM was killed in Kokernag; two terrorists escaped from an encounter at Chitti Bandi, Bandipore. One person was injured in an ambush at Bangergund, Vilgam. Terrorists launched a grenade attack at Sher Bibi, Banihal but failed to cause any damage.	
Apr 3:		Six people were injured as terrorists lobbed a grenade towards a CRPF bunker at Naidkadal, Srinagar. major tragedy was averted by timely detection of an IED at Watlab on Sopore-Bandipore road. A terrorist was arrested and two AK-56 rifles recovered in Mendhar; a suspect in Panglar killings Mohmmad Mansa surrendered to security forces. Amidst fear of terrorists' infiltration, alert along HP-Doda border sounded. Four LeT operatives held in Kolkata.	
Apr 4:		Terrorists killed a woman at Noorpora, Tral and injured a civilian at Check-e-Choulna, Pulwama. Sonaullah Hurra of Chund-e-Jehangir and his family escaped unhurt as terrorists hurled a hand grenade and resorted to firing at his house. Four terrorists surrendered at Thathri, Doda. Body of a terrorist, injured in an encounter on March 31, was recovered from forests in Doda. BJP leader Advani asks the Centre to scrap terrorist agreement with Pak. CCTVs were installed inside Kot Bhalwal jail to put inmates under strict vigil.	
Apr 5:		A soldier was killed and three terrorists trapped in an encounter at Bijbehara. Body of a terrorist was recovered from Vernai, Banihal. A patrol party was fired upon by terrorists in Chatroo. Another suspect of Panglar massacre was arrested by police. SHRC ordered compensation and job in favour of family of Rasool Khan of Dooniwari-Surigam, Lolab, who went missing in May 1999. On the eve of Defence Secretary level talks, Prime Minister expressed hope of positive outcome on Siachen.	
Apr 6:		The gunbattle at Bijbehara ended with the killing of a terrorist while two others managed their escape. Three terrorists were killed in Nishat area of Srinagar. Body of a youth was recovered from a nallah in Kalaroos. A tragedy was averted by detecting an IED at Digidol on Jammu-Srinagar National Highway. Two soldiers were injured in a grenade blast in Rajouri. Terrorists managed their escape in an encounter at Malikpora Tilogrih, Bhallesa.	
Apr 7:		Police said that the three terrorists killed in Nishat were planning <i>fidayeen</i> attacks, 10 OGWs were arrested and several LeT and Al-Bader hideouts busted in Kashmir. Terrorists killed a person in Baramulla. Siachen talks End without any agreement on troop pull-out.	



# Salman Rushdie and Kashmiri Pandits-II

(From Page 17)

that what is beginning now will make Sikander's time look peaceful by comparison." (page 294) Referring to the role of Jamat-e-Islami, the main sponsor of terrorism, Rushdie has to say: The radical cadres of Jamat-e-Islami party had new words for Pandits: "Mukbir, Kafir" meaning spy, infidel. "So we are slandered as fifth columnists now, "Pyarelal mourned, "That means the assault cannot be far away." Rushdie refers to the vandalising of temples and torching of Pandit houses in 1986 carnage in Anantnag district of the valley. A few days later in Anantnag district there began a week long orgy of unprovoked violence

against Pandit residential and commercial property, temples and the physical persons of Pandit families. Most of them fled. The exodus of the Pandits of Kashmir had begun (page 295). The novelist does not fail to refer to Sangrampora, Wandhama and Nadimarg carnages in which hundreds of Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs were brutally shot dead. He also describes how pathetically Pandit Tikka Lal Taploo was shot dead by militants in his residential locality. Salman Rushdie says, "Three hundred and fifty thousand Pandits, almost the entire Pandit population of Kashmir fled from their own homes and headed

south to the refugee camps where they would not, like bitter fallen apple, like the unloved, undead dead they had become. In the so-called Bangladeshi Markets in Iqbal Park - Hazuri Bagh area of Srinagar the things looted from temples and homes were being sold." (Page 296) Describing the horrible conditions prevailing in Kashmiri Pandit refugee camps, Salman Rushdie remarks pathetically: The camps at Purkhoo, Muthi, Mishriwalla, Nagrota were built on the banks and beds of nullahas, dry seasonal waterways and when the water came the camps were flooded why was that. The ministers of the government made speeches

about ethnic cleansing but the civil servants wrote one after another memos saying that the Pandits were simply internal migrants whose displacement had been self-imposed, why was that..." (page 296) Kashmiri Pandit refugees, says the novelist, are left "to rot in their slum camps", dying so miserably in the very dream of returning to their flowery valley. To sum up, Salman Rushdie's Path-breaking novel Shailmar the Clown is a Kashmir-centric novel in terms of character, locale and situation. It is a song in tears; it is the story of man-made tragedy told in a simple language and couched in out of the mill" style, it is a saga of the sufferings

heaped upon 3.5 lakh Kashmiri Pandits who have become refugees in their own land. Infact Salman Rushdie's latest novel, Shalimar the Clown is excellent as well superb literary work in the post 9/11 period. Details in the novel are gripping and sustain reader's interest all along. Of course, the novelist is not realist in portraying Boonyi Koul's character. On the whole, the novel is a literary gift to readers keen to know the ground situation in Kashmir. It deserves another Booker for Rushdie.

\*(The author is Executive Editor, Koshur Gazette, a weekly published from New Delhi. He has also authored Jihad in Kashmir).—Concluded

# Kashmir Dispute-The Myth-VII

(From Page 12)

Srinagar, when the invading armies of Pakistan were pouring into its outskirts. Mohi-ud-Din Qara addressed a number of public meetings, where he impressed upon the people of the necessity to maintain intercommunity peace and combat communalism and subversion.

While the National Conference leaders and cadres set out to reconstruct the organizational units of the National Conference, which had been battered by the Quit Kashmir Movement, Pakistan launched a surreptitious campaign in the State to unite the Muslims in support of its accession to that country. The leaders and cadres of the Muslim Conference and the sections of the Muslim community which were ideologically committed to the Muslim struggle for

Pakistan, though they did not support the Muslim Conference, carried on the campaign with the support of the widespread network of Pakistani agents, spies and intelligence sleuths of the Government of Pakistan which operated underground and in vast numbers, Muslim League cadres and other political activists who had slipped into the state unnoticed.

The creation of Pakistan symbolized the realization of the desperation of the Muslim Ummah in India and (a) religious obligation devolved on the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to support its accession to Pakistan to consolidate the Muslim power (b) the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir were part of the Muslim Ummah and therefore were bound to Pakistan by the bond of Islam; (c) any deviation from a commitment to the unity of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir would be an un-Islamic act. The National Conference had spearheaded the Muslim struggle for liberation from the Dogra Rule and now the only option for the leaders and. National Conference was to join the struggle for the unification of the State with Pakistan (d) India and the Hindus who formed the main resistance to the struggle for Pakistan, were trying their utmost to scuttle the freedom of the Muslims in the Princely States, where the Muslims were subject to severe repression and the ruler of the State was waiting for an opportunity to join India, scuttle the freedom of the Muslims and perpetuate his power (e) the

Muslim struggle for Pakistan was not against the Maharaja and the Muslims of the State had assured him that they would recognize him as the constitutional head of the State if he opted for Pakistan; (f) the National Conference and its cadres and supporters would be accommodated in the Muslim commonwealth of Pakistan on the basis of equality and brotherhood enjoined by Islam upon all the Muslims irrespective of their language and the region which they inhabited (g) any differences between the National Conference leadership and the Muslim leadership of the people of Pakistan could be settled mutually and (h) the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir had to stand united in the struggle for Pakistan in view of the efforts the enemies of Islam were making in India to impair the unity of the Muslims.

The police intelligence of the State reported that it had received information about an underground cell, involved in the raising of a militia, the Muslim Guard, to defend the struggle for Pakistan against any police or military action the State Government resorted to. A woman volunteer of Pakistan was charged with the tasks of recruitment of local Muslim volunteers to the ranks of the Muslims guard. The intelligence report about the Muslim Guard reached the State Government and a summary of the report was sent to Hari Singh as well. As usual, Hari Singh sent it to the State archives. But no action was taken against the sabotage planned by the enemy agents to

foment a rebellion in the State, probably to coincide with the invasion of State Pakistan was secretly planning.

The Indian leaders took little notice of the developments in the State. The States' Minister wrote a cryptic letter to Hari Singh, imploring the Maharaja to bring all punitive measures against the National Conference to an end, release the Conference leaders and cadres from imprisonment and seek their cooperation to meet the challenge the State was faced with.

On September 3, 1947, an intelligence signal was received in the Army headquarters at Delhi, that armed infiltrators of Pakistan had raided a border outpost, three miles inside the state territory. The signal with the staggering import evoked response from the Indian Government. The Indian leaders received information about the border raids and the heavy damage to life and property the Hindus and the Sikhs suffered in the border districts of the State. No voice was raised in India against the depredation, the armed infiltrators spread in the border districts of the State.

—(To be continued)

*Note: The Article, in this series are based upon documentary sources in the Indian Archives, Archives of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Sardar Patel Papers; documents and Papers in Sapru House Library, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Contemporary Newspaper Files and Interview.*

## NEWS

### Haryana Chief Minister Thanked

KS Correspondent

AMBALA, Apr 26: Executive meeting of Panun Kashmir Haryana was held under the chairmanship of Sh. JL Koul, State Secretary Panun Kashmir.

The leaders thanked Chief Minister Haryana for release of Rs 1000 per month per family in favour of hapless exiled Kashmiri Pandits living in the state. The leaders, however, made an earnest request to the Chief Minister to enhance the relief to Rs 4000 PM for each family. The speakers also thanked the officers of Social Welfare Department of Ambala, Kurukshetra and Rohtak for disbursement of the amount to the deserving family. The participants also acknowledged the role of Mr JL Koul who worked tirelessly for the cause despite his ill health.

The Haryana Unit was also reconstituted with Mr JL Koul as State Secretary, Sh. ON Kaul District Secretary and Chand Raina as Incharge Organisation, Haryana State.

Messers NN Kaul, Kuldeep Raina, Naveen Handu and Bharat Bushan Raina were elected as Chief Advisor, Financial Secretary, Publicity Secretary and organising secretary respectively.

**TO OUR READERS**  
Due to certain reasons we could not bring out April 2007 issue. We regret the inconvenience. --The Editor

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Please renew your subscription by remitting Rs 200/- to Kashmir Sentinel through D.D. or Cheque payable to Kashmir Sentinel, Jammu.  
—Business Manager



By SM Pandit

“I am 73 years old and suffering from Parkinson disease but still I am making my best efforts for the cause of the displaced families and will remain attached to the association till my last breath”. These words themselves give an insight into the character, dedication and commitment of the person. These are the words of Mr Jawahar Lal Kaul, who is a staunch supporter of Panun Kashmir, wedded to its ideology and serving tirelessly for the welfare of the displaced Kashmiri Hindus, particularly in Haryana state. Braving his old age, weak physique and ill health, Mr Kaul has initiative, commitment and enthusiasm that serve as source of inspiration for any youth who comes into his contact. Having imbibed the qualities of social service, Mr JL Kaul was moved by the forced exodus of his community brethren in 1989-90 and has been fighting for their cause. He associated himself with Panun Kashmir and is presently serving the organization as state secretary, Haryana. It was tireless work of Mr Kaul that many migrant families in the state got “Photo Identity Cards” and are being provided monthly pension. It was result of his efforts and others’ that Haryana government announced reservation of Kashmiri migrants in its professional colleges. Mr Kauls’ correspondence with Haryana government, Central government, particularly Union Home Ministry, and other concerned agencies while championing the cause of hapless exiled people serve as a testimony to his concern for the community commitment and patience.

Born on 23rd July 1933 at Syed Ali Akbar Mohalla Srinagar in a

# JL Kaul-A Karmyogi



Sh. J.L. Koul participating in one of the Annual Conferences of Postal Life Insurance in 1978.

middle class family, at young age of 13 only Mr Kaul was nominated as President of Young Boys National Conference in 1946. Being a National Conference worker, Mr Kaul joined Quit Kashmir Movement.

Sh JL Kaul was subsequently nominated as Vice-President of Mohalla Syed Ali Akbar and Assistant Secretary of Student Federation of J&K. As Chairman of Student Federation of National High School, Karan Nagar, Srinagar, his work was appreciated by Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, the then Dy Prime Mijnister of the State. After passing Matric from Solan University (combined Punjab), Mr Kaul passed Intermediate with Non Medical Subjects from GMN College Srinagar.

Unfortunate demise of his father fored Mr Kaul to give up his studies as he had to shoulder the responsibility of his unmarried sister and younger brother. As the responsibility of the family fell on his shoulders, Mr Kaul was in search of livelihood. Being a NC worker, Mr Kaul approached Sheikh MOhammad Abdullah for a job on the basis of poverty and work rendered to the National Conference. He had the taste of the communal politicsl of NC like many of his community youth when Sheikh Abdullah denied him job with the argument that he could get job anywhere in India. God is supreme and if one door is slammed, he opens the other door of opportunity. Sh SC Jain Director Postal Life

Insurance proved as a Messiah for Mr Kaul as he appointed him in the department after having passed the examination on pay of Rs 127.50 per month.

Mr Kaul was transferred to East Punjab Circle and served in Army Postal Service as Warrant officer for five years. Being committed to his job, Mr Kaul won Gold Medal PLI for selling policies worth 34.97 lakh in J&K circle only. Mr Kaul was associated with employees unions in his service career. He was elected as Asstt. Circle Secretary of NFPT (National Federation of Post & Telegraph) Employees Union in 1957 and the General Secretary of P&T Admn. Officers Association. Championing the cause of the workers, Mr Kaul resorted to many ‘Hunger Strikes’. He once went on

hunger strike for nine days and subsequently for five days. Mr Kaul had the taste of jail as well. He was arrested in 1959 and remained in Bhatinda jail alongwith some other union members for five days. Mr Kaul retired in 1991.

Moved by the plight of displaced people and influenced by the ideology of Panun Kashmir. Mr Kaul joined the organisation and is serving the community with all the commitment at his command. Mr Kaul was very much instrumental in Krittga Yatra to Anandpur Sahib in 1995. Moved by the response of the Sikhs, including Sh GS Tohra then President SGPC, Mr Kaul feels nostalgic even today.

Mr Kaul fought for the rights of displaced Kashmiri Hindus living in the state for their registration and relief. It was the result of his tireless work and voluminous correspondence that presently 370 photo identity cards have been issued to helpless poor migrants living in Ambala, Rohtak etc. and are being paid a monthly pension of Rs 100/- by the Social Welfare Ministry, Haryana. Mr Kaul is all praise for the generosity of Haryana Chief Minister and is hopeful that the amount will be enhanced in near future. Mr Kaul was also instrumental in the efforts of getting reservation for the migrants in the Professional and Academic institutions of the state and presently about 300 seats in different professional colleges of the state are reserved for the migrants.

Mr Kaul joined Panun Kashmir as coordinator Ambala Distt. He widened the area of influence and is presently state secretary of the organisation.

## SANJAY GODBOLE

### An Art Collector Par Excellence



By Pradeep Koul Khodbulli

There is a connection between Maharashtra and Kashmir. Centuries ago one branch of Brahmi called North Western one coursed Gujarat went ahead and finally reached Kashmir. It became there Sharda or Sidhmatrika or Sidhddham (of Al-Biruni). In the eleventh century many Hindus lived in Afghanistan. A majority of them were Chitpawan Brahmins.

These Chitpavans have Kaushik Gotra. When Hindu Shahi dynasty fell to the armies of Mahmud Ghazni these Brahmins fled and sought refuge in Maharashtra.

The art collector Sanjay Godbole is one such Chitpavan Brahmins. By physical standards they are not on the leaver side. They have big eyes, fair complexion. It tells us about their once snowy address. Here I shall not dwell upon the anthropology or anything of that sort. For such a thing is never my intention here. But reader ought to now that Godbole has a Kashmirian connection too. He is one of the very few intellectuals in the country who have interest in Kashmiri ethos and culture. Sanjay is popular among those who want to know about Kashmir.

After Exodus Pandits were scattered in different parts of the country. Maharashtra and especially its cultural capi-

tal Pune too received hundreds of Pandit families. Sanjay did for them when others faltered. He provided them with an intellectual forum. But these intentions of his have not met with the requisite response. I think it is primarily because in those times the community was concerned with sheer survival. When things such as survival is the concern then such things like culture and tradition take the backstage. But now people are rediscovering anew their roots and here the jovial, portly fellow Sanjay is always ready to help them.

Sanjay lives in the centre of the city of Pune, which is the cultural capital of Maharashtra. His home is on the main street of Budhwarpeeth opposite CPO. To me the house seems to be like a 'Time Machine' that the famous author HG Wells wrote about. But this one does not fly. All machines have not flown. Davinci's famous one failed to fly. But Godbole's Time Machine is of different nature. The house is a store house of past. It seems as if past has crystalised on this Pune street and refuses to take off. His home is big, old and gloomy. But still it has many tales to tell. The staircase, doors, windows, shelves, ailing, (wooden or otherwise) watertanks, pipe fittings, and other assortments are all antique. The glass windows are delicate and worth seeing. The whole house reminds us of the blend of traditional and later Raj styles.

He belongs to a leading publishing house of Pune. His father and grandfather were leading publishers of the city. But Sanjay did not evince any keen interest in publishing. He went on his own way to become an art collector against the wishes of his father. Despite heavy odds and no home support he pursued his passion. He lives alone with his sister. Recently, he lost his mother who was a great support to him. He is young but still bachelor.

Sanjay started collecting artifacts twenty five years ago. His home represents a veritable Time Machine. I do not know if HG Wells would have got one built how deep into past he

must have travelled. But Sanjay made the travel 80 million years into the past.

He put on my both hands a big round stone like fossile. And it was the egg of an Indian dinosaur found in Gujarat. The suffix of the dinosaur is 'normadayansis' named after Narmada river where these fossils have been found. From 80 million years to the later Raj (British Rule) we can find many curious articles of antiquity. His collection is perhaps second largest private collection in Maharashtra after Kelkar museum.

Sanjay has antiques belonging to all great dynasties that ruled the country, Mauryas, Sungas, Satkarni Kings, Cholas, Guptas, Sultans, Mughals, Pathans, Marathas and British all find place in his collection. Godbole is adept in seating past with comfort and care. He has a good collection of swords and guns which are priceless. Kashmiri Samavar, Sharda and Devnagri, Urdu and Persian manuscripts, brassware, paintings etc. form a bulk of his collection. His artefacts about Indus Valley civilization are important. He has a huge collection of newspapers, photographs and even the name plate of a Viceroy. Persian scrolls, Farmans, etc. also make his collection lively. A meticulous art collector he is well versed in Kashmir history and culture.

There are few who can rival his knowledge about Indian history and culture. He is an accomplished Urdu poet and is considered an important poet in Urdu. His poetry has been published in India, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

Sanjay bemoans about the lack of interest among the youth in preserving traditions and culture. People like Sanjay Godbole need our all out support and appreciation. There are few men in the country who are alike him and so he is very rare indeed. His efforts nonetheless shall persist and inspire newer generations.

*\*The writer has authored a monograph on Kshemendra and is a keen researcher on Kashmir's History and Culture*