

Inside

EDITORIAL

Scope of Interlocutors' intercession.....Pg 3

PERSPECTIVE

Return of Hindus to Kashmir.....Pg 5

INTERVIEW

An interview with Prof. Rattan Lal Shant.....Pg 7

ETHNIC CLEANSING

Demystifying ethnic cleansing and genocide of Kashmir Pandits.....Pg 8

SEMINAR

Fai's arrest in USA- Lessons for India.....Pg 9

REJOINDER

Suvir Koul's & Natasha Koul's write-ups.....Pg 10

GUEST COLUMN

Who is Syed Gulam Nabi Fai.....Pg 11

CULTURE

Development of Sharda Script.....Pg 12

TRIBUTE

Death of a gentleman.....Pg 13

BOOK REVIEW

Painting & Theatre in Kashmir.....Pg 14

HISTORY

Surayaa glamour of Kabul.....Pg 15

HERITAGE

Prospects of Heritage Tourism in Jammu Region..Pg 16

RITUALS

Maha Shivratri- Revisting Kashmir-XIV.....Pg 17

PILGRIMAGE

My Pilgrimage to Jawala Ji at Khrew.....Pg 18

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

.....Pg 19

COVER STORY

Viciousness of a Wishfulness

Kashmir Policy and Return of Hindus



By Dr Ajay Churungoo

TWO recent incidents in Kashmir valley reveal the viciousness of the situation. Local newspaper reported that on July 1, 2011, that Havaladar J S Adhikari and Lans Naik Devender Singh of 19th Rajput were beheaded by the terrorists in Kupwara while they were on duty. The incident was kept under wraps and came to light through local media only on July 30. The bodies were handed over to their families in Uttarakhand without heads, which some say were carried away by the terrorists as a trophy.

Another incident happened when one of the interlocutors, Miss Radha Kumar, visited a transition camp in Kashmir where the Kashmiri Hindus employed, as per the Prime Minister's package on return and rehabilitation, have been put up. This was during the last leg of her interactions in the Kashmir Valley before the interlocutors submitted their final report. She had a meeting with the Hindu ladies living in the camp. The Hindu ladies as per eyewitnesses told Radha Kumar about the communal harassment and intimidation they had to face daily while doing their job. Radha Kumar told them to learn to ignore unpleasant things as she had learned during her job while working in a Muslim

Institution. The camp inmates later on had telephone calls from the correspondent of a local English daily which was less of a normal journalist enquiry and more of a warning to behave. Most of them later concluded that they should not have revealed their experiences in front of the interlocutor.

The Malaise

Sitting over the beheading of two army men just before the visit of the Pak Foreign Minister indicates a deeper malaise. Government of India has been flaunting incremental capitulations as strategic necessities. The symptoms of this malaise have been there for quite some time. When

chose to send his Foreign Minister to Kandahar to get the hostages of the hijacked plane released after striking a deal with the terrorist regimes operating there. Vajpayee government cited the public pressure as a reason for the tame surrender. Here the public indispensability became the core rationale for overriding the strategic security imperatives.

Faced with a mortal combat situation a large section of Indian leadership is cultivating wishes which are more fatal than the problem. Manmohan Singh has also chosen to mount the same wish horse. While Vajpayee and his think tank, led by

institutional strategic advice. There are doubts whether what the Prime Minister of India is pursuing with Pakistan has the acceptance of the national institutions handling matters of national security.

The recent expressions of the National Security Advisor were veiled expressions of his differences with the Pak doctrine which Manmohan Singh has been pursuing. The brazen affronts given by Pakistan to India while the latter is bending over its back to accommodate Pakistan reflect elemental contradictions in the so called peace process which Prime Minister of India is pursuing.

Feigning returning of normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir and belittling the import of what is happening in Pakistan and Afghanistan is perhaps linked to this bizarre mindset which has taken control of those in the political class who are overruling the strategic and tactical needs of the nation at this juncture. Instead of analyzing the ground situation to determine responses, the government approach has suffered a unique perversion. It blacks out happenings on the ground and selectively marshals empirical data about the situation to sustain its policy or to put it more correctly its wishes. The inertia to understand what is happening is self-created.

The Inertia

The National Security Advisor recently made two very pertinent interventions. In his letter written to Prime Minister he clearly stated that the Pakistani State was losing control over the extremists and they were coming to power sooner than later in Pakistan. He urged the Prime Minister to take measures to respond to the situation. He also made a

(Contd. on Page 4)



Vajpayee was sitting in the bus bound for his infamous Lahore visit he was informed about a gruesome massacre of civilians by terrorists in Jammu. He was dismissive about any import of this gruesome massacre on the ongoing Indo Pak peace process. The inherent message was clear. The citizens of this country were expendable to some larger national goal that the State was pursuing. The fakeness of this approach got exposed when Vajpayee

Brijesh Mishra, chose to flaunt their wishes as a new strategic vision, Manmohan Singh seems to believe his wishes to be ideological imperatives. This perhaps explains why he chose to invite the Pak Prime Minister recently despite knowing very well that just days before his intelligence agencies had discovered a Pak sponsored plot to attack the Indian Embassy in Afghanistan. He invited him perhaps against the

1. Smt. Shyama Trackroo W/o Sh. Krishan Lal Trackroo originally resident of 305-Narsingh Garh Sgr; presently residing at E-7, Old BC Qtrs. Jammu. 25/6/2011.
2. Sh. Soom Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Lal Koul of Poolia Verinag Kmr; presently residing at Muthi. 25/6/2011.
3. Pt. Sohan Lal Wattal originally resident of Gund Ahalmar Nai Sarak Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 43, Lane-3, Sector-2, Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 26/6/2011
4. Sh. Badri Nath Jotshi S/o Late Sh. Bisham Nath Jotshi originally resident of Sarika Vihar Maulana Azad Road (Behind B Ed College) Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 39, Sector-8, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 27/6/2011
5. Smt. Chuni Devi Bhat W/o Late Sh. Prithvi Nath Bhat originally resident of Ichigam Budgam, Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 16, Block-B, Lane-2/7 Roop Nagar Chinor Jammu. 29/6/2011
6. Sh. Makhan Lal S/o Sh. Kanth Ram of Ichikoot Budgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 70/C-3, Om Nagar, Udheywalla Bohri Jammu. 30/6/2011
7. Smt. Dulari Bhat W/o Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhat of Mallapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently 942, Subash Nagar, Jammu. Opp. S. Block Govt. Qtrs. Top Sherkhania. 1/7/2011
8. Smt. Shanta Bhan W/o Late Sh. B.N. Bhan (Nisar) originally resident of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 288, Seh Manzil Bikram Nagar, Sarwal, Jammu. 3/7/2011
9. Sh. Brij Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Mukund Ram Pandita of village Hardu Chanam Sopore Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 6, Block-176, Lane-27, Jagti Colony Nagrota Jammu. 3/7/2011
10. Sh. Suresh Pandita S/o Sh. S.N. Pandita Achabal Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 416, Tomal Bohri Jammu. 3/7/2011
11. Sh. P.N. Pandit S/o Late Sh. Aftab Ram Pandit of Ranipora Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of Muthi Jammu. 4/7/2001
12. Smt. Meenawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Bhat of village Inder, Pulwama, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 165, Lane-6, Kabir Colony, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/7/2011
13. Smt. Jai Kishori Sus W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Sus originally resident of Shiva Niwas-132, Nursing Garh Sgr; presently resident of Dina Villa E-2115-A Palam Vihar Gurgaon. 4/7/2001.
14. Sh. Suneel Kumar Pandita S/o Sh. Sham Lal Pandita R/o Maidanpora, Lolab Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at TRT No: 2, Block-165, Lane-26, Jagti Nagrota Camp Jammu. 4/7/2011
15. Smt. Susheela Razdan W/o Late Sh. P.N. Razdan of Purshiyar, Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Bangalore. 6/7/2011
16. Lt. Col. (Retd.) Arun Kumar Raina S/o Late Major Radha Kishan Rania (Captain) originally resident of Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 182 Sector-285, Noda. 6/7/2011
17. Smt. Chand Rani W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Raina originally resident of Chowgam Qazigund Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 17, Lane-5, Saraswati Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 6/7/2011
18. Sh. Brij Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Kishav Nath Koul originally resident of 34, Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 174, Lane No: 25, Rajpura Mangotrian Jammu. 6/7/2011
19. Smt. Rani Sumbly W/o Late Sh. Makhan Lal Sumbly erstwhile resident of Bagh-e-Sunder Bala Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at 40/5 Manorama Vihar Bohri Jammu. 8/7/2011
20. Sh. Jagar Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Amir Chand R/o Bona Devsar Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of ORT No: 288, Nagrota Camp. 6/7/2011
21. Smt. Shanti Devi Sida W/o Sh. Janki Nath Sida originally resident of Mattan Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at 2/122, Indira Vihar Old Janipur Jammu. 9/7/2011
22. Smt. Jai Kishori Kaloo W/o Late Sh. Jagar Nath Kaloo resident of Badiyar Bala Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at B-111, Pundrik Vihar Pitampora, New Delhi. 8/7/2011
23. Sh. Soom Nath Pandita originally resident of Nai Sarak Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 543-11-D, Shiv Nagar Jammu. 9/7/2011
24. Dr. Udesch Chandan Rania S/o Late Sh. N.N. Raina (Thaploo) previously resident of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 154-8/E, Manorama Vihar Patta Bohri, Jammu. 11/7/2011
25. Smt. Dhanwanti Koul W/i Late Sh. Kashi Nath Koul originally resident of Inder Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of Lane H.No: 1, J, Sector-2, Durga Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 11/7/2011
26. Smt. Shanta Saproo W/o Sh. M.L. Saproo originally resident of Kharyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 58, Adarsh Enclave, Sector-1, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 11/7/2011
27. Sh. Rattan Lal Ganjoo S/o Late Sh. Jagan Nath Ganjoo originally resident of Sonamasjid RN Mandir Sgr; presently residing at Mayur Vihar Phase-II Ind New Delhi. 12/7/2011
28. Sh. Makhan Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Koul of Gotangoo Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at TRT No: 6, Block-140, Lane-23, Jagti Nagrota Jammu. 10/7/2011
29. Smt. Somawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat of Tullamulla Kmr; presently resident of 114-115/2 Amar Colony Camp Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 12/7/2011
30. Sh. Bola Nath Sidha S/o Late Sh. Neel Kanth Sidha R/o Mattan (Martand), Kmr; presently resident of Khajuria Mohalla Paloura, Jammu. 12/7/2011
31. Sh. Badri Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Ragav Bhat of Danow Bogund Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 13/7/2011
32. Sh. Sat Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Bal Ji Raina originally resident of Seer Jagir Sopore Kmr; presently resident of Shiv Vihar, Trilokpur Camp Gole Gujral Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/7/2011
33. Sh. Mohan Lal Ganjoo S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Ganjoo R/o Dewan Bagh Baramulla Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 22, Lane-17, Suriya Vihar Patta Bohri Jammu. 13/7/2011
34. Smt. Kishvi Devi W/o Sh. Prithvi Nath Bhat originally resident of Bachoo Tral Kmr; presently residing at 51/2A, Sector-2, Durga Nagar Jammu. 15/7/2011
35. Prof. Ved Lal Vishin originally resident of 5, Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of 7/5, Saraswati Vihar Tomal Bohri, Jammu. 15/7/2011
36. Sh. Radha Krishan Bhat of Village Gassirana Kulgama Kmr; presently resident of TRT Nagrota (B) Near Toll Post. 14/7/2011
37. Smt. Soni Raina (Phoola Ji) W/o Sh. Avtar Krishan Raina of Brah Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Lane No: 19, Block-104, Flat No: 1, Jagti Nagrota Jammu. 15/7/2011
38. Sh. Ashok Kumar Koul S/o Late Sh. Anand Koul originally resident of Ali Kadal Sgr; presently resident of 49/3, Bharat Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 17/7/2011
39. Sh. Chaman Lal Ganjoo S/o Late Sh. Som Nath Ganjoo originally resident of Chowdhry Bagh Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 11, Lane-7, K.B. Nagar Bantalab, Jammu. 17/7/2011
40. Sh. Prithvi Nath Raina originally resident of Maidan Pora Lolab Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of Flat No: 13, Block-87, Lane No: 18, Jagti Nagrota Jammu. 17/7/2011
41. Sh. Mohan Lal Razdan S/o Late Sh. Gasha Lal Razdan of Gund Ahalmar, Nai Sarai Sgr; presently resident of A-1/8, Shiv Nagar Subash Nagar, Jammu. 20/7/2011
42. Smt. Som Rani Sher W/o Sh. Soom Nath Sher R/o 304 Prem Nagar New Plot, Jammu. 21/7/2011
43. Sh. Yogander Kak S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Kak originally resident of Sathu Barbarshah Naqashpora Sgr; presently resident of Flat No: 101, Block A-16, Shalimar Garden Extn.-2, Sahibabad (UP). 19/7/2011.
44. Smt. Indirawati W/o Late Late Sh. Janki Nath of Batagunda Handwara Kmr; presently resident of Buta Nagar migrant Camp Muthi Jammu. 20/7/2011
45. Sh. S.K. Bakshi S/o Late Sh. Som Nath Bakshi R/o 15, Karan Nagar Sgr. 23/7/2011
46. Smt. Saroj Dhar W/o Dr. B.N Dhar originally resident of Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 515, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar Upper Muthi, Jammu. 23/7/2011
47. Sh. Romesh Kumar Mohnoori (Bhat) S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Mohnoori (Bhat) of Mohnoor Budgam Kmr; presently resident of Flat No: 5-6, Block 96, Lane 18, Jagti Nagrota, Jammu. 22/7/2011
48. Smt. Sonia Karihullo W/o Sh. Vineet Karihullo resident of H.No: 78, Sector-1, Bagwati Nagar, Canal Road, Jammu. 22/7/2011
49. Smt. Anuradha Razdan W/o Sh. Yaginder Razdan resident at Baderwah Jammu. 17/7/2011
50. Smt. Mohini Rani Fotedar W/o Late Sh. Nath Ji Fotedar originally resident of Kathihal Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 128, Lane-2, Saraswati Vihar Tomal Bohri Jammu. 24/7/2011
51. Smt. Anamika Raina W/o Sh. Rohit Raina originally resident of Mattan Martand Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 1019, Block- G-1, Sarojni Nagar New Delhi. 24/7/2011
52. Sh. Prem Nath Pandit S/o Narain Pandit R/o Pargochi Shopian Kmr; presently resident of 29/2, Shantipuram Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. 24/7/2011.
53. Sh. Omkar Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Raj Ram Koul R/o Utterso (Koulpora) Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Balak Nagar Dandyal Udhampur. 24/7/2011
54. Sh. Prem Nath Moza R/o H.No: 81, Lane No: 3, Adarsh Nagar Bantalab, Jammu. 26/7/2011
55. Pt. Brij Lal Wali S/o Late Sh. Keshav Nath Wali of Hawanand Chawalgam Kulgam, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 397, Sector-3, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 25/7/2011
56. Sh. Rinkoo Mattoo S/o Sh. H.N Mattoo resident of Street No: 25, Rajpora Mangotrian, Jammu near Park. 28/7/2011.
57. Sh. Jagar Nath Kalla S/o Late Sh. Bal Ji Kalla R/o Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 43, Shanti Nagar, Top Sherkhania Jammu. 27/7/2011
58. Smt. Ratni Gunjoo W/o Sh. Sri Krishen Ganjoo R/o Pinglena Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 85-F, Vivek Vihar Durga Nagar, Sector-1, Jammu. 27/7/2011
59. Smt. Shobawati Koul Bhat W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Koul Bhat R/o Kulgam, Nai Basti Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 41, Lane No: 8, Amit Nagar, Church Road, Muttar Jaqmmu. 29/7/2011
60. Sh. N.N Bhat S/o Late Sh. Mahadev Bhat resident of Hatli Morh Kathua Jammu. 26/7/2011
61. Smt. Raj Dulari Razdan W/o Late Sh. Rajnath Razdan presently resident of Indore (MP). 27/7/2011
62. Sh. Amar Nath Vaishnavi originally resident of Seshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at D-30, Shantipur Nagar, Jaipur. 27/7/2011
63. Smt. Chandrani W/o Late Sh. J.N. Bhat of vilalge Utterso Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 1954, Kongposh Colony, Jain Nagar, New Delhi. 29/7/2011
64. Smt. Kamta Dhar W/o Sh. C.L. Dhar originally resident of Trichal Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 113, Sector-4, Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi. 30/7/2011
65. Sh. Maharaj Krishan Tickoo S/o Late Gopi Nath Tickoo R/o Karan Nagar Sgr. 29/7/2011
66. Sh. Dawarika Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Madhav Bhat R/o H.No: 86, Sector-2, Pamposh Colony, Janipur. 30/7/2011
67. Sh. Gopi Nath Peshin originally resident of 244, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 620, Sector-6, Meerut Road, Karnal Haryana. 29/7/2011

EDITORIAL

Scope of Interlocutors' Intercession

THERE is an erroneous belief in the common citizen that the Interlocutors were appointed as a critical interface with the people in Jammu and Kashmir to douse the fires caused by a protracted stone pelting 'Intifada' raging in Kashmir valley at that time. It is true that the new Interlocutors were appointed after the visit of the All Party Delegation to the state when the India Ragdo campaign was in full swing in Kashmir valley. But it is doubtful that they were employed as a contingency plan to bring the state out of the mire of civil unrest. Evidence in the public realm suggests that the Interlocutors were employed as a next logical step after the three Round Table Conferences and Working Group meetings on Jammu and Kashmir failed to create the desired political space for what the Government of India wanted to do. The Government of India had taken a public position, well before the surfacing of the so called non-violent separatist unrest in Kashmir valley and the appointment of three interlocutors, that the political solution for the turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir had been almost finalized. Civil unrest in Kashmir had created the thrust for the appointment of Interlocutors with the expectation that they will take the process ahead from the point where Justice Sagir had left it. In fact civil unrest in Kashmir was crafted with this as one of its objectives.

To accommodate the separatists the Government of India has to move away from the present status quo. This is how the entire machinery of separatism in the valley thinks. The objective of government action in Jammu and Kashmir seems to have shifted from making separatists to abandon separatism. And this shift had taken place well before the stone pelting campaign in the valley started. Government action in Jammu and Kashmir for quite some time has been seeking primarily to create an internal public space to move away from the status quo. This has created a bizarre situation. All leverages demographic,

political, legal and historical, which the government of India has in the state, have become part of the problem rather than part of the solutions it can deploy on the ground. And all insults to the sovereignty emanating from the separatist echelons and mainstream political establishment have assumed the respectability of measures aimed at a solution.

National Conference articulated the perception shared by the separatist gentry across the factional divides that appointment of Justice Sagir as the Chairman of the Working Group on Centre State Relations was not a prudent step. They wanted a Hindu like "Justice Sachar" to deal with the issue of a political solution for the Kashmir problem and declared it so publicly. The civil unrest in Kashmir valley had a definite connection with the visit of President Obama to India. But one thing which has been overlooked is the catalytic pressures which the statement of Prime Minister of India generated on the separatist mind just towards the fag end of the elections to the Parliament of India. The Prime Minister of India surprised many by confirming publicly that a final settlement on Jammu and Kashmir had almost been reached and the same had got derailed due to the dethronement of Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan. For the separatist, the agenda for action was getting clearly defined. Exert pressures from inside to set the process, which had stopped due to change of regime in Pakistan, into motion once again. The choice of new interlocutors was defined by the separatist needs and not by the contingency of the times.

At least two of the interlocutors had a very clear cut stated position on the turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir which had always been music to the ears of various strands of separatists operating in the valley. Their stated position was not fundamentally in conflict with the official positions of Pakistan as well as USA. The choice of the interlocutors was better than the wish list the separatist might have had in mind

and certainly must have pleased even Dr Farooq Abdullah who wanted some amenable eminent Hindu of the type of Justice Sachar to deal with the issue of redefining the relation of Jammu and Kashmir with the Union of India.

Government of India declared that there were no red lines fixed for the interlocutors. The approach had a fundamental implication of creating a government sanctioned process, which is still continuing, which can operate beyond the boundaries of recognized national interests and constraints of sovereignty. So the interlocutors operated in an environment of a political sanction to explore with a freedom which no government appointed interlocutor had anywhere and anytime in the country. The rationale put forward by some that this had merely a tactical value to create an atmosphere of engagement with the separatists has by now been exposed to its core. Even as the interlocutors sued for peace with separatists on behalf of Government of India, the separatists only stiffened their stance and refused to talk to the interlocutors.

Interlocutors knocked at the door of separatists not in the literal sense but physically. Every public expression or gesture which they employed was aimed solely to appease the separatist sentiment. As they did so, they maintained the aura of a ruler while dealing with the rest of the diversity of the state. Most of the delegations other than the separatists had to seek an appointment to meet the interlocutors. Most of them had to perform within the time limitations of the interlocutors. Interlocutors saw to it that they keep all such voices out of the engagement process who had posed fundamental questions during the Round table Conferences and Working Group meetings about separatism, causes which sustain it and the responses of the governments at the helms from time to time. Through conducting seminars and conferences in Kashmir, Jammu and Delhi, interlocutors made a brazen show of their prefer-

ences. The conference conducted in Jammu had most of the representatives who did not represent the views of Jammu. Even the sole Congress leader from Jammu was stopped half way.

The scope of what the interlocutors may recommend will be essentially determined by what the Government of India has already decided. The contours of the Government policy to devise a solution on Jammu and Kashmir have been stated by the government one way or the other from time to time. Government of India has stated that if holds the view that India has a shared destiny with Pakistan; that terrorism and peace process cannot be linked; that borders can be made irrelevant. The stated postulates of the government policy have opened the doors for an arrangement where sovereignty of the nation over the whole state or a part of it can be shared with Pakistan. There are areas about which there seems to be a finality that the interlocutors will not trespass. Interlocutors will not re-examine the rationale of the special status for Jammu and Kashmir. They will not examine the contradiction of the special status for Jammu and Kashmir with the secular nation building in India: they will not examine the growth of Muslim identity politics in the state and its relation to armed separatism; they will not examine the implications of a republic within the republic and they will not treat the genocide and internal displacement of Kashmiri Hindus more than an economic, developmental and administrative issue. In the political environment and the constraints of the government policy on Jammu and Kashmir, if interlocutors, in their final report, don't confer legitimacy to the separatist perspective that accession was conditional, if they don't suggest the division of Jammu along its demographic contours under one pretext or the other and if they don't recommend making the article 370 as a permanent provision of Indian constitution, then we should feel a little relieved.

LETTER

Sir,

Untimely demise of Mani Kaul in New Delhi on 6th July 2011, due to cancer, a unique, distinguished, creative film maker, who was a product of the first batch of Film and Television Institute of India (FTII), is a colossal loss to Indian cinema.

Born to a Kashmiri Pandit family in Jodhpur (Rajasthan) in 1944, Mani Kaul whose first film directed by him Uski Roti

followed by other feature films Ashad Ka Ek Din, Sattah Se Uthata Admi, Duvidaa, Idiot and documentaries Dhruvad, Sidheshwari, Mati Manas and his last film Naukar Ki Kameez made him known nationally and internationally and won him many National Film Awards.

Apart from being a film maker, Mani Kaul was a painter and a musician, all rolled into one. His

contribution to Indian Cinema is unparalleled.

It was disappointing to note that except film maker Anurag Kashyap who flew to the capital from Mumbai on 6th July, to join the funeral and to pay homage to the veteran film maker, no one else from Bollywood considered it obligatory to do so.

—L.C. Kaul
Pamposh Colony,
New Delhi.

KS: An extraordinary Publications

Sir,

Your attempt to bring out an extraordinary publication from forced exile is worth adoring.

Many a times facing truth when deceit is all around is rather difficult, but those Hero's who have burning desire to do little bit for the community which is otherwise at the brink of extinction would heavily rely on Let The Truth Prevail. The heroic task of narrating the plight of Kashmiri Pandits and communicating within them through Kashmir Sentinel will undoubtedly keep their faith and trust embedded within one another. Please accept my deep appreciation.

I would earnestly request all brothers and sisters to contribute generously and subscribe to Kashmir Sentinel. —*Avtar Krishan Kaul*

Sr. Advisor

*Tata International, C-8, H.No: 8527
Vasant Kunj, New Delhi.*

(From Page 1)

very pertinent observation that the dividing line between the state actors and non-state actors in Pakistan is fading out. The recent happenings have clearly shown that Pakistani Government has shunned its approach of deniability and clearly started owning terrorist regimes operating there as its strategic assets. On the Indian side correlating these developments to emerging situation in Jammu and Kashmir and rest of the country is only at the most in the academic realm.

Even at the academic level there is reluctance to understand what is happening. If it would have been otherwise then there would have been recognition of the fact that the fading of the line between non-state actors and the state actors has been manifest on the Indian side in Jammu and Kashmir also for a long time. And allowing this has been the part and parcel of the Indian response in Jammu and Kashmir. Using the platform of Legislative Assembly or any other credible forum for promoting secessionist agenda, got encouragement from government of India at the highest level. Both the Home Minister of India and the Foreign Minister came to publicly side with Omar Abdullah when he claimed that Jammu and Kashmir had signed only the Instrument of Accession and not the Instrument of Merger particularly when the veracity and import of his claim was debated on the basis of facts in Jammu. The stone pelting campaign in Kashmir Valley last year demonstrated the fading away of distinction between state actors and non-state actors in ample measure. The recent grenade attacks in Kashmir Valley and the allegations from the top NC leader that it was Army's handy work is the reflection of the fact how terrorist regimes and their supporters in government are working in tandem.

There is no attempt to recognize the temporary shift of the focus of Jihad to the heart of Pakistan and analyze the fall in violence in Jammu and Kashmir keeping this in mind. Crucial ideological as well as strategic issues of the Jihadi war in the region are getting settled there in Pakistan at his juncture of time. How long will the State of Pakistan pretend its distance from the Islamic Jihad for which it has been the primary motor? How much value does the State of Pakistan attach to sustain its deniability vis-a-vis the non-state assets which it has created and perpetuated in this region?

Lot of public evidence is now available which points that the State of Pakistan no longer thinks it feasible to deny its closeness to terrorist regimes which are operating in the region. It may soon become brazen enough to openly declare its closeness to the international Jihad as also its mentorship. After the killing of Osama bin Laden many of the Pakistan's top ranking strategic thinkers openly acknowledged that it had been in Pakistan's national interests to protect and shield Osama. They are now openly acknowledging their closeness to the Haqanni group. The non-state actors which Pakistan has created in the region did have a conflict situation with the State of Pakistan primarily because they wanted it to proclaim and declare its Islamic role unashamedly. This so called rift between non-state actors which Pakistan created and the State of Pakistan is fast evaporating and it will have a dramatic impact in Jammu and Kashmir. The situation on this side may suddenly look grimmer.

The five day gun battle in Kupwara

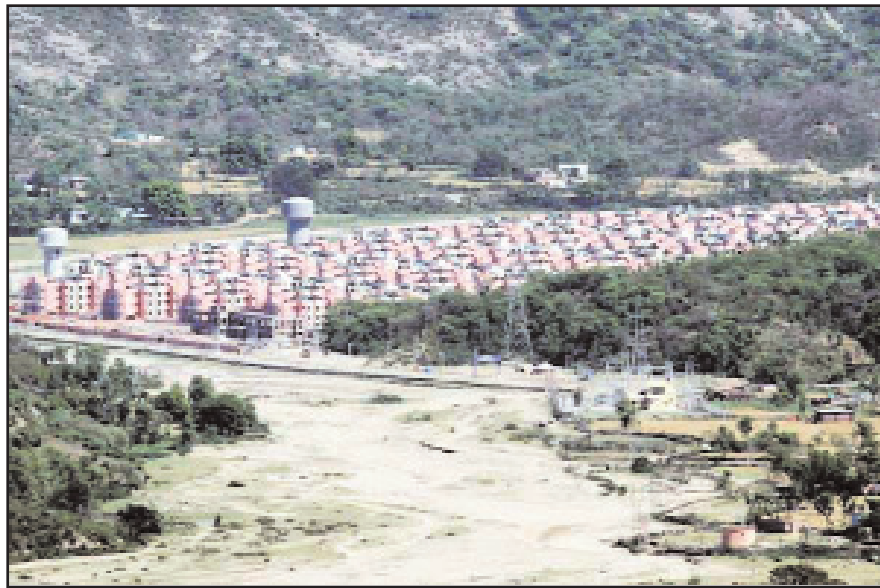
Viciousness of a Wishfulness

recently, in which the army suffered heavy casualties, is only a reminder of the fact that the Jihad machinery in Kashmir is well oiled. The terrorist regimes on this side of Jammu and Kashmir have only merged deftly with the state apparatus to meet the contingencies of the times. An analysis of the situation in the state is not a unifactorial affair. That we churn out retrospective violence statistics or the number of tourists visiting the State and base our assessments solely on it is only an exercise of self-delusion.

Increasing radicalization of the social milieu in Kashmir, increased reach and influence of terrorist regimes to influence the mainstream politics and fading away of the dividing line between separatist infrastructure and government apparatus, widening of the net-

virtual hell. On one side the government is tomming the upgraded facility in Jagati and at the same time the inmates of the camps are being communicated one way or the other that government will soon close down the camp facilities and force them to return to valley.

The newspapers and the community leadership have brought to the public view the corruption and the bungling in the construction of Jagati Camp as well as the entire relief organization. From the use of steel in the construction work to the wood used in windows and doors, sanitary and electric fittings, steel almirahs, as also the entire range of construction material used for Jagati camp the lack of proper quality is manifest to the naked eyes. After repeated demands from the public for govern-



Jagati Township.

work of illegal economy in the State, multiplication of sleeper cells on the ground, deepening nexus between separatists in the State and separatist organisations in rest of India particularly the Maoists, increased propaganda against army in the name of human rights and the intact and widening capabilities of terrorist regimes operating on the ground are the factors which should be factored in while making a judgment about the ground situation in the state.

And last but not the least the increased influence of China as well as Pakistani Army over the public mind, particularly the intellectual elite in Kashmir, cannot be overlooked. Unfortunately those at the helms in Government of India are ruthlessly following a set course of blacking out all information and realities on the ground which can exert pressures on the existing policy direction. A situation has emerged where all national leverages and supports in the state are getting treated as problem areas and impediments to national endeavors in the state.

Caught in the Trap

In such a scenario the depth of the viciousness of the situation for internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus needs to be understood as well as felt. There is an increase in the government attempts to delegitimize internal displacement. Enforced power cuts and scanty water supply in the camps, because the State Government is fast losing any sensitivity for the internal displacement, rendered the summer for the dwellers in the Jagati camp as a

ment assurances for the safety of the structures built in Jagati, government has chosen to remain silent. If the allegations about the bungling in the construction work at Jagati, as appeared in the local newspapers turn out to be even only partially true, we have a scam worth more than a few hundred crores at hand. But more important than this is the very safety of camp dwellers living at Jagati which is at stake. The entire encampment of more than 4000 quarters does not have sewerage disposal. The soakage pits and septic tanks dug for sanitation are shallower and substandard. Anybody who visits the camp even now when the weather is turning cooler will feel the foul smell all around.

The Most appalling and pathetic is the atmosphere of intimidation and fear that exists in the camp. The inmates are frightened to speak against the government and the relief organization. The technique of intimidation is usually to issue a re-verification threat or the order to the family living in the camp which means stoppage of relief cash as well as ration. The Apex Committee in the Camps acts primarily as the instruments of corruption and coercion on behalf of the government.

Out of the Frying Pan into Fire

If the atmosphere of fear to speak is perceptible in the camps in Jammu what must be the state of affairs in the transition camps made in Kashmir Valley to provide lodging to the returnee Hindu Employees. When Radha Kumar advised these Kashmiri Hindu employees to ignore unpleasant

happenings with them in Kashmir she was not suggesting to some sort of pragmatism. She was advising accepting devaluation as a fiat accompli. She was advising acceptance of permanent inferiorisation.

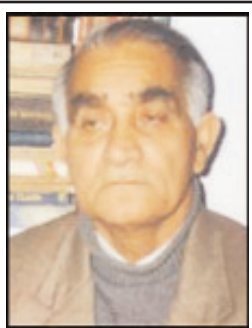
To understand the nature of unpleasantness which the returnee Kashmiri Hindus have to persevere, mention of a few real life anecdotes here will be more than enough. A Kashmiri Hindu young man who has recently joined in Kashmir valley through the PM's package told this author that social realities in Kashmir have changed unimaginably. He revealed his personal experience while travelling in a local bus to his work place. There were two Kashmiri Hindu ladies, who had joined recently, also travelling in the same bus to their work place. Two local young men travelling in the same bus suddenly got up mid-way and forcibly tried to embrace the two Kashmiri Hindu ladies while the bus was moving. While this act of molestation was on all other passengers chose to ignore it and look the other way. Most of the other passengers couldn't muster courage to object because they might not have been sure about the antecedents of the two young Muslim who were enacting the ordeal. They could be terrorists or the over ground workers of some terrorist outfits.

Another real life experience is more revealing and elucidates the character of 'unpleasantnesses' which Radha Kumar advised the Hindu lady employees living in the transition camp to ignore. A Hindu girl who had also joined recently in valley had been experiencing harassment almost daily at her work place. She would try to share it with her father in words and references which her shyness and sense of shame would permit. His father in his naivety or selfishness would take these complaints lightly and would advise her to ignore them. One day while the young lady was returning to her rented accommodation from her work place, a senior employee with a flowing beard pursued her in his car and offered her a lift. The lady somehow managed to refuse the lift despite the patronizing insistence of the person. The elderly zealot with a flirting expression told her that he had been having sleepless nights since he had seen her. Devastated with her daily dose of harassment the lady told her father to marry her to a local Muslim boy in case he was so needful of her doing the job in the valley. Her father, taken aback, asked her the reason for such an extreme suggestion. Angry and exasperated, the lady minced no words and told her father that marrying her just once to a Muslim may save her from marrying several times daily. The father and the girl have since returned to Jammu after forsaking the new job.

The social disorganization and debasement is an expression of tearing apart of the fabric of mores and values of a society. It is not per se a communal phenomenon. This tearing apart has happened because of the militarization of the social milieu. Sometime back when a retired justice in Kashmir valley claimed that there were more than 25,000 prostitutes operating only in Srinagar city he was talking about a wider social disorganization. Displaced Kashmiri Hindus despite their exiled condition had not allowed social disorganization to penetrate their social milieu. Return plan of Prime Minister has pushed them into an environment of vicious social disorganization. And this phenomenon of social disorganiza-

(Contd. on Page 15)

Return of Hindus to Kashmir-I



By Dr. M.K. Teng

THE ethnic cleansing of the Hindus of Kashmir in 1990, is one of the few episodes, which occurred after the second World War, and in which a whole community of people was subjected to genocide and driven out of its natural habitat. The terrorist violence with which the Muslim Jihad in Kashmir commenced in 1989, was aimed to achieve a number of military objectives which the militant regimes and the Jehadi war groups considered to be essential for the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian occupation. The ethnic extermination of the Hindus was one of the primary objectives, the Jihad aimed to achieve. The Hindus of Kashmir formed the Sanskrit component of the social culture of Kashmir and provided the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir its secular identity. More importantly, the Hindus formed the frontline of the resistance against the separatists movements in the State, which the Muslim separatist forces carried on for decades with the support of Pakistan.

Ever since the commencement of their exile, the Hindus have been waiting for their return to the land of their birth, reiterating from time to time their resolve to return to their homes. The response of the Indian State to their remonstrations was always feeble and continues to be so even now; mainly determined by the inability of the Indian political class to recognise the real import of the terrorist violence and its inaptitude to deal with the Muslim Jihad with any firm-

ness. The Indian political class closed its eyes, like the ostriches do, to the death and devastation, the terrorist violence brought to the Hindus of Kashmir and to the Hindus of the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province.

The Indian leaders never mustered courage to face the Muslim Jihad, without which the return and rehabilitation of the Hindus could not be achieved. Instead the Indian political class adopted a surreptitious policy of compromise with the Muslim separatist flanks. The Indian political class ascribed the terrorist violence to the alienation of the Muslims in the State which it traced to the inability of the Indian political system to recognise the genuineness of the Muslim struggle for a separate freedom in Jammu and Kashmir. Assuming a position in between the Jihad and the Hindus of the State, the Indian political class sat on judgement on who had done what in Jammu and Kashmir, to fix the responsibility for the Muslim alienation and the consequent upheaval in the State. Expectedly, the Jihad triumphed and the Hindus continued to smoulder in exile.

Genocide of Hindus

The genocide, the Hindus in Kashmir, were subjected to and the exodus forced upon them by the terrorist regimes, right from the moment they began their military operations in the State, was undertaken in accordance with a well laid out plan. The plan envisaged the ethnic extermination of the Hindus in the Kashmir province and the Muslim majority regions of the Jammu province to bring about the de-Sanskritisation of the part of the State situated to the west of the river Chenab and prepare the ground for its separation from the Shivalik plains, situated to the east of the river Chenab. The division of the State in between India and Pakistan had been proposed as a basis for set-

tlement of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, by the United Nations mediator on Kashmir Sir Owen Dixon in 1950. When the terrorist regimes, extended their military operations to the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province, they followed the same "scorched earth", policy there to bring about the ethnic extermination of the Hindus. In Kashmir as well as the Jammu province the first bullets fired by the militants were received by the Hindus.

The Hindus had always formed the frontline of the peoples' resistance to all forms of Muslim separatism in the State. The Hindus had fought for the freedom of the State from the British rule and when the freedom came, they had paid the heaviest price to defend it against the invading forces of Pakistan in 1947. Not many people in India know that more than thirty eight thousand of Hindus and Sikhs were killed by the invading armies across the territories of the state they over ran.

The first staggering blow which the Jihad delivered to the Hindus in Kashmir was the assassination of Tika Lal Taploo, a Kashmiri Pandit leader, who was widely respected in his community. A member of the National Executive of the Bharatiya, Janata Party, Taploo was an indefatigable man, who had fought untiringly against the marginalisation of the Hindus in the State. Taploo was given a tearful farewell by thousands of the people of his community, who accompanied his funeral procession. While the funeral procession, carrying Taploo on his last journey, wound its way through the streets of Srinagar, stones were pelted on it.

The terrorist violence struck the Hindus in its full fury in January 1990. The death and destruction it brought to the Hindus was widespread. Not much of what happened those days in Kashmir is known in the rest of the country as a concerted

campaign of disinformation was carried on to camouflage the ravages the community of the Hindus was subjected to. By the end of the year, the death toll of the Hindus had risen to about eight hundred. The white paper on Kashmir, the Joint Human Rights Committee, Delhi issued in 1996 noted: "A computation of the data of the massacred Hindus on the basis of reports in the local press, news papers published in Srinagar, and the other townships in Kashmir, reveals that the number of the Hindus killed ran into several thousands". The White Paper notes further "Among the killed were several hundred Hindus who were reported missing. Among the missing were many Hindus whose bodies were never identified and were disposed off by the State Government agencies at their will. Many of the people killed and still to be identified were Hindus." The chaotic manner in which information about the killings were reported is shown by the following wireless message, transmitting information of the death of two Hindu men, in Srinagar to their kin in Jammu, "To SSP Jammu L.B. No: 13 from Police Control Room Srinagar, 25/6/1990. Please contact Shri Makhan Lal Sumbli H.No: 28 Bhagwati Nagar and inform him about the death of Som Nath S/o Shri Lassa Koul and Chaman Lal S/o Shyam Lal R/o Pattipora Bala, Chattabal, Srinagar, the above dead bodies were lying unidentified at Ali Jan Road. Signature of officer, 1920 ToR, S.P. Police Control Room."

As the Jehadi war groups and the terrorist regimes settled down to carry on a prolonged war of attrition in Jammu and Kashmir, they changed their tactics. They reduced the frequency of sporadic surprise strikes on specifically identified targets to pre-planned major military strikes on Hindu localities to carry out mass-massacres. The mass mas-

sacres were brutal and had a staggering effect on the entire community of the Hindus in the State. The massacres were carried out at different places in the Kashmir province: at Sangrahampora where eight people were killed; at Wandahama in North Kashmir, in January 1998, where twenty three Hindus were killed; at Anantnag in South Kashmir, where twelve Bihari labourers were killed in July 1999; at Chattisinghpura where thirty-six Sikhs were killed in March 2000, at Pahalgam, where thirty-two Hindus, including twenty-nine pilgrims to Amarnath Shrine, were killed in August 2000; and at Nadimarg, where twenty-four Hindus were killed in March 2002.

In the Jammu province, the mass massacres were widespread and the death-toll heavier. Seventeen Hindus were killed in Kishtwar during 13-14 August 1993; sixteen Hindus were killed in Kishtwar in January 1996; Seventeen Hindus were killed in Simber, Doda in May 1996; twenty-nine Hindus were killed in Dakhikot Prankot, Doda in January 1998; Eleven Hindus (defence committee members) were killed in Dessa, Doda in May 1998, twenty nine Hindus were killed in Chapnari Doda, in June 1998; twenty Hindus were killed in separate terrorist attacks in Chinathakuri, and Shrawan, Doda in July 1998; seventeen Hindus were killed in Surankot Poonch in June 1999; fifteen Hindus were killed in Thatri, Doda, in July 1999; seventeen Hindus were killed in Manjakot Rajouri in March 2001; fifteen Hindus were killed in Cherjimorah, Dodain July 2001; Sixteen Hindus were killed in Sarothdhar, Doda in August 2001; Thirty four Hindus were killed in Kaluchak, Jammu in May 2002; twenty-nine Hindus were killed in Rajiv Nagar, Jammu in July 2002; seventeen Hindus were killed in Udhampur in March 2003; twelve Hindus were killed in

Surankote, Poonch in June 2004; ten Hindus were killed in Budhal, Rajouri in October 2005; three of a Hindu family were killed in Chaal, Udhampur in April 2006 and thirty Hindus were killed in Thana Kulhand, Doda in April 2006.

Exodus

The Indian State having failed in its rightful function to protect the Hindus in Kashmir from death and destruction, the terrorist flanks brought to them, they were left with no other course except to leave their homes to save their lives. The massacre of Hindus was aimed to eliminate them physically and at the same time fill their hearts with terror to force them to leave Kashmir. The Hindus, unable to believe that they would be abandoned by the Indian state, to face the Jihad as best they could, offered themselves as easy targets for the terrorist flanks and allowed hundreds of their brethren to be killed. But as the holocaust enveloped them, they left their homes and hearths to save their lives and the lives of their children. The White Paper on Kashmir noted: "A deliberately designed two-pronged plan to dislodge the Hindus from Kashmir was surreptitiously put into operation by the various terrorist organisations. Several hit lists were circulated all over the Valley, in towns as well as villages. The hit lists were accompanied by rumours about the Hindus who were found by the militants to have been involved in 'Mukhbiri', complicity, with the Government of India. The rumours were deadly, because they made life uncertain". The White Paper noted further: "In a number of towns and villages, the local people issued threats from the mosques and spread rumours charging the Kashmiri. Hindus of conspiracy and espionage in order to break their resolve to stay behind. Larger number of prominent men among the

(Contd. on Page 6)

Property grab in Kashmir continues

Special Correspondent

NEXUS between politicians, bureaucrats and over ground workers to grab the Pandit property in the Valley to stop their return to Valley.

There exists a nexus between politicians and bureaucrats in the Valley. It is incredible but true that one Gujar Latif Khan son of Ghulam Hassan Gujar resident of Reasi was settled on the property owned by Smt. Kanta Devi Kichloo wife of Late Sh. Dina Nath Kichloo and others in the village

Palpora, Wasoora district Pulwama under a well planned strategy to grab the Pandit property which runs in crores of rupees by one Zubeer Khan, the HM commander for South Kashmir. It was his aim to provide hide out and grab the property.

But later Zubeer Khan HM Commander was killed in an encounter. He accomplished this task with the help of local over ground workers of his outfit. After that, Latif Khan left the possession. Later on the advice of local over ground workers Latif Khan was again

settled there.

The aggrieved party made representation to Deputy Commissioner Pulwama. He humiliated the delegation and asked them to leave his chamber. It was due to the fact that he had received a phone call from MoS Aijaz Khan not to evict the Gujar from the Pandit property. Later a delegation called on Revenue Minister Raman Bhalla. He gave directions to DC Pulwama to evict the Gujar and Dismantle the structure.

The aggrieved party made a representation to CM's griev-

ance cell vide No: 22179 Dt: 30/4/2011 by one of the aggrieved partner. The CM's grievance cell replied that the illegal occupant had been evicted on 12/7/2001. It was known that DC Pulwama reported false to CM's grievance cell. In reality the structure stands on the land which was in possession of Pandits till 1990 from centuries ago.

The said Gujar raised down cowshed and kothar to ground and used the same material for constructing new two room house, on Pandit land which was in their possession till

1990. The revenue department slept over it under a well hatched conspiracy to settle the Gujar on Pandit property to encroach and grab it.

This exposes hollow claims of government to the safe return and rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits. This speaks volumes of total Islamisation in Kashmir where there is a nexus between politicians, bureaucrats and overground workers of separatists outfits to grab the Pandit property and accomplish the task of Islamisation in Valley.

(From Page 5)

Kashmiri Hindus, social workers, leaders and intellectuals were listed for death. Most of them escaped from the Valley, secretly to avoid suspicion and interception." The attack was open. The White Paper noted : "In the rural areas of the Valley, cadres of the secessionist organisations and their supporters, almost of every shade and commitment, the supporters of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front in the vanguard, did not hide their hostility towards the Hindus. At many places, even in Srinagar and the other townships, Kashmiri, Hindus were openly charged of espionage for India. The indictment spelt death".

The exodus of the Hindus picked up pace as the summer set in. By the end of the year 1990, the larger part of the Hindu community of Kashmir had left. The rest followed as the terrorist violence intensified.

While the Hindus began to leave Kashmir the Jehadi flanks unfolded their plans to destroy the Sanskrit heritage of the Kashmir. The homes the Hindus left-behind, were ransacked and after their properties were looted, burnt down. Within four years of the onset of the terrorist violence in Kashmir, 18,000, Hindu houses were burnt down, bombed and demolished. The White Paper on Kashmir noted : "Many of the homes were torched and during the last four years about 18,000 were either burnt down or destroyed. Many of the homes, which were not burnt, were occupied by mercenaries serving the militant organisations. The premises of the business establishment, shops and commercial establishments were also taken over by the Muslim activists who supported the militancy. In the rural areas, agricultural lands, orchards, and the lands attached to the burnt Hindu

houses, were nibbled away by Muslim activists supporting various terrorist organisations. The cattle and the livestock left behind by the Hindus, were sold for slaughter". In due course of time as the militancy continued to ravage the province and the Muslim separatists forces and the Jehadi flanks gained an upper hand, the Hindus were dispossessed of whatever they owned, their land, dilapidated structures of their homes, business establishments and other assets by what came to be called the distress sales.

The depredations the terrorist regimes wrought did not end with the destruction of Hindu localities, homes and properties. They attacked the temples and Hindu places of worship with iconoclast zeal. The Minister of State for the Home Department of the Government of India told the Indian Parliament on 12 March 1993, that thirteen temples were desecrated and demolished in 1989, nine temples were damaged and demolished in 1990, and sixteen temples were damaged and demolished in 1991. The White Paper on Kashmir noted : "The actual number of temples demolished and damaged in Kashmir was much larger and vandalism to which the Hindu shrines were exposed was widespread". In the aftermath of the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the militants and the Muslim mobs joined to attack the Hindu temples and places of worship. On 7 December, 1992, one day after this demolition of the Babri Masjid, two temples, one in Anantnag and one in Srinagar, were burnt down. During the night of 7-8 December, thirteen temples : one each in Kulgam and Sopore; two in Tangamarg; three in Srinagar and one each in the Anantnag, Utrasu, Shadipur in Sumbal, Pahalgam and Verinag, were damaged and

burnt down. On 9 December, two temples were damaged and burnt down at Trehgam and Pattan. The demolition of the Hindu temples continued after 9 December, for many more days taking the number of the temples, desecrated, damaged, demolished and burnt down to thirty-nine. The White Paper on Kashmir noted : "After the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the wanton destruction of the temples in Kashmir was reported by the press, though reservedly. Angry demonstrations and protest against the desecration and systematic demolitions

CONTINUATION

were held by the Hindu refugees in Jammu and the other parts of the country". The protest evoked no response from the State Government or the Government of India.

The ancient ruins of the Hindu temples, most of them protected monuments of the Archeological Department of the State and the Archeological Department of the Government of India, were also subject to attack. The archeological remains of the ancient Hindu temples stood as an eloquent testimony of the Hindu heritage of Kashmir. The temple ruins were sacred to the Hindus, who visited them as a part of their tradition. At many place the ruins were dug up, in order to obliterate their last traces.

The Hindu religious places where Hindu cultural and social institutions and organisations were located were subjected to bomb attacks or burnt down. The Hindu educational institutions were burnt down or taken over. The entire organisation of Hindu schools and colleges run by the Hindu educational societies including the institutions run by Hindu

Educational Society, Dayanand Ayurvedic organisation and the Vishwa Bharti Trust were seized and taken over by the Muslim organisation supported by the militant flanks.

Reversal of Genocide

Genocide of the Hindus in Kashmir and their exile for decades, has changed the geographical alignments of their community in the province of Kashmir and destroyed their social and economic base. The terrorist violence has obliterated the Hindu religious heritage of Kashmir and almost effaced the Hindu cultural identity. The return of Hindus to Kashmir can assume meaning and effect only in case the genocide is reversed.

The issues which form the core of their return are : (a) the reconstruction of their economic and social base; restoration to them of their homes, land, properties, business establishment and institutions and assets; (b) recognition of their right to freedom of which the content is determined by the imperatives of secularism rather than the Muslim majority identity of the State; and (c) acceptance of their territorial claims in Kashmir in case of any settlement with the Muslims of Kashmir to reorganise the state into a separate Muslim sphere of power on the territories of India, inside India or outside India.

No one can expect the Hindus to return to Kashmir without their sources of livelihood being restored to them and a level of economic security ensured for them. They have lived as refugees in Jammu and the other part of India for two decades. They cannot be sent to live in Kashmir as refugees in improvised camps at the charity of the world.

The Indian political class should realise that the

Hindus have lived, almost all over the six decades of the Indian freedom, within the space provided for them by the precarious balance between the commitment of the Indian people to secularism and the Muslim majority identity of the State. The Indian leadership should realise that the Jihad has severely impaired this balance and obliterated the space for the Hindus to live in Kashmir. It must be noted that any attempt to force the Hindus to accept to live in the space earmarked for them by the Muslim identity of the State will prove distasteful for them.

For those who rule India, the return of the Hindus may be a mere change of face, the Muslim identity of the state is given. But for the Hindus of Kashmir, it is a momentous, decision which will determine the future of their generations. The Government of India must apprise the Hindus of Kashmir about the baseline of its approach to any future settlement, it is committed to reach with Pakistan on the one hand and Muslims of the State, on the other. The Hindus do not want their return to be used as a first step towards turning Jammu and Kashmir into a separate Muslim sphere of power, on the territories of India but independent of its constitutional organisation.

The return of the Hindus to Kashmir is a historical necessity, not only for the Unity of Jammu and Kashmir, but for the unity of India. Any cosmetic effort to bring about the return of the Hindus to Kashmir, aimed to provide a secular face to what the Indian political class has brought about in Jammu and Kashmir, during the last two decades, will spell disaster for the Hindus and perhaps lead to developments which do not augur well for the whole country.

—(To be continued)

An interview with Prof. (Dr) Rattan Lal Shant

RR: Which Short Stories have you written about the plight of Kashmiri Pandits outside Kashmir? What do you say in them?

RLS : Many short stories of mine have been written pointedly on this subject. But most of my other stories may also be carrying the strain of themes concerning Kashmiri Pandits. Thus for instance, "Curfew", "Thor"(Obstacle), "Haer" (Mynah), "Byakh Reshinama"(Another Rishi chronicle), "Raevimuti Maaney"(Lost meanings)"Beyi Akh Doah"(Another Day) and many other short stories written before our displacement from the valley, speak of the atmosphere of subtle political discrimination ,social neglect , disguised bullying and forced submission in which minority characters lived . After 1990 almost all my stories written here directly confront situations arising out of the exodus and subsequent Diaspora of Pandits. You can quote from any of my "Tshen" (Rupture) stories in this connection. These stories present studies of almost all such aspects of the segregated, isolated, marginalized and emotionally truncated lives of people. Such people have widely been described also in the vast body of journalistic literature published during the last two decades outside the valley.

RR: Do you give any solution to the miserable condition of the Pandit community in your writings?

RLS: I have offered no solution, because I do not believe that literature should or can do that. My stories may lead readers to some ideas or they may even draw conclusions from the situations depicted, I shall not question their ingenuity... I think if I am able to focus on the problem, which includes among other things the plight of my community living in exile for the last two decades, my role as a writer is done.

RR: You write poems in Hindi and short stories in Kashmiri, why? Which language are you comfortable with?

RLS: I am comfortable with both. Almost, if not fully and equally. Kashmiri, my mother tongue does have a slight edge over Hindi. However, I am satisfied with the two modes, choosing any of them at the slightest cue from my subject that comes along with its form. So if it is a story, I find that Kashmiri is already at work weaving the appropriate structure: a poem is similarly busy catching up with making selection and rejection of suitable word and phrase in Hindi; literary criticism concentrates wholly on the problem and may take up that language medium which is more relevant to the subject. In fact, the transition from Hindi to Kashmiri or vice versa is so smooth that at times I wonder that my own translation looks to me as good as my original. Some of my friends tell me too.

RR: Kashmiri Pandit writers write in Devnagri Script. When will you expect the problem of two scripts – Nastalique and Devnagri be resolved?

RLS: I don't think that Devanagari will be confined to Pandit writers, just as Nastalique script is not to Muslims. I do understand that without official support even Nastalique in Kashmir may someday be untenable and e-savvy generations may prefer Roman in case they let the language survive at all in face of the sweeping Urdu (and English) wave in the valley .So the progress Nagari makes shall depend on how willfully and widely Kashmiris use it or let it be used.

(Prof. (Dr) Rattan Lal Shant is a Kashmiri Short Story Writer, Dramatist, Hindi Poet, Translator, Editor, Researcher and Critic. Besides receiving many awards, he got the Sahitya Academy Award in the year 2007 for his book of Kashmiri Short Stories "TSHEN" (RUPTURE).

Rajendra Razdan, a freelance journalist is in conversation with him.....

It also depends on how much useful reading material (even stories or tales of yore would do to begin with) is published in it. As of now, the number of Pandit Kashmiri writers is dwindling fast, perhaps in direct proportion to the number of speakers. Nastalique shall still have an advantage because of the numbers.

RR: You have also signed a Resolution that the Devnagri Script should be recognized and that the Pandit Writers should write in Devnagri Script. Yet you write stories and other things in the Persian script. Why?

RLS: Yes, I supported the move to let Nagari be officially recognized in Delhi and Srinagar as an additional alternative to the official Nastalique. I keep requesting members of my writers' fraternity to try writing and publishing in Devanagari also for their readers here. Many of them write and publish their work in both the scripts in order to reach old and young generations of readers. They are conscious of this two fold responsibility of theirs. They can't wait till official recognition comes or not. I believe that for the desirous future generations of Pandits outside the valley, Nagari alone will be the common medium.

I write for my readers like every writer does. As of now, most of my readers do happen to be in known of the Nastalique script. So I write mainly in the same. But I also write in the Nagari with equal commitment to my readers knowing that script .As you know, besides, stories and essays, I write a regular column in the "Vaakh", the only 'Nagari Kashmiri' magazine, published by the AIKS. This is in addition to publishing my stories and critical write ups in other magazines 'Koshur Samachar' and 'Kshir Bhavani Times' If the avenues of publishing in Nagari open up, I won't be second to anybody in contributing to them. I have been fighting for the cause of Nagari as an additional alternate script on merits, not on any non literary or non educational grounds. Survival of Kashmiri language in Diaspora will not depend as much on the script used for it as on its dedicated use in our homes. Books will come later. I think that at the moment we should lay stress on its survival. Our own survival as a distinct ethnic group is at stake now. Besides other factors, it is closely connected to our language, which in turn can be saved outside Kashmir by an honest commitment. .

RR: Please name some of your books you are proud of.

RLS: I am happy with what I have been able to write, but the work I can be proud of has yet to come. I do not know when or whether that comes. Right now I am fighting the devastating lack of time. Well, sometimes I do find it interesting to sit and go through a chapter from my book in Kashmiri (Tshen") or Hindi (Samay ke Tevar") to enjoy myself. I like these two books. I wrote many stories and literary criticism both in Hindi and Kashmiri after these (i.e. since 2007), which were acclaimed but

await publication in book form. My three books in Kashmiri are expected to be out in the first quarter of 2012.

RR: What is your opinion about the writings of other migrant writers, whether Kashmiri, Hindi or English.

RLS: I appreciate how well some of the so called 'migrant' writers have written in Kahmiri, Hindi English etc. during the last two decades in very incongruous conditions outside the valley .I am all admiration for playwrights Kemmu and Meera Kant, poets 'Saqi', 'Majboor', KL Choudhry, Siddharth Gigoo, Agnishekhar, 'Santoshi' 'Shad', 'Masroof', 'Saroor' and 'Betab' ,short story (fiction) writers Chandrakanta, Sanjana, Kshama, HK Kaul, 'Jowhar', 'ML Pandita' and 'MK Raina", to name a few for the excellent depiction of emotions and relationships in apt and forceful language. I have written on some of them in detail.

RR: How and when did you start writing? Which writer has laid a lasting impression on you? Who has been the inspiration behind your writings?

RLS: Though I started publishing my Hindi poems in the annual numbers of 'Martand', a journal of the ASKPC, Srinagar, in my school days in 1951-52, I could not publish my earliest Kashmiri short stories which I wrote almost simultaneously, anywhere, for I knew of no other journal. Consciously, I published my first Hindi poem 'Varsha' and my first Kashmiri short story 'Navsheen' in the .S P. College magazine the "Pratap" in the year 1953. I consider this the beginning of my writing career. Bachchan's and Dinkar's poems in our 'Hindi optional' text books interested me most while I was in SP college. I liked Akhtar's and Kamil's Kashmiri stories which appeared in the AS College magazine, the 'Lala Rookh'. Later, personal contact with renowned poets and scholars as also guidance and encouragement by my teachers in Kashmir and Allahabad strengthened my resolve to continue with the passion even at the cost of a better career. I owe my urge for literary pursuit also to my long association with Kashmir Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, since 1953 which became almost my ideological commitment. My going headlong for MA (Hindi) far away in Allahbad. Overcoming strong patronizing advice to prepare for IAS instead, was direct fallout of such a commitment. (I had topped the BA Examination of J&K University in 1957.)

RR: Who do you rate a Master Writer among Kashmiri Pandits?

RLS: I can not but name two, who are excellent in the genres in which they wrote and who, I think, have not been surpassed. They are Dina Nath Nadim and Hari Krishna Koul.

RR: Devotional poetry got a sudden rise after exodus of Kashmiri Pandits. What have you to say about this kind of poetry?

RLS: Devotional poetry was an easy way out for poets who felt cut off from

their literary neighborhoods and alienated from their traditional audiences. The seemingly sudden emergence of this kind of poetry has nothing to do with poets' dejection or desperation resulting from their exodus from the valley, as some critics would like to believe. It was but a weak rally of the displaced poets to connect to such readers here, for whom referential religious rhymes were good enough. Psychologically, abandoned religious icons and centers in Kashmir had evoked unfathomable empathy in the displaced people. Though some established poets too composed such poems, some 'devotional' rhymesters tried to benefit from the situation. An upsurge of Ashram activity in Jammu and elsewhere can perhaps be seen in this context.

RR: Are there any young writers among Kashmiri Pandits and what do they write about?

RLS: I may have come across just a few young and promising Kashmiri, Hindi or English writers emerging during the last two decades. But unfortunately not much of what they write is visible. Our hopes soared when young writers like RL Jowhar, Kalhan Koul, Siddharth Gigoo and Adarsh Ajit appeared on the horizon. Unfortunately all of them do not seem to be as earnest now as was expected of them. .

RR: You are a translator as well, what have you translated?

RLS: I have done quite a number of translations from and into Kashmiri, Hindi and English, which have been published. "Poshimal "(Rasulmir), "Nundrishi", " Awazon ke Arth" (DN Nadim) "Alberuni sund Hindostan", "Garu Badli" (BP Choudhury) "Lalded"(Ved Rahi) " Ujla Rajmarg"(Edited assorted Kashmiri poems, part translated)are my books. Besides, dozens of my translations appeared in journals or were broadcast.

RR: The themes of the short stories poems and other writings changed after the exodus of pandits. Don't you think the real themes are there in the writings now?

RLS: Themes are always 'real' whether they are directly and visibly connected to the present situation or not. What makes them look live and convincing is the genuineness of feeling and able treatment. Sometimes a dream situation or a concocted story may depict 'reality' more authentically than a theme based on 'facts' does. It is true that after the exodus of 1990 life changed for the victims of the unprecedented phenomenon drastically. Writers, painters, musicians and theater artists took time in absorbing the shock and analyzing the repercussions of the upheaval. Soon we got some good creations in word, color and performance, which were applauded by critics. A new name ('literature in exile')

RR: Are there readers of the Kashmiri books among Kashmiri Pandits? And how do you predict the future of Kashmiri language in our community?

RLS: Readership of Kashmiri books is decreasing fast. Now we have lesser number of Pandit readers than we had immediately after we landed in non Kashmiri cities and towns in Jammu and Delhi, in 1990 and after. There was a time when it was estimated by free opinion and it was almost recognized officially that the number of readers here exceeded that in the valley.

(Contd. on Page 8)

Demystifying ethnic cleansing and genocide of Kashmiri Pandits

By Varad Varenaya

DIFFERENT versions of Kashmir in political, social and religious context are nothing new. Mr. Aditya Sinha's article "Kashmiri Pandits, Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian hypocrisy" that appeared in Daily News & Analysis (DNA) on 31st July 2011 prompted me to write back. I disagree with Mr. Sinha's view regarding Kashmiri Pandits.

It was surprising to see equation between Kashmiri Pandits and Sri Lankan Tamils. Although we are sympathetic towards Sri Lankan Tamils, one cannot equate the two as unlike the Sri Lankan Tamils, Kashmiri Pandits are citizens of India. Our main concern should be first for the citizens of our own country and then others.

The onset of turmoil in Kashmir valley in 1989-1990 was marked with the ethnic cleansing and genocide of Kashmiri Pandits. Ethnic cleansing is an attempt to create ethnically homogeneous geographic areas through the deportation or forcible displacement of persons belonging to particular ethnic groups. United Nations defines ethnic cleansing as rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove from a given area persons of another ethnic or religious group. Many Kashmiri Muslims (and not all) joined the so called freedom movement and chose to be part of armed struggle. The objective of militancy in Kashmir was to create a valley homogenous in its religious (read Islamic) character. To create such

homogeneity, Kashmiri Hindu minority was forced to leave the valley.

Ethnic cleansing sometimes involves the removal of all physical vestiges of the targeted group through the destruction of monuments, cemeteries, and houses of worship. Ethnic cleansing may involve death or displacement where a population is identified for removal from an area. In Kashmir, houses of minority Hindu Pandits were burned; temples were destroyed. Notices were pasted on the walls of Pandit houses mentioning them to leave the valley or to perish.

Genocide may be used as means to carry out ethnic cleansing. Genocide is defined as the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group.

Article 2 of 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) defines genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- Killing members of the group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in a ruling on 11 June 1999 stated that "Against the stern definition of the Genocide Convention, the Commission is constrained to observe that while acts akin to genocide have occurred with respect to Kashmiri Pandits and that, indeed, in the minds and utterances of some of the militants a genocide-type design may exist, the crimes against the Kashmiri Pandits are near-Genocide and not Genocide."

In the speech on 7 April 2004 the UN Secretary General said, "Wherever civilians are deliberately targeted because they belong to a particular community, we are in the presence of potential, if not actual, genocide." 1990s were painted with genocide of Kashmiri Hindus. Many Kashmiri Hindus were murdered. Kashmiri Hindus were targeted by the militants in 1989 and afterwards until they didn't left the valley. The official figure of Kashmir Pandit killings is 219. Kashmiri Pandit Sangharsh Samiti (KPSS), a valley based NGO, disputes the government figure. In its first list of a survey, Kashmiri Pandit Sangharsh Samiti (KPSS) suggests that 399 Pandits were killed and the list of KP killings is still incomplete. KPSS did the survey in 2008 and 2009 to find the exact number of Pandits killed, which revealed that 302 members of the community were killed in 1990 alone. Selective killing of minority Hindus amounts to genocide.

In exile, thousands of Kashmiri

Pandits have died due to change in environmental conditions. Kashmiri Pandits were forced to live in hostile conditions in make-shift camps in Jammu/Delhi. During summers, the average temperature of Kashmir would generally be in thirties while in Jammu/Delhi, it is in forties. Think of 45°C and 6-8 people living in a tent. The habitat changed resulted in sun-strokes, anaemia etc. which caused many deaths. Moreover, deaths happened due to snake bites as slum-like conditions of camps became the breeding ground for snakes. Even after 21 years, some are still living in camps.

Those Kashmiris who chose/support-ed the gun are responsible for the grievances of all Kashmiris whether Kashmiri Muslims or Kashmiri Hindus. It is amusing when the separatists (some of them were terrorists in 1990s) state that they are in favour of return and rehabilitation of Kashmir Pandits. Because they are the same people who were responsible for the exodus of minority Hindus from the valley.

Kashmiri Pandits have been denied justice from past 21 years. The human rights violation of Kashmiri Pandits ought to be addressed now. Kashmiri Pandits haven't suffered physically only but culturally and psychologically also. Kashmiri Pandits have been suffering in a political-religious war in which they don't form any part.

(Follow Varad on twitter - <http://twitter.com/VaradVarenaya>)

(Contd. from Page 7)

J&K Cultural Academy had to reprint some of its books of especially classical, bhakti and Sufi poetry for sale in Jammu. But as hopes for return to Kashmir decreased and enthusiasm for the mother tongue ebbed, enthusiasm for learning or reading Kashmiri too decreased. The situation does not seem to be improving and I am not very sanguine about the future of the language

RR: What are you working on these days?

RLS: I am doing an exhaustive study on Hari Krishna Kaul's art of short story writing.

RR: Do you have any message for the young Kashmiri Writers, if there are any?

RLS: Writing is a very serious business. It demands regular reading as well as full commitment of time and attention. It has been seen that our young writers today display a lackadaisical attitude to reading and writing. They expect quick returns in terms of admiration, fame and money from the little that they write. I do not have any message for them. I only wish they take writing seriously, even when there is no hope for any lucrative return from it.

RR: What is the state of the writings of the Kashmiri Muslim writers?

RLS : They have a vibrant society. Numbers are on their side. So, they will always have reason to benefit from elements nurturing continuity of history and living links with geography. In spite of their dichotomy of whether Urdu or Kashmiri, the recent spurt of sub nationalism is expected to go a long way in providing them a congenial atmosphere for Kashmiri. The fact remains that we were in minority there, trying to go along with the creative endeavor of the mainstream, yet facing discrimina-

An interview with Prof. (Dr) Rattan Lal Shant

tion on many counts. But our fate has worsened even though the world here is much opener for us.

RR: "HARUD" Literary Festival to be held in Srinagar has been cancelled. Two Kashmiri Muslim young writers started tirade against it. Your comments?

RLS: I was upset to see what happened.

RR: Why don't pandit writers like you ask the organizers of the Literary Festival to organize such a festival in Jammu? It will be fruitful for all the writers of Jammu also.

RLS: I would be happy if a festival where creative people of all shades of opinion on literature meet, present their creations and exchange views on art freely is held here. I hope some organization takes such an initiative.

RR: Don't you think it is the moral responsibility of the Kashmiri pandit writers to ask and even force the youth to write books?

RLS: In my opinion, the most timely and important moral responsibility in this connection today is that of Kashmiri parents. It is for them to insist on, may be force, the discipline of using Kashmiri and only Kashmiri in homes. They should come out of their false notions on mother language, as also children's capacity to learn many languages and to face the world of competitions. This will surely help our society to remain connected to our history and heritage, motherland and identity. The question of Senior Pandit writers' responsibility to 'ask' or 'force' young writers to write books etc. etc. comes later. Of course, creating opportunities for young writers is the duty of senior sections of the society and the intelli-

gentsia. Using any pressure to get quick results in the domain of culture is neither desirable nor practicable. On the contrary it may be counter productive.

RR: Young Kashmiri Muslim writers come out with the literature of Resistance in English which is a Global language. What should young Kashmiri Pandit writers come with? Where are their guides?

RLS: Writing with some motive does help spread ideologies which may build bases for political or social movements. Such writings are more journalistic in nature than literary. Literary creations transcend time leaving indelible impressions on readers while the former don't do more than creating a stir at a point of time. This is exactly what literature written with a view to highlight the so called 'resistance' in Kashmir may succeed in doing now. 'Literature in Exile' played almost a similar role outside the valley though underlining a different point and with less success. Yes, writing in English can be quite advantageous in so far as spreading the message among English audiences in India and outside India is sought. Our English writers like KL Choudhry, Arvind Gigoo, and Tej Dhar etc. have done that, though I believe that their writings are not exactly motivated or reactionary. However, I do not think that any amount of coaxing or guidance can make or unmake a writer, whether in Kashmiri, Hindi or English. When, in what circumstances and with how much success a writer may appear, nobody can tell. Politically or socially speaking, writing that makes the world aware of our plight in exile is also important. I think our journalists are doing a fine job in this respect.

RR: Can Kashmir problem be solved through writings?

RLS: Genuine writers are sensitive to human condition and sensible not to succumb to cheap populism. If unmotivated writers are made judges, with guaranteed immunity from social and political reprisals and coercion and if no conditions are slapped on them, I think we may be able to get some universally acceptable solution. But if we expect them to write down literature leading to some solution, we may get neither a solution nor any literature.

RR: Do you think Kashmiri Pandits should and will go back to Kashmir? I am asking you this because most of the writers write about their lost homeland.

RLS: Yes, I have still not lost faith in our yearning for Kashmir. Today, even keeping the flame of hope to return and live as before in our homeland, burning is an uphill task. I see that flame getting bright or dim, the desire to return becoming intense or weak with changing weather and politics. I am conscious of the fact that our young people studying marrying or settling far away from their parents may lose interest in Kashmir unlike their elders who suffered a lot physically and mentally. The latter will also keep lamenting the loss of their ancestral land and cultural identity. What reassures me, however, is the nostalgia for Kashmir getting stronger by the day in those young entrepreneurs and professionals who are living far more comfortably in far away West for decades and yet keep craving for all that Kashmir stands for. So far as writers are concerned, they only reflect people's (as well as their own) aspirations with honesty and fearlessness. Getting their homeland back is the natural, lawful and universal aspiration of all uprooted KP's.

By S.M. Pandit

JAMMU, Aug 6: A cross section of public opinion expressed its grave concern over the hobnobbing of prominent persons across the spectrum with hostile nations and nurturing of these people by the establishment than taking action against them at a seminar organized by PANUN KASHMIR. The topic of the seminar was- Fai's Arrest in USA, Lessons for India. The seminar was presided over by Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir and Prof. M L Koul, prolific writer and member PK Advisery, Sh B S Slathia, President Jammu Bar Association, Sh Y V Sharma, President Chamber of Commerce and Industries-Jammu, Prof. Dipanker Sengupta, Department of Economics, University of Jammu and Prof. Hari Om, Prolific writer and political thinker were the other speakers.

Delivering his presidential address, Dr Ajay Chrungoo expressed grave concern that the people who are engaged in subversion are unfortunately blue eyed boys of the government of India and are operating as track-2 lobbyists, emissaries and interlocutors on behalf of India and not Pakistan. He described Fai as a symbol of process of destruction and added that we have to understand the support structure of this process of destruction. "Those Indians who have been now exposed to be in the ISI subversive circuit have been operating for years on track-2 diplomacy and as emissaries and interlocutors not on behalf of Pakistan but on behalf of GoI," rued Dr Chrungoo. He said that these very people are involved with the triple alliance of Chinese, Anglo-American and Islamic funda-

Fai's Arrest in USA- Lessons for India

Isolate those hobnobbing with unfriendly countries- panelists

mentalist ideology of hurting the interests of India.

The PK leader said that these individuals have no commitment to the Indian unity and values and respect fundamentalism and terrorism as revolutionary. "All these individuals have ideological convergence. They have no commitment to Indian unity. They respect fundamentalism and terrorism as revolutionary and expression of victimhood of deprived sections and they oppose almost all those propositions that strengthen Indian cause in J&K," opined Mr. Chrungoo. He appealed the Indian nation to assert itself to bring the nation state out of their clutches by denying them legitimacy in their anti state pursuits; otherwise national interests will continue to remain compromised. "A nation state cannot rest on the branches of its state. It is the masses that create nation state. They are training guns by sitting on our shoulders. We have to deny them our shoulders by continuously dissenting their policy of compromise on national issues," asserted Dr Chrungoo.

Earlier starting the proceedings, Prof. M L Koul said that the malaise of internal subversion that has almost crippled the policy making process particularly on the issues of national security and described Fai as an element of propaganda machinery. He added that Fai's arrest in America has only brought out a facet of the problem which has infected the cross section

of opinion makers in India who are hobnobbing with agencies of inimical countries and masquerading as peace activists and doing an irreparable damage to the national interests. He said that Fai has been propagating Pakistani line for last 25 years and wondered that India did nothing to expose him. He expressed surprise that this section of so-called intelligentsia is enjoying the hospitality of the likes of Fai and hurting the interests of nation. He described Kashmiri Pandits' exodus as the worst example of genocide and said that the propaganda cells activated by ISI and separatists spread falsehood on the issue within and outside the country and the GoI committed treachery by labelling us as MIGRANTS.

Mr. Y V Sharma, President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Jammu, said that the Indian government didn't react to the terrorism in befitting manner and gave the impression of soft state. He added that India should expose ISI and Pak Army and identify the snakes in the grass from within and take proper action against them. He said, "We are witnessing what is happening for last 20 years. We feel helplessness as there is no such reaction from the nation and that is why our state is called a soft state. History tells us that the soft states have been losers in the long run." Mr Sharma rued that there are many Fai's in J&K and instead of taking action, they are being protect-

ed. He added that they are being provided finances and other support from Pakistan and it is the responsibility of GoI to expose Pakistani ISI and Army and take action against those who are part of the Fai circuit.

Prof. Dipanker Sengupta pointed out how Pakistan harnesses a section of Indian intelligentsia and activists to strike at the roots of India and weaken national resolve. He added that this section is anti India by conviction and those implicated cannot pass judgment on J&K. "Pakistan harnessed power of Indian intelligentsia to strike at the roots of India. The mixture of Red and Green harnessed a handful of intellectuals to weaken our national resolve," lamented Sengupta. Coming down heavily on this group, he said that unity, integrity and democratic values do not matter to them and by conviction they are anti India and find India wrong even in the conflicts where India is not involved. Lashing out at those within and outside the government to protect those found involved in Fai circuit, Prof. Dipanker said that those implicated cannot preside over to pass Judgment on J&K and such people should be neutral and at least commitment to the unity and integrity of India. He described Fai as a symptom that illustrates nature of problem in India and added that his arrest is an indication of the problem that the USA is having with Pakistan as his activities were known to the US authorities well in

advance.

Speaking on the occasion, Prof Hari Om, chided recent Indian Foreign policy vis-à-vis J&K. He said that the recent statement of S M Krishna in Parliament on his talks with his Pakistani counter-part runs counter to the unanimous and historic parliamentary resolution of 1994 on J&K. He referred to the meeting of Pakistani Foreign Minister with separatists and her statement about the outstanding issue of J&K on Indian soil and added that in last 20 years no Pak FM talked of J&K in India in such explicit way. He lashed out at the union ministers who tried to downplay the attendance of Indian's in Fai's programmes and advocated for bringing such elements to justice to produce the desired moral effect so that no one can dare to associate themselves with such organizations and individuals. Concluding at a positive note, Prof. Hari Om said that there is hell of difference between Indian state and Indian nation and if the Indian nation had not reacted the state would have given Kashmir to Pakistan on palter.

Sh. B S Slathia, President Jammu Bar Association, said that Fai's arrest in America has exposed all those individuals in India who claim to be experts, peaceniks and civil rights crusaders but actually further the agenda of anti India forces. He gave a clarion call to the nationalist forces not to tolerate them but to expose them. He said that there are Fai's even in the government structure. Sh Slathia talked of discrimination with Jammu people and cited the issue of Central University. He said that our survival is at stake and we should unite together to frustrate the designs of inimical forces.

BRIEF OF THE PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED DURING MEDIA INTERACTION ADDRESSED JOINTLY BY DR.AJAY CHRUNGGOO CHAIRMAN PANUN KASHMIR, DR. HARI OM NOTED POLITICAL ANALIST & SENIOR LEADER, AND DR. M.K.TENG CHAIRMAN ADVISORY PANUN KASHMIR ON OCT. 21ST, 2011 AT JAMMU.

THE recent beginning of the march from Kashmir to Manipur for the revocation of AFPSA seems to be only a brazen expression of the intent to integrate the separatist movement in Jammu and Kashmir with the separatist movements elsewhere in

MEDIA INTERACTION

India particularly the North East. The likes of Medha Patkar and Sandeep Pandey have done Human Rights no good by such a venture and only given credibility to regressive political ideologies which feed terrorism. We debunk such type of perverted Human and civil rights activism which over the years has weakened the defense of Human Rights

and civil rights in India.

It seems the deportation of Gautam Navlakha, some time back by the state government, was only a temporary measure taken to see the tourist season through and not a considered policy decision. It also raises doubts again about elements within the establishment encouraging fissiparous groups and personalities to meddle in the sensitive situation in the state. Otherwise how was Medha Patkar allowed to flag off this March from Kashmir to Manipur?

We have never heard such so called civil Rights leaders talking about elimination of Terrorism. How many times have we witnessed such persons eulogizing terrorist movements as revolutionary

movements! All such activists betray an ideological outlook where the unity of India is not sacrosanct. Such activists eventually seek to communicate that efforts to remove challenges to national unity are bereft of any progressive content. For them Human rights and fomenting subnational unrest are only tool as it has been in the hands of imperialist powers all through till this time. We are aware of their motivations and recognize that they have no progressive agenda to further.

The role of a section of government of India in encouraging such elements needs to be examined. It has allowed Human Rights jargon as a cover and immunity for allowing over ground workers of terrorism and

separatism to carry on with their activities using the democratic space.

It is an irony that at a time when USA and rest of the Western World are no longer ready to allow Pakistan to flirt with terrorism, Government of India is tolerating such flirtations on the soil of India and many times under the cover of tactics or administrative expediency encouraging it.

At a time when China is increasing its military presence in POK and encouraging Pakistan's belligerence against India, Government

of India seems to be sleeping over the deepening of the nexus between separatists in Jammu and Kashmir, Maoists and many insurgent groups in North East promoted by none other than China and Pakistan.

We urge government of India to take such ventures, as the one started by Medha Patkar in Kashmir valley, and devise measures to counter and defeat this sinister nexus between the separatists of various hue and colors to undermine the integrity of the Nation.

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Suvir Koul's & Natasha Koul's Write-ups in the quarterly of IIC New Delhi

IN the latest issue of the quarterly published under the aegis of the India International Centre, New Delhi have appeared two write-ups, 'one Home, two lives' and 'Loving & Losing Kashmir', one by Suvir Koul and the other by Natasha Koul. Suvir Koul is a Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania and Natasha Koul is also an academic and writes fiction. Curiously, both of them happen to be the progeny of Kashmiri Pandits who have been treacherously expelled and exiled from their homes and hearths in Kashmir by the genocidal killers laced with deadly weapons, guns and grenades, supplied to them by Pakistan.

The substance of the two write-ups establishes the dubious credentials of the two worthies as intellectual and psychological dupes to the barrage of lies, half-truths, falsehoods, fibs and fables that have been profusely fabricated, churned out and orchestrated by the terrorist-cum-secessionist machine tasked to paint India in the darkest and gristliest colours. It is a sheer 'smear campaign' meticulous in its pursuit of the sinister design of disfiguring the democratic visage of India and its republican state and projecting it as brutal and tyrannical. The terrorist-cum-secessionist machine is financed and manned by the notorious ISI of Pakistan which is seen as the hub of terrorism and religious discord all over the world. The dominant design and motive of the dis-information campaign is to segregate and wean away Kashmir from the constitutional sovereignty of India and establish it as a Muslim state governed by the Islamic law and precedent. The cruel expulsion of microscopic minority of Hindus through torture, murder and inhuman brutalisation was strategically executed with this end in eye-scape.

The ISI fabricated and funded propaganda machine, the two worthies are urged to know, is equally geared to the much publicised project of reviving the Muslim caliphate lying in the dust-bin of history with Kashmir as its integral part and constituent. The war unleashed by Pakistan with active complicity and participation of genocidal killers in Kashmir is manifestly religious in hue and content. Its destination is ascendancy, supremacy and hegemony of Islam and nightmare for atheists, polytheists, infidels and all types of non-Muslims. It is a Muslim crusade the flanks of which have continuously been replenished and ramparted by the highly motivated terrorist herds from Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Somalia, Libya et al. The details percolating from the war-theatre in Kashmir provide a clinching evidence to the fact that the militarised Islam has not been chasing political goals alone in Kashmir, but has its sights riveted to the religious objectives too.

It is regrettable that the two worthies, one settled in America and the other in London, appear to have fallen in the dragnet of the same Jihadi machine that as a first step of achievement has wiped out the ancient tribe of Kashmiri Pandits from the soil of Kashmir alongwith its cultural and civilisational land-marks having a Hindu flavour. We as a patriotic community condemn the utterances of the two worthies as treasonous as they fabricate and churn out the same vile formulations and malicious condemnations that are the warp and woof of the 'Seminar circuit' piloted by a Pakistani spy, Dr. G.N. Fai and his mercenary cohorts.



By Prof. M.L. Kol

WAS an external community heartily appreciate and admire the personal ambitions of the two worthies for having crossed the high seas for greener pastures, but their successes, if any, in distant America and London do not in any manner leverage them to have gut-hatred for the country of their genesis where their essential roots and cultural foundations lie. What makes them to be in close chaoots with the sworn enemies of India who spare no efforts to break it and fragment it for a second partition? We do not mind if they put on the high-brow airs of liberals and neo-liberals, but that never invests them with an intrinsic right to grossly abuse the democratic space available to them in their land of nativity by denouncing the very idea of India, its sovereignty over its territories and its militaries and para-militaries engaged in defending its historical borders. How is it that they in their solomonic wisdom pontifi-

cate that India is a geography, not a nation-state and hence any irate insurgent with a gun in hand can hive off its sacrosanct territories?

Moreso, it is mind-boggling that the two worthies, seem to be audacious enough in upholding, supporting and disseminating the terrible views of the terrorists and secessionists operational in Kashmir who have been waging a Jihadi war against the Indian state for horrendous destinations. It is also quite strange that their views, statements and formulations are mostly founded on myths and yarns that are disseminated from multifarious rumour-sites that have mushroomed in Kashmir. What they have churned out is false and malicious propaganda that has no factual basis.

As is revealed by the contents of the two write-ups it becomes apparent that the worthies have meekly chosen to tread upon the dirt-track of disgraceful capitulation to the genocidal killers in Kashmir and their cohorts wherever they be with a view to earning temporary reprieve for whatever tangible or intangible assets they have in Kashmir. If our experience in Kashmir can be their guide, they cannot save their assets of any form, name, fame, land and house for the very name-tag that they are burdened with qualifies them for loot, murder, grab, desecration and effacement superlatively.

It is intriguing that the two worthies maintained absolute silence, dipped themselves in 'dyan-mudra' or shut themselves up in a canary island when the genocidal killers perpetrated medieval barbarities and cruel savageries on hapless Kashmiri Pandits and their women-folk. Have they ever thought it apt and obligatory to fathom out the names of Sarla Bhat, Girija Tiku, Babli Raina, Rupawati Bhat, Prana Ganjoo et al from the gory book of savagery that the genocidal killers in Kashmir have written? Sarla Bhat was kidnapped, raped for days on end, tortured and put to bullets and thrown on the road-side. Girija was cut into two equal halves on a wood-chopping machine and given a burial. Babli was raped in presence of her children and whole family and thrown into the river Vitasta. Rupawati, an old lady, was tortured to death. Prana Ganjoo was raped and tortured and hurled into the river Vitasta.

I am not writing it to invoke anybody's pity, much less of the two worthies, NRIs, who are in the business of high-pitched advocacy of human rights of those who are the worst violators of human rights of Kashmiri Pandits, the natives of Kashmir.

Suvir Koul on his grand-parents

In his outrageous write-up Suvir Koul has made a frequent mention of his grand-parents, but has

not revealed their names. Prof. Jaya Lal Koul, the author of the classic on Lalla Ded, is his paternal grand-father and Prof. Shyam Lal Dhar, soft, suave and learned, is his maternal grand father.

Prof. Koul was a literary luminary of Kashmir who has made tremendous contributions to the Kashmiri literature. 'Studies in Kashmiri' is his magnum opus. His translation of the Kashmiri opera 'Bombar Yambarzal' written by Pt. D.N. Nadim and Mr. Noor Mohammad Roshan was unique. He was the first secretary of the State Academy of Culture, Arts and Languages when it was set up under the provisions of the state constitution. As a brilliant professor of English he had taught nearly two generations in Kashmir and was held in high esteem.

To up-date Suvir Koul's knowledge about his paternal grand-father I feel constrained to write that when the Professor died of cancer outside his home state, no condolences were offered and no obituaries were written. Why? He was a Kashmiri Pandit.

About Prof. S.L. Dhar, Sudha Koul, the authoress of the Tiger Ladies, writes that he had to give up his teaching assignment in a college when Muslim students in his class shouted that they would like to have Muslims as their teachers. The Professor of old genre, as an epitome of culture and learning was shocked for he had no

communal considerations while teaching his learners. This type of stark communalism had its old roots in Kashmir. Those who overlook it or brush it under the carpet are the proverbial ostriches. In fact, the present political problem in Kashmir has its first origins in devastating Muslim Communalism.

Suvir Koul on 1953 developments

Sheikh Abdullah was a charismatic leader who lent his absolute support to the accession of the state to the dominion of India. But, he had his personal ambitions too which could not be fully accommodated within the democratic imperatives of the State of India. He was seen transgressing the delineated powers that were vested in him as the Prime Minister of the state and those beings the cold war days he was deposed. Political power was not handed over to a Hindu. It was the Sheikh's deputy, a Muslim who rose to the helm after having been duly elected by the representative assembly constituted on the basis of adult-franchise. Sheikh Abdullah as is well-known was deft in real-life politics. He forged an accord with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India and took over the reins of government in 1975. He voluntarily became a part of the same constitutional frame-work that he himself had pioneered. The changes and modifications that the successive

representative assemblies had brought about in the constitutional provision of the detestable Article 370 were completely endorsed by the Sheikh as the Chief Minister of the State.

Sheikh Abdullah had his own inherent failings which clouded his vision as an impeccable secularist. He delivered a lifetime shock to Kashmiri Pandits when he in his autobiography dubbed and denounced them as 'agents and spies' of India.

Suvir Koul is absolutely wrong to say that Sheikh Abdullah had tried to further an alternate track of politics for changing the status-quo of the state. Sheikh was conscious of the disastrous perils that were involved in it for all the ethnic groups in the state. He was on terra firma of historical realities. He could not opt for Pakistan where he was existentially in danger of getting exterminated. He had certainly exhibited an inclination for independence, but Pakistan would not allow it.

Suvir Koul on accession of the state to the Union of India

The worthy Indian-American claims to have changed his world-view on J&K's accession to the Union of India after having gone through the tomes of history germane to the subject. Could he be asked about the titles that he has studied which have brought about sea-changes in his views on

(Contd. on Page 11)

By L.C. Kaul

Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai 62 years old is US citizen and hails from Kashmir valley. He did MA from University of Aligarh. In early 1980s he left for USA where he did Ph.D in mass-communication from Temple University in Pennsylvania. Soon he came on ISI's (Pakistan's spy agency- the Inter Services Intelligence) radar.

He was ensnared by ISI in late 1980s. He founded Kashmir American Council (KAC), also known as "Kashmir Centre" in Washington in 1990, as a paid ISI agent. KAC describes itself as an organisation dedicated to increase awareness about Kashmiri struggle for self-determination in the US. KAC has centres in London and Brussels.

Who is Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai?

Fai was given by ISI to push Pakistan's position on Kashmir. Apart from huge financial assistance from ISI, prominent Pak Americans in US issued cheques in favour of Fai. Fai and KAC made contribution of \$ 23500 to US lawmakers namely Joseph Pitts, James Moran and Gregory Meeks among others and Indiana Congressman Don Burton, a strong pro-Pakistan Republican. Modest contributions were also made to the Gore and Obama campaigns as well as a to the US political system over the past 15 years. Primary objective of all these activities was to reverse J&K State's accession to India and thereby to manipulate the debate on Kashmir in favour of

Pakistan. More contributions to the US political system came from other Pakistan-ISI proxies including US based physicians and businessmen. Besides generous monetary assistance from ISI spy agency, Fai and associates also sent money through hawala channels to fuel the separatist fire in Kashmir from 1990 and onwards. Fai is involved in diverting funds to Hurriyet in the Valley, over the past 20 years to organise seminars on Kashmir in different cities of US. These seminars were also attended by some Indian liberals. Fai's conferences in Washington were bankrolled by the Pakistan embassy there. During 2005, Baroness

Emma Nicholson, a member of the European Parliament, was appointed as the Parliament's rapporteur on Kashmir. The KAC tried to discredit her report and get her removed from her position. The ISI stated that Nicholson should not be the rapporteur to write the Kashmir report and she should be removed from her position in the European Parliament as well as the British Parliament. Nicholson report was published in May 2007. The report criticised Pakistan for human rights violation in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). The report was seen as favourable to India.

Right from 1989, Fai claimed to seek a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute but it was

soon revealed that Fai was conspiring to act as an agent of a foreign principle- in fact he was a front-man for Pakistani - and not Kashmiri interests in the US.

The FBI arrested Fai on 19th July 2011 from his house in Fairfax in the US, on the charges of receiving money from ISI and acting as an agent, without disclosing his affiliation with the Pakistan government as required according to American Law. Fai and Zaheer Ahmad (63 years) a US citizen and resident of Pakistan, have been accused of illegally funnelling millions of dollars to influence US policy on Kashmir.

On July 26, 2011 a US court ordered Fai, the Kashmir lobbyist accused of being an ISI agent, to be released from jail but put him in house detention pending trial.

(From Page 10)

accession? The first principle of research is to reference his averments that he is audacious to make. There are numerous works that have been craftily sponsored by Pak foreign office only to distort the facts about accession. There is a lot of trash that has been churned out by the supporters of terrorists and secessionists in Kashmir. Koul seems to have fallen a prey to such distorted and unhistorical materials. It is his bounden duty as an Indian, if he feels that, he is one, to look for the relevant-materials available in genuine works on Kashmir history. And he will come to learn that Maharaja Hari Singh's accession to India is full, final, irrevocable and flawless.

The worthy professor appears to be heavily prejudiced when he holds India responsible for non-conduct of plebiscite in Kashmir. It was actually Pakistan that deliberately sabotaged the plebiscite process by not vacating the territories that the tribal raiders from Pakistan had aggressed and forcibly occupied. It was a precondition for the conduct of plebiscite in Kashmir. To dispel his gross ignorance and deep-seated bias the learned worthy should rummage the American libraries for the said-resolution of the Security Council.

Suvir on Pro-Pakistan elements dis-allowed to fight-elections

Suvir Koul is an Indian by birth, but is obsessed with pro-Pakistan elements who he believes are debarred from fighting elections in Kashmir. Firstly there is no directive, order or ordinance by the state government

or by the Election Commission of India that has debarred pro-Pakistan elements in the state from joining the electoral fray. Secondly, the pro-Pakistan elements are so weak in numbers and political prowess that they always shy away from elections lest they should get exposed as paper tigers. Ali Shah Gilani, a foreign settler in Kashmir and a rabid Muslim bigot, has been a member of the Legislative Assembly umpteen times. In Mir Qasim's time Jamaate-Islami, a notorious pro-Pakistan outfit, had not fewer than eight members in the Legislative Assembly of the State.

Suvir Koul on his visit to Ganpatyar Temple, Srinagar

Prejudice and malice against the militaries and para-militaries of our country gets explicitly reflected when the worthy writes about his visit to the Ganpatyar Temple in Srinagar. The fact is that the forces were deployed for the safeguard and protection of the temple when the Muslim terrorists subjected it to a missile attack from across the river. They have saved the temple from desecration and destruction, otherwise it would have met the same fate of 550 temples that have been desecrated, vandalised, demolished and laid waste by the rabid vandals and 'lawless lizzards' that have been prowling about the land of Kashmir since 1989. The para-militaries have a right to worship in their own mode and method and the gods that they invoke are not different

from our religious lore and learning. The worthy is ignorant of the fact that Kashmir had tremendous impact of Vaishnavism which has impeded our art, archeology and sculpture. His deliberate usage of 'Hundutav' is not only repulsive, but condemnable too.

Suvir Koul on militarisation

It is sheer saddening that Suvir Koul has joined chorus with the treacherous detractors of India who do not spare a moment from maligning our national armies. The real ire and grudge against our armies as tom-tommed by the Jihadi machine is because it has been frustrated and nearly defeated in its malicious designs of severing Kashmir from India. Sovereign countries have a right to defend their borders against aggression from their enemies. India was aggressed by Pakistan four times so far. Then, we have security threats looming large from China. Pakistan has unleashed a proxy-war in Kashmir and there has been infiltration going on incessantly for the last twenty years. It is the constitutional duty of the national government to defend the country from the external enemies.

Have Suvir Koul and men of his ilk guts and gumption to question the deployment of American forces to Iraq and Afghanistan? If they dare do so, they will be deported next day lock, stock and barrel.

Suvir Koul on the rape of a Gujjar girl

The worthy has highlighted the case of a Gujjar girl who as per

him was raped by paramilitary soldiers. It is a story, a fib and a yarn that has been dinned into his ears by the Jihadis or their committed supporters. I would like the worthy to divulge the name and address of the girl and the exact place where she was raped. His contention will hold ground only after he produces clinching and unassailable evidence. In absence of it he can be projected as a credulous person who readily believes in what he is told. The professor should know Kashmir has been a land of story-tellers. That is how we produced a voluminous work like 'Kathasaritsagar'. When hapless Kashmiri Pandits were put to bullets in broad-day light, fabulous stories were yarned to malign them as 'mukhbirs, spies and agents' of India and everybody believed them uncritically.

Muslim stories to Suvir Koul appear more painful than Kashmiri Pandit Stories

Let the worthy be told that the Muslims have no stories to relate except that they have been a part of the insurgency that was inspired, conceived and executed by ISI of Pakistan. They were made to believe that Muslim Jihad had the blessings of Allah and hence was sure to succeed. The Jihadis trained in camps across the borders and laced with sophisticated guns were intellectually poor and had no estimations of the strength of the country they were pitted against. In religious frenzy the Muslims donated their sons to Muslim Jihad who

crossed the borders to Pakistan for arms training. When pushed back into the Indian territory for loot, murder, sabotage and destruction, the militaries and para-militaries eliminated a good number of them. The insurgency has made them rich, nay fabulously rich and that is how they have purchased those properties of Pandits, which they could not grab. Pakistani moneys, hawala moneys, moneys sent as remittances from West and Middle-East and Indian moneys, loot of the state exchequer & absolute sway over the State and Central finances they say, have made them affluent and prosperous beyond the conceivable limits.

And, Mr Professor, the story of the Kashmiri Pandits is sad and painful. They have been subjected to a genocide, Jewish-style. They were targeted as individuals or as a group with an express intent of total annihilation and extermination. The methods chosen for annihilation have been hanging, burning alive, strangulation by steel wires, dragging to death, drawing of blood in hospitals, branding with red-hot iron-bars, slaughter, gouging of eyes, breaking of limbs and impaling. Their houses have been mercilessly looted, ravaged and put to arson. Nearly, twenty thousand houses have been destroyed and their materials looted. Five hundred and fifty temples have been desecrated, ravaged and destroyed. All Kashmiri Pandit habitations whether in the capital city of Srinagar or in distant villages and

hamlets have been decimated. They are refugees in their own country. They are on cross-roads.

Now, the worthy should decide as to whose story is more painful and agonising

Suvive Koul on self-determination

The worthy should know that the nation-states do not grant the right of self-determination to their federating constituents. The colonies that were held under the thralldom for exploitation and loot of resources by the imperialist powers clamoured for right of self-determination. This is how it gained currency with the people in the colonies that struggled for freedom and prosperity. India is not a clonial power. She has not subjugated people of other countries and is given to looting their resources.

Kashmir is a constituent part of the Indian union. It has made strides in the segments of health, education, agriculture, horticulture, trade and transport through the Indian moneys. Poverty is minimal in Kashmir. The present-day quality of life that Kashmiris have gained stands in stark contrast to what it was in pre-1947 era. People then lived in penury, wore scantily and were on teh brink of starvation and ate.

The people of Jammu and Ladakh have catalogues of grievances against the Kashmiri rulers of Sunni brand. Their grouse is that they have been put to extreme discrimination and denial of funds and finances allocated to the state by the Central government. And they clamour against their colonisation by the state under the siege of Muslims.

-(To be continued)

Suvir Koul's & Natasha Koul's Write-ups in the quarterly of IIC New Delhi

Development of Sharda Script



Shailendra Aima

THE present indigenous scripts in India have developed from Brahmi and the early Brahmi inscriptions in India date back to Mauryan period. It may not be out of place to mention here that the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka founded the city of Srinagar, then situated on the site of the present village of Pandrethan, three miles to the north of the existing capital. Another view proclaims a much earlier origin of Srinagar, that a Pandava King Ashoka (not to be confused with Maurya Ashoka) built the city of Srinagari (Srinagar).

It is believed that there is a good haul of Sharada manuscripts in several places in the country like Nalanda, Hoshiarpur, Madurai, Chennai and Mysore, and in Nepal. Nothing has been done so far to trace and explore this rich treasure. George Buhler, it may be recalled had collected Sanskrit manuscripts from "Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India", and published his report in 1877. Not many followed his lead afterwards.

SHARDA script was much in use not only in Kashmir, but also in North Western India (Gilgit etc.), the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh and even in Central Asia. This script enjoys a foremost position among all the ancient Indian scripts. It was evolved from the Western branch of Brahmi nearly 1200 years ago. It is an excellent ancient alphabet of Kashmir. Almost all the ancient Sanskrit literature of Kashmir is written in this script.

The earliest Sharda inscription on a stone slab, dating back to 774 A.D., was discovered at the village Hund at Attock in West Pakistan.

"There successive stages of development of the Sharda alphabet can easily be discerned. The

earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and the coins of the 8th to 10th centuries; the second by those of the 11th to 14th centuries; and the third and final by the epigraphic and literary record of the 14th and the subsequent centuries."

After the 11th century, Devnagari script also came into vogue. Sharda continued to be used in Kashmir as the script for writing both Sanskrit and Kashmiri till the 17th century.

Alberuni records the prevalence of Sharda in the Northern and North-western India and has recorded that it was also known by the names of Sidham or Sidha-matrika.

A number of foreign scholars have done considerable work on SHARDA script: (1) George Buhler in his memorable work, "Indian Palaeography", (pp. 76/77), (2) Leech in his "Grammar of the Cashmere Language", (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1894, pp. 399-95), (3) Sir George Grierson in his paper in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" (1916, pp. 677-95), and also in his note in the

"Linguistic Survey of India", (Vol viii, p. 254). Credit should go to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel for discussing the development of the SHARDA script in detail in his famous work, "Antiquities of Chamba State", (Part I) Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha has also briefly discussed the SHARDA script in his, "Bharatiya Prachina Lipimala", which is based on Vogel's work.

According to Dr. B.L. Dembi: "In the second half of the 8th century we find in the Brahmi alphabet of North Western India a distinct development of a new alphabet which though agreeing in many respects with that used in the epigraphic and literary records of the 6th and 7th centuries, including the famous Gilgit manuscript, shows several essential differences in the forms of several characters. This alphabet is known the SHARDA alphabet. Though an alphabet of Kashmir, par excellences, the Sharda has remained for several centuries a popular script of an extensive area of North West India including Ladakh, Jammu,

Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Delhi". This much is certain that it must have originated in Kashmir which from the earliest times has been the principal seat of SHARDA, or the Goddess of learning."

The most early Indian stone inscription is of the time of the Maurya King, Asoka; this is called the Mauryan alphabet. Later, in the records of the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D., found in the North Western India, there is another alphabet, called as the Western Gupta alphabet. This alphabet finally led to the SHARDA alphabets in the 8th and the 9th centuries. Later, the coins of the rulers of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir (2nd half of the 9th and the early 10th centuries A.D.) also bear engravings in Sharda.

After the 13th century, this alphabet underwent a development in the records of Chamba and the surrounding areas. According to Pt. Anand Koul Bamzai, Sharda alphabets were used in the stone inscriptions even up to the 18th century; this is corroborated by his discovery of a Sharda inscription dated Vikram 1846 (1789 A.D.) The Sharda script is said to have reached perfection by the middle of the 15th and the 16th centuries. However, the epigraphists Kielhorn and Hoernle hold the view that Sharda alphabet is a very conservative alphabet, as it changed very little across the centuries.

It is a well recorded fact that in the 12th century, Gajadhar, a courtier from the court of Prithvi Raj Chouhan, the King of Delhi, returned to Kashmir and wrote an account of Prithvi Raj's victory over Mohammad Ghori in the first battle of Panipat. The original text of this account was written in Sharda. Nagri came into use in Kashmir in the 17th century. It was introduced by a known Sanskrit scholar named Rattan Kanth who is credited for penning down Suryadarpan. It was Rattan Kanth who transliterated the original text of Kalhana's Raj Tarangani from Sharda to Nagri and later Aurel Stein used Rattan Kanth's transliteration for his use. Stein observes, "Kalha's

account of Kashmir begins with the legendary reign of Gonanda, who was contemporary to Yudhisthira of the Mahabharata, but the recorded history of Kashmir, as retold by Kalha's account also states that the city of Srinagar was founded by the Mauryan emperor, Ashoka, and that Buddhism reached the Kashmir valley during this period. From there, Buddhism spread to several other adjoining regions including Central Asia, Tibet and China."

In 1881, a farmer found an old-manuscript inside a tree trunk in the village called "Bakshali" within fifty miles of the city of Peshawar.

The farmer handed this unknown manuscript to the local government and it was exported to the Bodleian library in Oxford, England for safe keeping. Since then a lot of research work has been done on this manuscript which was written on birch-bark and only thirty five leaves out of seventy, were in legible condition. Written in early Sharada script, this manuscript has been claimed as a valuable mathematical treatise and its author is yet to be known. Recent scholarship dates it between the 2nd c. BC and the 3d c. AD.

One of the rarest of rare Atharvaveda manuscript that went out of India centuries ago in palm leaf came back to India, in CD-ROM. This manuscript in Sharda script is one of the two Atharvaveda recensions that have survived. Originally, nine recensions existed. But only the recensions of Pipalada and Shaunaka survived. It was in the custody of the Maharajah of Kashmir. In the 1870, Prof. Rudolph von Roth, a German Indologist searching for Atharvaveda manuscripts wrote to the Maharajah asking for the manuscript. After a long negotiation and after several rounds of discussions and offers, the Maharajah parted with the manuscript. It is now housed in Tubingen University Library, Germany. This manuscript, in CD-ROM is now with IGNCA and is available for scholars for reference.

The Bhandarkar

Oriental Research institute Pune has a repository of Kashmir Manuscript collection (1875-76) that comprises of Birch Bark Manuscripts written in Sharada script, and comprise of Manuscripts related with Kashmir Shaivism, Jainism and the history of Kashmir. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, showcases a very important Manuscript of Mammata's Kavyaprakash (12th Century) written in Sharda along with illustrations. Mammata's 'Kavya Prakash' still remains the most authentic and authoritative work on poetics in the whole gamut of Sanskrit literature.

In the National Museum Delhi is preserved the earliest manuscript in Sharda, which belongs to the 9th century A.D. Dealing with astrology and written in Sharda script of Kashmir on the birch-bark in Sanskrit, it is a rare specimen of the art of writing. The Museum also has the Manuscript of Mammata's Kavyaprakash (12th Century) written in Sharda along with illustrations. Mammata's 'Kavya Prakash' still remains the most authentic and authoritative work on poetics in the whole gamut of Sanskrit literature.

(This write-up is based on the seminal research carried out by the Kashmiri Scholars of Sanskrit and Sharda and some search on the Google)

Poem

*Was it a dream or was it true
I didn't get marks in my father's point of view
There was a rain of anger raining on me
Society was such it looked cursing on me
Will parents egoism for marks ever end
Or child will sail in a boat of bends
No one appreciates the hardworking
Everyone wants high marking
Concentration was flowing away in the flood of depression
I just wanted a friend who would help me by appreciation
Will I remain unsuccessful in getting marks?
Or will my parents lend me a supporting hand in getting some marks.
Is it true will parent ever say to me don't worry you will rise
or instead I would have to remain in a world of lies
under such circumstances one would fall in a trough of hell
But my determination would take me to my goal very well
It's my message to failures, one time will come for you very soon
When you will have a lot of boon.
Getting marks is not a big deal
Hardwork is a key to be sealed
How much pain and irritation
a child suffers by getting a D grade in his life
Like God has cut his path of success with a knife
All children cannot become what their parents want them to be in life
But all parents can become a friend to those children who want to become something in life.
I remember those days when I got good marks
Now are the days that give me shocks.
All of a sudden these changes have shown
me a fact that life shows us many dangerous and even many fruitful acts
Becoming successful does not rise child to a great height
But becoming a successful child from a failure child rises you to a great height.
Therefore don't come under the pressure of your parents in your life
Just keep on hardworking even though
You are unsuccessful in your life
So, my friends don't lose hope and pray to pope.*

—Sahil Tikoo

Death of a gentleman : A tribute to J.N. Raina

Kashmir Sentinel Editorial and Staff mourns the death of Sh. J.N. Raina, Sh. Raina contributed regularly to Kashmir Sentinel right from its inception. As a tribute to this professional journalist of unsullied integrity, we are publishing an article written by Sh. Sham Kaul (eminent journalist) in memory as a tribute to Lt. Sh. J.N. Raina. --Editor

By Shyam Kaul

ALL his life, manor part of which he spent as a professional journalist of unsullied integrity, J.N. Raina studiously preserved the ethical standards of his vocation. He was never once proved wrong in his life, nor so in his death which came to him on the intervening night of October 22-23, In Pune, where he lived with his family since 1990.

Hours before he passed away, JN had made a telephone call to a journalist colleague in Jammu, Ashok Pehelwan, and had told him in an ailing voice to give his last 'Namaskar' to all friends here, and convey to them his 'final adieu'. He kept his word by departing only a few hours later.

For well over three decades, JN served as the chief of Srinagar bureau of leading national news agency, UNI, before moving over to Mumbai office of the agency in the wake of the eruption of militant violence in Kashmir.

The two of us, pestered by threatening phone calls and other intimidatory ways, were the last non-Muslim journalists to leave Srinagar when our fellow city journalists advised and insisted that we should do so for the sake of our security and safety.

Before that, the Governor, Mr. Jagmohan, had suggested that we should shift to Tourist Reception Centre complex, a safer place, and operate from there. But it was not feasible, simply because we would not be able to do justice to our work, closeted all the time in a room.

During his prolonged posting in Srinagar, his office near Central Telegraph office, was JN's temple where he spent all his time, wholly dedicated to his work, sometimes late into nights. The outcome of the toil of his pen was there for the readers to see and relish the quality, accuracy, authenticity and excellence of his despatches, day after day.

JN was a man of few words, a soft-spoken person, and normally talked only when talked to. He rarely mingled with his tribe in their occasional gala get-together and merry bases. Interestingly, however JN had a subtle sense of humour and could sometimes entertain others with his quips and cracks, when he opened up. One recalls a professional tour of a group of media persons to Bihar and West Bengal several years ago. As we went around visiting places, it was a revelation to us to see JN enlivening the ambience with his pithy comments and observations. While going round the zoo in

Kolkata, we saw a tiger, fully stretched, sleeping peacefully in his cage. Pointing to the animal, JN quipped, "He should have been working for a news agency to know the price he would have to pay for sleeping so deeply and unmindfully during the rush hours of the broad day."

Despite his comparative aloofness and distance from his fellow journalists, JN was highly respected by everyone in the profession. It was not uncommon for his colleagues to often seek last minutes confirmation from his the credibility of some sensitive new reports and stories, which, at one time in early days of militancy, were a plenty in Jammu and Kashmir. JN would never fail to respond and oblige. In fact we would often say, "Ask Raina Saheb, if the story is factual and if he has done it."

A gentleman journalist in the manner and nature of veterans like R.K. Kak and Mohammed Sayeed Malik, who are held in high esteem by the fraternity, JN was a fine gentleman too, bearing malice towards none, and never doing any working to anyone. Those who came close to him were struck by his simplicity, decency and humility, and, of course, his dedication to work and his professional calibre.

By virtue of his standing in the professional as chief of



bureau of a national news agency, JN did have a latent clout, but being essentially a self effacing person, he never threw about his weight, and never sought or asked for any favours and concessions from the establishment. His primary concern was his work and duty and he did proud to the agency and people he worked for, earning their acclaim and appreciation, as also of the entire media com-

munity of this state.

Honesty and humility were quintessentially the cardinal attributes that thoroughly permeated JN's persona. As a man, a media person, an associate, a friend, a conscientious professional, a social being, and a householder, honesty and humility stood out in all his actions, workings and dealings. And it has been said, "An honest man is the noblest work of God."

Brief of the press statement issued during media interaction addressed by Panun Kashmir on Oct 29th, 2011 at Jammu

PANUN KASHMIR has watched with utmost disappointment and dismay the response of the state government to the complaints of corruption in the Relief Organisation of the state government and the mismanagement in the affairs of newly constructed Jagati camp. It is highly intriguing that the state government has mainly indulged in subterfuges and diversion to scuttle the crucial issues which have come to the fore in this regard.

Panun Kashmir brought these issues to the fore few months back with the hope that the state government will look into these matters. The state government had also given it to understand that the government will fulfill the inadequacies in the management of the camp affairs and also complete the unfinished construction work of the camp and also improve the quality of construction wherever required. After taking a stock of the situation we feel that nothing substantial has been done by the state government so far after the complaints came to the fore.

Detailed reports in the local press with regard to the acts of corruption in the construction of the Jagati two room accommodations seem also to have

been overlooked. The impression given that the Relief Commissioner had been transferred in response to the public outrage is also proving to be a diversionary ploy as many in the government believe that he had been shifted only temporarily and will take over from the present acting Relief Commissioner sooner than the later.

We are really concerned that the press reports that even the steel used in the construction work has been substandard has not been probed with speed and doubts set to rest. It needs no special emphasis that the issue involves the very safety of the construction of the Jagati Two room Tenements.

PRESS CONFERENCE



Dr. Ajay Chhugoo Chairman Panun Kashmir & Sh. Kuldeep Raina Gen. Secy. addressing media persons in Jammu.

was. The facilities of schools and dispensary are showing no further improvement. Electricity supply, gas supply and ration supply has not shown any change for the better. Cremation facility has not come up as

yet. Transport continues to be scanty as well as dearer.

Many complaints of threats to the inmates of the camps to keep their mouths shut have come to our knowledge. Freedom of expression is being stifled through coercion direct or indirect.

We take this opportunity to once again demand:

1. A thorough and speedy probe into the allegations of corruption and bungling in the construction of two room tenements at Jagati.
2. An immediate assurance from the state government that proper gage and quality of steel has been used in the construction work and there is no danger to the inmates because of poor quality of construction material.
3. An immediate redressal of the complaints of the inmates of Jagati with regard to power supply, ration supply, gas supply and transport.
4. Speedy and time bound construction of cremation facilities in the Jagati camp. Speedy and time bound approach to make the school and the dispensary fully functional. And last but not the least improving the sanitation of the camp.

Title: Painting and Theatre in Kashmir—Suraj Tiku's Journey
Author: Dr. Ramesh Tamiri
Published By: Suraj Foundation, Jammu
Price: Rs. 650 (HB), Rs300(PB)

By Upender Ambardar

PAINTING and Theatre in Kashmir—Suraj Tiku's Journey, authored by Dr. Ramesh Tamiri, is a pioneering work. Its central focus is the life and work of Suraj Tiku, a talented painter, set designer and a versatile theatre actor. The book has three thematic sections. The first section includes three chapters—1. Painting in Kashmir—A historical overview 2. Theatre in Kashmir—A brief History and 3. Kashi Nath Bhan—Suraj Tiku's Guru. The first two chapters, which trace the development of painting and theatre in Kashmir, give the book an encyclopedic dimension. The sheer amount of information given in these chapters makes it a valuable reference book on painting and theatre in Kashmir.

Dr. Tamiri gives useful insights in to the role of Sir Amar Singh Technical School in training the first group of Kashmiris in landscape and portrait painting. For the first time the contribution of British painters in painting Kashmir has been documented. The author asserts that Kashmir had its own school of Painting in ancient times. He refers to the valuable contribution to art during Buddhist era. The telling testimonials of it are the unrivalled wall paintings of Alchi, Spiti and Western Tibet monasteries. These evoke admiration and awe even today. Their historical linkage is traced to artistic fruition and excellence of Kashmiri artists as painting had acquired a divinized status during the time. The author refers to Mirza Haider Dughlat, who acknowledged artistic grandeur of wall Paintings in temples of Kashmir. Dr. Tamiri sees continuity in painting tradition in Kashmir. He remarks that Kashmiri artists formed a sizable group in Mughal courts. Muhammad Husayn Zarrin Qalam was the most prominent among these. Dr. Tamiri quotes the research work of renowned art historian, Barbara Schmitz who suggests that Kashmir was an entrepot for artists from India, Persia and Central Asia. It was from Kashmir that Mughal painting based on European examples of volumetric figures and recessionary space, was first introduced to the Persian court at Isfahan and the Central Asian court at Bukhara. Due to hostile conditions at home many artists left Kashmir in late sixteenth century and sought refuge in the adjoining princely hill states. It were these

artists who became the pioneers of Pahari School of painting. Pandit Seu Raina was the founding father of Pahari School of painting. The author also records the role of other schools of Kashmiri

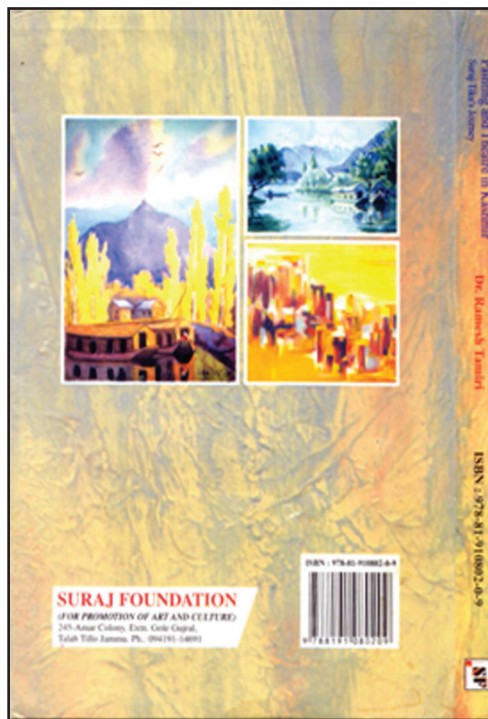
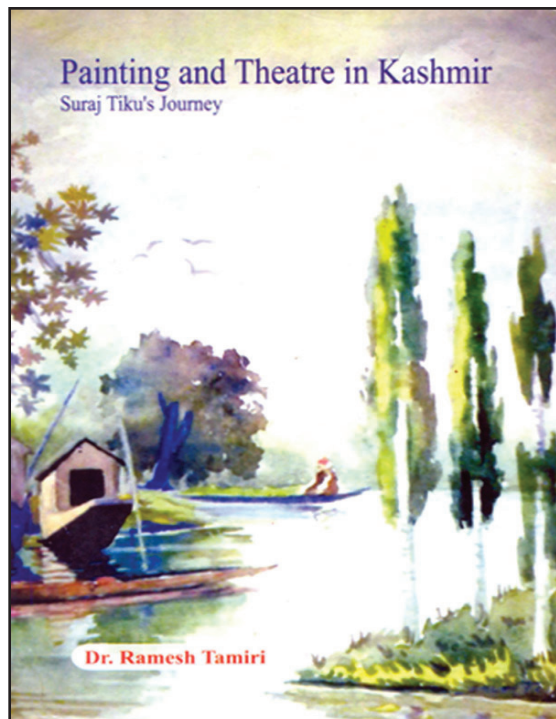
Kashmir. The role of Raas leela and Ram Leela groups and the contribution of Parsi Theatre have been discussed well in how it provided the initial impulses to Kashmiris for

Satar Asi, Shafi Mir and many others. Kala Kendra and Cultural Front were two important theatre groups which were behind the cultural upsurge in the post-inde-

Parsi theatre in Kashmir, Kashi Nath Bhan has been for the first time documented. Bhan was Suraj Tiku's mentor in the genres the latter practiced. The narrative is rich with interesting anecdotes about the life and work of Kashi Nath Bhan.

The second section of the book is entirely devoted to the personal and professional odyssey of Suraj Tiku. The latter distinguished as master landscape and portrait painter, a great set designer and a talented theatre actor. Tiku was also good in modern art. Suraj Tiku's sense of great humour and personal traits also find mention. Tiku's extreme humility is probably the main reason for his belated recognition. The concluding section details the contribution of members of Tiku clan to theatre. Many families in Kashmir have their even second and third generations also involved in fine and performing arts. These include those of Ved Lal Dhar Vakil, Som Nath Khosa, Prem Nath Pardesi, Madhav Dass, Shiv Nath Raina, Madhav Tiku, Moti Lal Kemu, Ghulam Rassol Santosh, Sajood Sailani, etc.

Dr. Tamiri has shown how use of oral history can be harnessed well for research. The rare photographs of artists, theatre actors, theatre scenes and paintings of Suraj Tiku that embellish the book are a reader's delight. The rich content of the book and its readability will appeal to the scholar and laymen alike.



miniature painting. The master painters of these schools were Tota Ram Naqash, three generations of Tota Clan, Narayan Murutgar and many others. Contributions of talented artists—Shiv Nath Raina, Som Nath Khosa and Jagar Nath Sapru, the products of Sir Amar Singh Technical School, based on the details provided by their families, are well highlighted.

The chapter on Theatre history provides insights in to the evolution of theatre in

theatre. Dr. Tamiri provides detailed information about early theatre groups like Amateur Dramatic Club, Kashmir Dramatic Club, Saraswati Dramatic Club, Kashmir Theatrical Company, Natak Vibag, etc. The impressive range of artistes covered by the author include Jagar Nath Saqi, Madhav Dass, Ved Lal Dhar Vakil, Shamboonath Bhan, Shamboo Nath Kaul, Mohammad Shaban, Abdul

pendence era in Kashmir. There is rich material on this in the book. The author has discussed the role of Moti Lal Kemu in upgrading and recasting Bhand Paather, popular folk theatre. The strides in playwrighting find a prominent place in the narrative.

The immense contribution of legendary set designer, master painter and pioneer of

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Homage

Panun Kashmir & Kashmir Sentinel pay Shradhanjali to **Smt. Som Rani Sher**, Mother-in-Law of Sh. C.L. Wattal (SBI) & Mother of Sh. J.K. Sher (SBI) & Sh. V.K. Sher (FCI) R/o 304, Prem Nagar New Plots, Jammu who breathed her last on 21st July 2011 at her residence.



Smt. Som Rani Sher
(Prabha Devi)

Homage

You have always remained our guide, our source of Inspiration. Your guidance, as how to overcome and face hardships in life shall be always guiding force for us. You may not be physically with us, but you are always within our souls.



Sh. Gopi Nath Peshin
Ex-Chief Education
Officer Kashmir

Deeply Remembered by
ASHOK MISRI, VEENA MISRI
& VINAY MISRI

Surayya glamour of Kabul



By Sanjay Godbole

DURING the first half of the 20th century, Afghanistan became famous on two counts. The first reason was that it was a nation which achieved independence from the clutches of the British, and the second reason was that Surayya, the queen of Afghanistan, got a huge publicity and fame in the Western world. In the modern history of Asian continent, the name of 'Surayya' will surely be recorded and registered as a lady with progressive thoughts, or rather, she or her name has been recorded so. 'Surayya' was ethnically associated with the tribe called 'Muhammadzai' from the 'Barakzai' group of Afghanistan. She proved to be the first lady, who attained importance in Afghan Political life. "Surayya Tarzi" who was known as 'Malika -e- Afghanistan' was born on 24th November 1899 at 'Damascus' in Syria. Her father was 'Sardar Mehmud Tarzi' who was a great thinker, philosopher and belonged to the 'intelligentsia' group. He was also a popular Leader. Surayya had her education at 'Damascus' only. It is noticed that the modern thoughts and the western ideology which she adopted at her earlier days had an everlasting effect in the rest of her life. On account of political turmoil in Afghanistan, Surayya's father had to take refuge in 'Syria' but when 'Habibullah' captured the throne (power) in Afghanistan, 'Surayya's father Mehmud Tarzi was one of the many associates of him (Habibullah) who returned back to Afghanistan. This Mehmud Tarzi had the lions' share in developing Afghanistan as a progressive and modern nation. When Mahmud Tarzi returned to Afghanistan Habibullah the Amir felicitated him in the Royal court. At that time, the prince Amanullah met Surayya Tarzi. Then, in theyear 1913 Amanullah married Surayya. Prior to this marriage, Amanullah was already married to one lady named 'Parigu' from the palace. Amanullah, however, had divorced this lady before he married 'Surayya'. Amanullah became Amir of Afghanistan in the year 1919 and became the king in the year 1929.

During the period, his wife 'Surayya' made a valuable contribution to the evolution and development of Afghanistan. That is why, Amanullah, while addressing the subjects reiterated the fact that though he was their king, his wife 'Surayya' was their real queen. Surayya used to participate in many public functions, along with Amanullah. She had nurtured two hobbies namely, horse riding and the game of hunting. Not only that, but 'Surayya' used to accompany her husband during military exercises. She visited many tents in which wounded soldiers were stationed for medical treatment. Thus she established communication with soldiers and gave away many presents to them. At times, when it was really risky to visit places where insurgent mutinies or revolts were being raised, 'Surayya' paid direct visits and established a dialogue with the people. The father of 'Surayya' Mehmud Tarzi was against the tradition of 'polygamy'. He was also very keenly insistent on imparting education to women and granting permission to 'their right to employment'. 'Surayya' was an epitome of this ideology. Amanullah also adopted and embraced the same thoughts and movement of 'education for women' right upto the root levels in rural Afghanistan.

Since 'Surayya' was also keenly interested in implementation of such novel and radical ideas, she encouraged many 'Afghan' girls to take higher education, who in course of time worked as officers in various government departments. In the year 1928 (A.D.) 'Surayya' who had noticed some welcome changes in 'Turkey' sent some 15 promising and budding girl students to 'Turkey'. 'Surayya' started the publication of the periodical, "Irshad-e- Niswan" exclusively for women. The super specialty hospital for womenfolk had already started functioning. In all her lectures and public addresses, 'Surayya' used to refer to the important issue of absolute freedom to the women at par with men. She insisted on the right of education and access to knowledge for every woman in Afghanistan. In the year 1928 and 1929 Amanullah and 'Surayya' visited Europe. The University of 'Oxford', conferred upon them the honorary degree. 'Surayya' delivered some lectures to the students there. Amanullah was deeply impressed by the western technological progress. He introduced in Afghanistan the equipments of photography and the relative materials. Amanullah and his family members made numerous experiments with the help of cameras and pro-

duced some of the unusually exceptional photographs. This makes it possible for us to have glimpses of various events and happening in a royal and elite family up to the year 1927. Since both Amanullah and 'Surayya' were under influence of life style of European pattern, their daily chore included shooting, hunting and fishing in a natural way. 'Surayya' and her relatives (ladies only) always had a tea party in the 'Gulkhani' Tea Restaurant'. Gradually an image of Surayya was formed in England of that of a lady sporting dresses like the elite class ladies from the times of King Edward.

Amanullah and 'Surayya' always moved in their chauffeur driven Rolls - Royce car. This is how both of them lived a life, which perhaps, the people of Afghanistan were totally unawares of. On 10th of December 1927 Amanullah and 'Surayya' arrived at 'Chaman' for a visit to India from Afghanistan. At that time they carried some 50 bundles or parcels of luggage with them. There was a train from 'Chaman' to 'Karachi' & Two special Boggies were attached to this train in which use of Burma- teak wood and parts made of silver were used. In one of the functions of Karachi, Surayya had a meeting with many ladies. The accounts given by those

ladies who met 'Surayya' gave vivid descriptions of the charm and beauty of 'Surayya' and were being continuously discussed in the public for a long time. Then Amanullah and 'Surayya' left for Europe where they were received by king 'Faud'. When 'Surayya' arrived in Europe for the first time, she had sported European dress and a hat. During their tour they visited Paris, Brussels, London and such other famous



cities 'Surayya' also met some ladies from the Royal families of Egypt and Turkey, /she abandoned her usual Blue and Rose coloured dress and adopted western style attire. She also ordered some 50 pairs of dresses along with new set of ornaments. That time the Europeans compared "Surayya" the Malika -e-Afghanistan with Elizabeth the first. In the year 1929 the Illustrated London news, the famous periodical (monthly) published a special article about 'Surayya'. At that time, 'Surayya' was described as a lady with Black hair but with a fairer skin than that of the women in Spain and Italy. On 13 th March 1929, an article throwing light on the various aspects of Amanullah and 'Surayya' and life led by them was published. Even the factories, hospitals and institutes visited by 'Surayya' were given a prominent publicity in German print media. 'Surayya' had a meeting with King George the 5th and Queen Mary at the 'Buckingham palace'. At that time, 'Surayya' looked like a lady from the British elite family. Thus,

after winning fame as a celeb from all sides, 'Surayya' became an 'icon' in the fashion world like 'Lady Diana' today. On account of the clashes, Amanullah had with the British, the relations between Amanullah and the British were strained. During the year 1929 Amanullah had a truce of Cease fire with the British who gave their nod to recognize Afghanistan as a free and independent nation. Amanullah drafted and finalized the constitution of independent Afghanistan. In that Constitution the nature and the ambit of the new

government and the role of the king vis- a vis the subjects were discussed. The reforms brought about by Amanullah and 'Surayya' were discussed all over the world. The British, vehemently opposed the reforms for the emancipation of women. They published in Afghanistan the photographs of Amanullah and 'Surayya' when they were on the tour of Europe — The Orthodox and the extremists did not approve of the steps taken by Amanullah and 'Surayya' when in the year 1929 both returned to Afghanistan, a very strong opposition was in the offing so, to avoid the direct confrontation of the masses, Amanullah and 'Surayya' decided to desert their mother land and to take refuge in Italy against the standing invitation from the authorities of Rome. They lived there till the end. Amanullah died in the year. 1960 and 'Surayya' expired in 1968 at Rome. Her burial took place at Jalalabad. In the month of July 2006 the famous British author Mr 'Russel' Harris had gone to Damascus. He was given a box, smacked in soil by the relatives of 'Surayya'. Mr Russel was shocked when he opened the box up, only to find a collection of very rare and valuable photographs from the last century. He published some selected photographs from among the above in a periodical named 'Libas' International of England. These pictures make you visualize some scenes of 1920 of Afghanistan. Some of the rare photographs of 'Surayya' who was declared as a fashion Icon, in the first half of 20th century are in this collection. After reviewing these photographs Mr. Russel concluded that even in the times of rule by 'Qajar' family such fine photographs must not have been done in the whole of Iran. Such was the excellent quality of Photography made in 'Afghanistan' then.

Viciousness of a Wishfulness

tion in Kashmir Valley is now on the brink of turning the bend towards a vicious communal process of "Love Jihad". The recruitment process employed by the state government to implement the Prime Minister's package on return and rehabilitation of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus has some bizarre features. The selected candidate has to give a written undertaking to stay put at the place of his or her employment come what may under all circumstances; majority of the selected employees are females; most of these females are graduates or post graduates; the majority of male candidates are lesser qualified than the selected female candidates and most of the postings are district wise postings where the employees cannot seek transfer beyond the district.

If the beheading of army personnel can be hidden from public view for almost a month, incidents of harassment, assault, intimidation, victimization of a small forsaken population of Kashmiri Hindus living in the valley can be easily suppressed. Any politically uncomfortable incident which comes to light once in a while is brushed aside by making Kashmiri Hindus living there to deny them. They are not in any position to say no to any prodding which comes either from the government or the separatist establishment. When a 'Yagya', performed in a temple in Srinagar, was desecrated by communal zealots in the dead of the

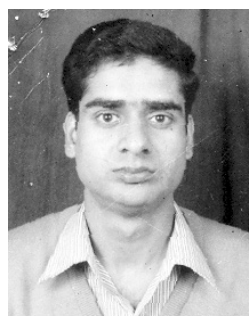
CONTINUATION

(From Page 4)

night a known Kashmiri Hindu member of the Apex Committee was made to deny it publicly. Local newspapers in Jammu mistakenly reported a case of attempted vandalism of a Hindu religious place in Kashmir valley as an incident of fire. The newspapers were immediately banned. The act of vandalism was lost in the controversy. Mysterious disappearance of Kashmiri Hindu Youth in the valley some time back, mysterious fire which partially burnt the most sacred Hindu shrine in Srinagar very recently and many incidents of harassment and intimidation are either hushed up or never allowed to be spoken about publicly. Separatist leaders in the valley, who visit the transition camps apparently to show off their welcome for the returnees, invariably leave while suggesting to them directly or indirectly that their safety would be more assured if they criticize India and Panun Kashmir at regular intervals.

Soul Murder

For the present there is one glaring convergence between the policies pursued by the Jihadi establishment in Jammu and Kashmir and the Government of India. And that is to seek to use the symbolic presence of Kashmiri Hindus in the Valley and trickle of their return from Jammu for politics. For Government of India its incremental compromises with the separatists might get a secular legitimacy. For Jihad it will act as a game changer because of its potential to create a political space for the retreat of Government of India away from the present status quo. For Kashmiri Hindus the attrition will only increase. They will be forced to persevere the 'unpleasantnesses' of the situation and only hope that a new massacre may not happen. Those amongst them who are living in valley have an existential compulsion to stay attached to their tormentors and increase their psychological capabilities to deny or dissociate from their traumatic experiences. In order to preserve their image of safety they will have to conform to the extent it is possible and also keep their unpleasantness confined to them. As one character in Orwell's 1984 says to the other, "You will be hollow. We will squeeze you empty and then we shall fill u with ourselves", the message from both the Government of India as well as the Jihadi establishment to Kashmiri Hindus is no less vicious. We are witnessing the, "soul murder" of a community as also the nation which it thinks it belongs to.



By Mahesh Kaul

Prospects of Heritage Tourism in Jammu Region of J&K-II

HERITAGE as Tourism Product Heritage is the product of the cultural assets and values attributed to a particular community, group society or nation that has immense bearing on the day to day life of the human societies. To inculcate the heritage sense among the social groups should be the prime motivation in developing heritage as a specialized tourism product that can create tourist gaze in the destination area. The sense of cultural awareness is directly associated with the incorporation of heritage in the comprehensive tourism policy and its implementation. It is amply clear from the historical evolution of the Jammu region that the cultural canvas is immensely rich and includes almost every shades of tangible and intangible heritage assets that can bring the region on the heritage tourism circuit of the state. And not only that its cultural growth is clearly liked with the evolution of the Indian nation as the fountain head of the Sanskrit civilization.

The archaeological remains and excavations as discussed above remove all doubts about the Jammu's importance in the development interactions with the people of the other parts of the country. The forts, palaces, temples and other shrines that form the part of the Jammu's landscape are the living tangible monuments that have stood the test of the time and add flavor of sophistication to the geography and the matchless history of the Jammu region. The intangible aspects in terms of folk lore, dance forms, art and cuisines that have come down from generations and are still prevalent and relevant in the present society of Jammu add another feature to the cultural magnificence of the region.

Cultural heritage should take the significant position in the tourist supply of the Jammu region.

Marketing activities should be directed towards this objective. It will immensely contribute towards the quality of the tourist supply and will help to significantly help to upgrade the value of cultural heritage. Heritage cannot be handled by the raw hands of so called tourism experts who have ventured into the business from bureaucracy and become overnight experts in the business without having the conceptual and technical insight into the sensitivities of the tourism in general and the heritage in particular. Heritage tourism can thrive only in Jammu region if the

tory of the places is made in a proper manner. It will help to create an awareness level at the first instance in the technical level by involving the various professionals like historians and archaeologists who will be of immense help to locate the time frame of the monuments and help in their proper listing for the future course of action. Documentation process is another step that should be professionally implemented to create proper archives after the identification has been successfully carried out. The diversified heritage and culture spread all over the Jammu region encom-

of awareness and absence of disaster management techniques in the region, which witnessed a severe damage during the earthquake of 2005. Samba Fort, Poonch House are a just a peep into the devastation meted out to the heritage which can otherwise be a heritage tourism product of great value not only at the national level but at the international level. To restore these heritage monuments to at least certain time frame is a great challenge so that these structures can be utilized for the tourism business and incorporated into the tourism policy by taking heritage as a

tourism in the Jammu region. The ultimate outcome of this process should lead to the creation of multi disciplinary task force based on involving all the professionals from all the concerned fields discussed above. It will help to implement the heritage tourism policy devised by the professionals and all those who have state in the tourism business. To create the niche market for the heritage tourism in the Jammu region there will be an urgent need to devise marketing strategies once the product has been created and available for the consumption of the tourist. So far there has been no

process of the development of the heritage tourism. A sense of preservation of the heritage in terms of the asset value and secular reuse should be the main focus of the whole process of exploring the prospects of the heritage tourism and its marketing in the Jammu region. All the above mentioned steps if considered and implemented in systematic and time bound manner will yield to the development of the heritage tourism model that will bring the heritage of the Jammu region on the national and international map.

Conclusion Jammu region of the Jammu and Kashmir state is blessed with both tangible and the intangible heritage which has been neglected and not incorporated into the wider tourism circuit. The reason being the political discrimination and lack of sensitization of the local populace about the significance and economic viability of the heritage tourism. Which has resulted in the neglect of the heritage, especially the tangible heritage to such an extent that the structures like forts and palaces are in a dilapidated condition? The need is to treat heritage tourism in this region as the function of the tourism only then it can thrive in the true tourism sense. The need is to identify the heritage tourism assets of the region and then devise the proper documentation mechanism so that a proper inventory is developed which can be integrated into a well defined tourism product by employing the proper marketing strategy with the help of the multidisciplinary approach of the varied professionals, who can constitute task force for the application of the mechanism developed from this integrated process. Once this procedure is brought into action it will lead to the heritage tourism development model that will lead to the bright prospects of the overall tourism business in the region.

**(Writer is a PhD scholar at the School of Hospitality and Tourism Management (SHTM), Faculty of Business Studies, University of Jammu, Jammu, President Sangarsh and Chairman Heritage Initiative Foundation)*

—(Concluded)

Akhnoor Fort



multi disciplinary approach is adopted to devise the overall strategy for its marketing. It needs to include the tourism professionals, conservators, historians, policy makers, etc to formulate a comprehensive mechanism for the heritage tourism in the region.

The need is to develop the already present heritage in various forms a product and target the consumer by creating the gaze for the assets who have remained virgin due to the lack of the understanding of the treasure in the form of heritage. But it is not enough to have heritage at one's disposal. Heritage needs to be managed with expertise and long term planning. Heritage tourism or heritage tourism planning can give maximum possible benefits if it is treated as a function of tourism. Before bringing the heritage in the tourism orbit the following steps need to be given due consideration:

- Identification of the heritage assets
- Documentation
- Conservation and Preservation
- Multidisciplinary task force
- Marketing plan

The process of heritage tourism strategy should start with the identification of the heritage assets in Jammu region so that a complete inven-

passing all the principalities' of the erstwhile Jammu Raj needs the comprehensive documentation that takes into account both the tangible and intangible aspects of the heritage of the region. It includes the palaces, forts, temples, and buildings of significance besides the fairs, festivals, folk lore's and ethnic food that lends the sense of distinctiveness to the entire heritage of the Jammu region. The neglect, discriminative attitude of the administrators, lack of awareness, low degree of emotional attachment and motivation of the local population who are the main stakeholders and supposed beneficiaries of the heritage assets are the main reasons of the pitiful condition of the heritage structures in the region. Mubarak Mandi, the group of palaces is the worst example of the dilapidated condition of the tangible heritage in the Jammu region.

Now after advocacy and sensitization of the local population about the secular reuse and the economic value in terms of tourism business and the cultural identification has prompted the state government to start the restoration work of the complex but the project is still in the preliminary stage and infancy. Moti Mahal is Poonch is another example of lack

function of the greater tourism business. This cannot be realized in isolation but by involving the conservators and professionals like conservation architects.

Conservation and preservation is the important aspect as will help to restore the tangible and intangible heritage to the presentable form. It will help to make its re use possible in the most secular way by involving various stakeholders at different levels. (Vierda, 1995)

After documentation and going through the process of preservation and conservation there is a need to create the multidisciplinary task force comprising not only of the historians, tourism professionals, conservators, conservation architects but it should also include the people from the administration who can act the enforcers of the devised formulation for the heritage tourism as the function of the tourism business. The inclusion of the social scientists, anthropologists and other specialists from media and other inter related areas is of equal significance as to create the tourist gaze inputs and expertise of all the direct and indirectly allied profession will lay down the foundations for the sustainable heritage tourism development and broaden the prospects of the heritage

exclusive marketing plan for the heritage tourism in the region that can show case it. The so called marketing strategies and campaigns have been devised by keeping in view the general tourism marketing or the marketing that is supposed to project the whole tourism assets of the state and is not comprehensive as it leaves out the niche market of the heritage in Jammu. For the successful marketing of the Jammu's heritage there needs to be the complete integration of all the heritage assets with the help of the interpretation centre's which can be easily established within the heritage complexes like museums, palaces and fortes.

The marketing aspects should treat heritage tourism as the function of the tourism business and not in isolation from it. By treating heritage and hence heritage tourism as the important component of the tourism will not only allow it to grow as the specialized form of the tourism but it will enable in the long run to give the dimension of sustainability to the tourism in the comprehensive manner. The marketing aspect should first involve the sensitization of the local people of Jammu who will be the foremost stakeholders and the immediate beneficiaries of the whole

Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmir Ritual Variants-XIV

By Upendar Ambardar

THE rituals are articles of faith unlimited which not only invigorate but also consolidate our socio-religious structure. There is an overriding need not only for their continued observance but also for preservation, spoke Sh. ML Ganjoo, an original resident of the village Frisal, district Kulgam and presently putting up at Jawahar Nagar Talab Tillo Jammu.

Speaking on a nostalgic note, he divulged that as per his family belief the presiding deity of '**Hur**', locally known as '**Hur Raza**' is invoked to move inside the house on the '**Hur Oakdoh**' i.e. Phagun Krishna Pakash Pratipadha. The '**Hur Raza**' is said to stay inside the house upto '**Hur Ashtami**'. It is in tandem with this belief that **Hur Oakdoh** signals the process of house cleansing followed by the ceremonial '**livun**'. As per, his family belief, the last ceremonial '**livun**' of the '**Brandh**' and the connecting corridor '**Vuz**' was performed on '**Hur Ashtami**'. It would mark the symbolic send off to the '**Hur Raza**'. He also revealed that it was obligatory for his family to cook '**Taher**' on **Hur Oakdoh**, which was offered to Maha Ganesh Thapna to seek His blessings for a hassle free conclusion of the Shivratri festival. He revealed that in accordance with an unfamiliar ritual, his family is required to install a flat bottomed brass utensil locally known as '**Toor**' on a grass woven '**Aarie**' in the **Vatak Kuth** on '**Vagur Bah**'. The '**Toor**' is in place of the usually used earthen utensil of '**Choud**'. The '**Chuchivoer**', vegetable dishes and cooked rice are the ritualistic offerings to it amidst pooja.

During the said pooja, it is customary to invoke the name of Shankpal Bhairav to seek His divine favour and blessings for the satisfactory completion of the festival. As per his family specific reeth, the Vatak consisted of seven earthen utensils '**Doulji**', two Machivarie, two Bhairav doul, one Resh doul, two Parva in the form of small sized earthen 'Tokes' in addition to the customary

'**Nout**' and '**Choud**'. During the rite of '**Vatuk Barun**' at the village stream, the eldest female member of the family would carry the '**Nout**' on her right shoulder, whileas the youngest daughter-in-law and other accompanying family members would take care of the '**choud**' and other pooja utensils respectively. New '**Athhoar's** and new or washed outfits had to be worn by them before proceeding for the ritual of '**Vatuk Barun**'.

It was also binding for all of them to wear new grass woven footwear, locally known as 'Pulhoar' for the said ritual. An earthen 'toke' having rice, a coin and some salt was touched on the right shoulder of the family member carrying the '**Nout**' before she would proceed for the rite of '**Vatuk Barun**'. It was locally known as '**Zangi Youn**'. Instead of the most favoured meat dishes, the ritualistic offerings to the '**Bhairav doul**' were oil fried raddish chetni (Talith Mouj Chatin), combined dish of nadru and hakh, dumaloo and cheese.

The **Vatuk Purmuzan** was performed at the village stream and not in the courtyard. Interestingly enough, the vegetarian dishes were cooked again on the day of Salaam. In tune with the family reeth, the door of the '**Vatak Kuth**' was ensured to remain closed tightly so that outsider's imperfect gaze did not defile the sanctimonious nature of the **Vatak Kuth**, when the friends and neighbours would drop in to offer Shivratri greetings on the day for Salaam. The **Doon Mavus pooja** was performed at the village stream ghat. The ritual of the knock at the door '**Thuk Thuk**' was also observed. However, during the said rite, apart from the usual '**aan, dhaan, daulut, aai, batta** and **rozgar**', it was also customary to symbolically grant '**bhakti, shanti, dharam** and **karam** to the house inmates by the female head of the family. On **Tila Ashtami**, instead of the ready made lamps, earthen lamps were made at home, which

were sun dried. In the morning black sesame seeds were put in each of them and they were oil lit. In the evening, each one of them was placed at the mud-hearth (**dhaan**), courtyard, cowshed, charcoal ash heap and the shrine of **Maha Ganesh**. The act of **Jatoon toon** was also performed. The rituals are endorsement acts of ancient thought and mystifying wisdom, which are sacred to many cultures for they breathe life in the socio-religious life, observed Sh. Vesh Nath Jyotshi Bhat, an original resident of Bijbehara, district Anantnag and now putting up at Talab Tillo Jammu. The festival is a walk into the yester-years for him. Refreshing the memories of the yore, he recalled that his family would engage themselves in the night long signing of **bhajans** and '**leelas**' right from Hur Ashtami to Ekadashi as according to the local folk lore, Hur Ashtami is akin to '**Mus Muchravun**' custom of the marriage ceremony. He also disclosed that there was no ceremonial installation of the '**Vagur**' on the Vagur Bah.

But instead on the evening of '**Vagur Bah**', a flat bottomed spherical wooden container, locally known as '**Tathul**' was filled up with rice. A few dry walnuts and a coin were placed on it. A symbolic offering of it was made in the pooja room. The said ritual was known by the local name of '**Munsavun**'. Sh. V.N. Jyotshi Bhat further revealed that the rite of 'Vatak Barun' was performed at the Vitasta Ghat. It was usually performed either by a newly wed daughter-in-law or a youngest one. On the day of the Shivratri, the back side wall of the Vatak Kuth facing the **pooja** utensils was whitewashed. A motif of a creeper with accompanying leaves and flowers was drawn on it. In addition to it, the religious motif of '**Swastika**' was also sketched on the one side of the wall by Varmillion. The meat and vegetable preparations, cooked fish and cheese mixed with rice were the sacrificial offerings to the Bhairav Doul. A mixture of seven different kinds of dry

pulses of moong chana, razmah, masoor, maha, sayobeen and dry peas was the tributary offering to the Resh doul. It was known as '**Sutsoas**' in the local language. An oil lit earthen lamp was ensured to remain burning throughout the night of Shivratri in the **Vatak Kuth**.

The '**Doon Mavus**' pooja was performed at the Vitasta ghat. The ritual of '**Thuk Thuk**' was also performed. In addition to the performance of the act of '**Jatoon Toon**'. Eeah of the participating child would bring his share of the dry hay bundle. They were placed in the upright position and then put on fire.

The rituals and customs facilitate our journey through the cherished memories of the festival as their resonance permeates from the past to the present times, observed Sh. Pushkar Nath Raina, an erstwhile resident of the village Lahiryal, tehsil Tral, district Pulwama and now putting up at Manorma Vihar, Bohri Jammu. Rocollecting the fond memories of the celebration at his native place, he recalled that soil used for the act of livun was specially procured from adjacent Malpur village as it's soil was known for it's fine quality due to its' powdery and granular texture. The **Hur Oakdoh** would herald the cleansing process of dusting, sweeping of the rooms, washing of clothes and the act of livun, which would continue upto Hur Suptami. In tune with the family specific reeth, the entire area right from the side corridor '**Vuz**' to the **Vatak Kuth** would undergo the final act of '**livun**' on Hur Ashtami. On '**Vagur Bah**', one earthen utensil of Choud was installed in the Vatak Kuth amidst pooja and '**Vashdaev**'.

There was no reeth for the preparation of dishes. In accordance with an unusual family reeth, a wide mouthed earthen utensil '**Doul**' was placed ahead of the 'Nout' in the Vatak, Kuth. The 'Vatuk' comprising the earthen utensils of '**Nout, choud**, two large sized Varie, two Saniwari, two Khaterpals', one Sanipatul and a '**Dupzoor**' were brought in by the potter on the

Vagur Bah.

The act of ceremonial '**Aalath**' was not performed. The act of '**Vatuk Barun**' was undertaken only after all the participating family members had taken a bath and donned new or washed clothes. It was also customary for them to wear freshly woven grass footwears '**Pullhoar**' or the new wooden footwear '**Khrav**' before proceeding for the ritual for '**Vatuk Barun**', which was necessarily performed at the village stream bank. All the family members of participating in the said act had to undertake a fast on the day of Shivratri, to be broken only after the festival related pooja was over. The ritualistic offerings to the Bhairav Doul were the favourite dishes of meat, fish, vegetable cuisines of palakh, vostahakh, muja chakal, hak, dum-mounji and a special dish of dry apricots.

Sh. Raina also divulged that his family had an unfamiliar reeth underwhich, the entrails or the innards of the fish were placed on a grass woven 'Aarie' in front of the '**Parthishor**' during the pooja. It formed a separate sacrificial offering. It was known by the local name of 'Tipun Aae'. A piece of uncooked sheep's lung kept on an earthen '**Toke**' was an additional offering. On the morning of the Salaam, the '**Tipun Aae**' was kept on the roof top for the birds to feed upon. The '**Purmuzan**' after the Shivratri **pooja** was done in the courtyard at the base of a fruit tree, preferably an walnut tree. Extending his conversation, Sh Raina disclosed further that his family had an additional remarkably uncommon reeth. In agreement with this reeth, all the utensils containing the cooked vegetarian and meat dishes had to be shifted from the kitchen to the Vatak Kuth after the house inmates had taken their evening meals on the day of Shivratri. It also included the utensil having cooked rice. They were retained in the kitchen for the whole night under a belief that the Bhairav and the divine Baraati's night relish these dishes in the privacy and seclusion of the night according to their

individual tasteful liking and choice. All the said utensils had to be shifted back to the kitchen on the morning of Salaam. It was also disclosed that a portion of the rice and all the dishes cooked on the day of Shivratri had to be retained for about a week. From Salaam onwards, all the family members had necessarily to take an admixture of the said previously cooked dishes including rice as a '**Naveed**' before partaking their morning and evening meals for about a week. It was due to the assumption that they may have got sanctified and consecrated by the divine touch of the Bhairav and the divine Baraatis' All the dishes on the Shivratri day had essentially to be cooked in the earthen utensils as in addition to being spotlessly clean, they were also supposed to enhance the distinctive taste and flavour for the prepared dishes. One more uncommon reeth required one of the family member to sleep in the Vatak Kuth not on the night of Shivratri but on the night of Salaam. It was necessitated by a family believe that presence of a family member in the Vatak Kuth on the Shivratri night may cause disturbance to the divine Baraatis' who might visit the pooja room to take meals in the aloofness and solitude of the night. The Doon Mavus pooja was performed at the adjacent Khandvav stream ghat. All the family members were required to participate in it.

During the said pooja two chochivar's were the offernigs to the flowing water of the Khandvav stream, while as the third one was kept on the stream bank. The distribution of walnuts as naveed in the neighbourhood was completed immediately after the Doon Mavus pooja was over. The ritual of knock at the door i.e. Thik Thuk was observed. However during the ritualistic conversation in reply to the symbolic inquiry of 'Kous Chuv', the reply was that of 'Rani Braer' instead of the most frequently used answer of 'Ram Broar'. The ritual of 'Jatoon Toon' was also observed.

—To be Continued

My Pilgrimage to Jawala Ji at Khrew

By Sunil Bhat

STUNNED to see the level of desecration, my elder son Ayushmaan began clicking his camera towards water point which is the source of the spring at Khrew where devotees would usually take a sacred dip before proceeding for darshan of Holy Jawala Ji temple. The spring as it is today, devoid of any of the splendid idols which were there even when my family last visited this holy shrine some 5 years back. Ayushman washed his face, offered the ritual puja towards non existing idols and asked me in choked voice, "Papa, Murtiyan Kahaan hai?". Unmindful of the hurt we would have been through at the site of this devastated devasthan which was so aesthetically neat & clean in 1990, many young local Muslim boys started jumping into the water, swimming so acrobatically as if to show that they damn care for any such sensitivity which me and my son exhibited through a stony expression on our faces. So huge was

the impact of their nmchalant attitude, that my mere standing near the shores of the spring was becoming unbearable to them. The complete anarchic condition of the Holy base point to my pilgrimage to Mata Jawala Ji at Khrew haunted me all the day. Bu that time I withdrew myself along with my family from the spring site, the young kids had overwhelmed the spring so heavily with their jumps and awful swin skirmishes that all the impurities which usually residing at the bottom of such water bodies were floating at the top. Whole site of the spring surroundings gave a pathetic look but for the satirical laugh from the naked youngsters at my hurried exit.

Wonderful landscaping of Mata Jawala Ji's abode atop a hill lock looks magnificent. The maintenance of the temple is being looked after by a security force picket housed in the couple of tiny dharamshala rooms at the top itself.

Lot needs to be done to improve the facilities there. More than 300 steps

need to be widened. Metallic support structure (Railings) along the sides of these stair steps is urgently required. Major portion of the sanctum sanctorium is a wooden structure which is fraught with risks. This wooden structure has already lived a considerable period of age. It needs to be changed into present day heavy duty construction material so as to provide stability to the sacred shrine building. There is an urgent need to build a shed/hall and some additional rooms of dharmashala.

Mata Jawala Ji is our Isht Devi and so is She to a large number of Kashmiri Pandit families living throughout the country at present. Every such devotee may visit the shrine at his or her own convenient sojourn dates. May be things would be better next time.

In the evening I rang up one of my colleagues and got the contact number of the President of Mata Jawala Ji Prabhandak Committee Khrew Sh. Maharaj Krishen Raina, who happens to be a close acquaintance of mine.

I requested Sh. Raina to reactivate the Prabhandak Committee so that the property of the shrine is saved from further encroachments. I also requested him to think upon taking certain possible measures where the issues concerning the shrine properties are put in broader perspective before the Prabhandak Committee.

Immediate reactions from the President Sh. Raina were very encouraging. In fact Sh. Raina remarked that

he owes his life to the blessings of the Mata and as such would love to undertake any such duty on priority.

So on the initiatives of Sh. M.K. Raina, a meeting of the members of the Prabandhak Committee Jawala Ji temple Khrew was called on 14th August 2011. I was also invited. Many suggestions regarding the facilities which can be upgraded by the involvement of the committee were deliberated upon. I urged the Prabandhak Committee to utilise means so that an effective awareness campaign is launched about the importance and sanctity of Mata Jawala Ji. I also requested them make people aware of the present day conditions of the Devasthan. To utilise the service of more and more innovative people for resurrecting the grandeur of the Holy Asthapan. I have suggested for organising an event (may be a convention) where scholarly people, representatives of Dharmarth Trust, and journalists be involved jointly to evolve a mechanism under a planned project so that the shrine becomes a religious tourist destination in the years to come.

I owe my personnel gratitude to Sh. M.K. Raina for respecting my sentiments and reactivating the Prabandhak Committee. Some initial decisions to start some urgently needed works have been taken. Hope Mata Jawala Ji help all of us in our effort so that grandeur of the Shrine.

Jai Mata Di.

Brief of the Press Conference jointly address byu Dr. Ajay Chrungoo and Dr Hari Om at Press Club Jammu on 12/9/2011

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: Patriotic citizens in Jammu and Kashmir are ready for all sacrifices to stop any compromise with the separatists that will jeopardize the unity of India, its sovereignty and the vision of secularism.

We take this opportunity to warn Government of India about the consequences of any attempt to placate the separatist constituency in jammu and Kashmir by accepting or providing credibility to their views on accession and the constitutional relationship of Jammu and Kashmir with Union of India through the instrumentality of Interlocutors in a bid to sue for peace with Pakistan. We believe such search for peace will only prove to be a mirage and undermine integrity and unity of whole of India.

The views which the present group of interlocutor held before being appointed as the interlocutors, their utterances and the way they have conducted themselves as interlocutors, have only raised apprehensions about their ability to uphold vital national interests in Jammu and Kashmir.

The overwhelming majority of patriotic citizens of Jammu and Kashmir will not countenance with any recommendation, observation or inference of the interlocutors which seeks directly or indirectly or by implication to accept the view that accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India was conditional. They will unambiguously reject all such perspectives or recommendations which seek to change the transitory nature of the special sta-

tus of Jammu and Kashmir to a permanent clause of the Constitution of India. Patriotic citizens of the state will also reject any recommendation which directly or indirectly or by inference seeks to divide Jammu province."

We also want to state very clearly that people of India have no shared destiny with Pakistan because Pakistan was created as an ideological state which seeks to destroy India. Concepts of 'Shared sovereignty, irrelevant borders and we cannot change our neighbors' emanate from this flawed and dangerous perspectives of a shared destiny with Pakistan.

We want to state with emphasis that destiny of secularism in India is not incremental capitulation to communalism which the concepts of creating permanent spheres of Muslim interests on the territory of India underline. Creating religious domains and couching them in secular jargon will not buy India peace but will prove to be destructive of the unity of India.

We will hold Government of India primarily and squarely responsible for any misadventures by the group of Interlocutors. We once again state that separatists, soft separatists or semi separatists are not spearheading any freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir. They are spearheading a regressive campaign to destroy all freedoms which mankind should have. Government of India should resolve to defeat separatism ideologically, politically and militarily and not through suicidal expediency which it has pursued so far.

PRESS CONFERENCE

Accession of J&K to India is complete

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: Accession Day was celebrated by Sangarsh (a movement for Justice, Equality, Peace, Prosperity & brotherhood) in Jammu University Campus. It was the for the first time in the history of the University of Jammu that the Accession Day was celebrated in the campus. The function was attended by a large number of University students, scholars, teachers, non teaching staff and security personnel of the university. The function .started by lighting of the traditional lamp and paying floral tributes to Maharaja Hari Singh, Brigadier Rajinder Singh and Pt. Prem Nath Dogra by the president of Sangarsh, Mahesh Kaul and other activists of the movement

While addressing the gathering Mahesh Kaul said, "This day holds immense importance for the nationalist people of the Jammu and Kashmir state as on 26th October Maharaja Hari signed the Instrument of Accession and the state became the part of the Indian nation in legal and constitutional terms. This day gives us an opportunity to reaffirm our resolve to uphold the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Sanskrit Indian nation of which the state of Jammu and Kashmir is the frontline state." He further said, "Being the frontline the enemies of nation are making

every move to dismantle the Northern Frontier by raising the bogey of plebiscite as their mentors have failed to wrest the state by using the instrument of terrorism. "He questioned the rationale behind holding the plebiscite and said," the recent statement of Prashant Bushan, Sandeep Tandon and their likes to hold plebiscite in the state is unconstitutional and seditious. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the same standard form of Instrument of Accession which was signed by all other princely states. As per the Independence Act of 1947 due to which India

was partitioned and of which the Instrument of Accession was the direct derivative, there were only two provisions for the princely states -accession to the dominion of India or Pakistan and there was no third option. Moreover; the princely states were not the part of the partition plan, it was the/British India that was partitioned. As per the partition plan the sovereignty lied with the ruler and not the subjects which was executed aptly by Maharaja Hari Singh. It is proper to mention that the man who divided India, Mohammed Ali Jinnah endorsed that the sovereignty should lie with the ruler and not the subjects. Thus the accession of J&K to India is complete in legal and constitutional terms."

NEWS

Chronology June 11

- June 1: A youth has crossed over LoC in Poonch sector. Army Chief claimed that they were ready to penetrate and strike inside the enemy's territory like the US if needed. P Chidambaram said that Afzal Guru's report is yet to be sent to President.
- June 2: Two terrorists have been killed in Sopore. Arms and explosives were recovered from a terrorist hide out in Thana Mandi, Rajouri. An Army jawan shot himself dead in Reasi. Kashmir Committee member Ram Jethmalani said that solution to Kashmir is not far away. IAF Chief expressed concern over the Chinese presence in PoK and said that no solution to Saichan is possible till AGPL is fixed.
- June 3: The death toll in Sopore encounter rose to three with death of one more terrorist. A grenade was defused in Poonch town. SAS Geelani appealed the Kashmiri people particularly the youth not to harm tourists as they can become their ambassadors and carry their message of sufferings to their respective places.
- June 4: A Tahreek-e-Hurriyat leader was arrested for robbery in Sopore. Top terrorist Ilyas Kashmiri has been reportedly killed in a drone attack; HUIJI confirmed the death.
- June 5: Geelani called for strike on June 11 against killing of civilians in last three years. Three SIMI and three IM terrorists were arrested in MP. Amidst concerns, Pak Interior Minister claimed nukes to be 200% safe.
- June 6: A civilian was shot dead in Srinagar. Ram Jethmalani expressed dissatisfaction over governance as Omar Abdullah snubbed the Kashmir Committee. The US said that there was no confirmation about the death of Kashmiri.
- June 7: DGP said that there were about 250 to 300 terrorists still active in the state. A vintage tank belonging to British forces was recovered from river Ravi.
- June 9: A woman from Poonch who mistakenly had crossed over the LoC was returned back by the Pak authorities.
- June 10: Two dreaded terrorists were killed in an encounter in Doda. 22 fired shells were spotted by locals near a nallah in Greater kailash and subsequently seized by police.
- June 11: Arms and ammunition haul was recovered in Reasi. Normal life was paralysed in the valley.
- June 12: playing down the differences, GoC 15 Corps said that there were no differences with the state government on infiltration as the both have their own inputs.
- June 13: Arms and ammunition haul was recovered in kalakote, Rajouri.
- June 14: Explosives were recovered near LoC in Trehgam. Three terrorist-sympathisers were arrested in the Valley. Northern Command Chief Lt general K T Pranik said that 27 terrorists were active in Poonch-Rajouri. India asked Pakistan not to give any room to the terrorists.
- June 15: A youth was shot dead by terrorists in Shopian. Omar Abdullah discussed security scenario with PM.
- June 16: Two Pak terrorists were killed in Handwara. An HM hideout was destroyed in Doda. Zawahari has been named new Al-Qaeda chief.
- June 17: J&K, peace, security, CBMs and nexus between ISI and 26/11 attackers are to figure as India & Pakistan FSs meet on June 23-24. International team arrived to inspect Kishanganga project in Gurez.
- June 18: DGP expressed concern over the involvement of Ex-militants in criminal activities. P Chidambaram is visiting Kashmir from tomorrow to review situation.
- June 19: in an effort to push infiltrators-Pak resorted to firing on LoC in Poonch sector. India is to raise the issue of terrorism directed from Pakistani soil.
- June 20: A girl working as OGW of terrorists was arrested in Darhal, Rajouri. A bomb was detected and defused in Ramgarh sector. P Chidambaram reviewed security scenario and Amarnath Yatra arrangements with Governor.
- June 21: P Chidambaram visited downtown unannounced and reviewed security scenario with CM and other top brass. GoC 15 Corps

claimed that infiltration was the lowest in 20 years.

- June 22: A hunt has been launched in Derha Ki Gali after reports about presence of two terrorists. Union Home Minister visited a forward post in Gurez sector, interacted with the sector commanders and again met Governor on his return. CM said that he never questioned accession of the state to India in his speech in October last but only differentiated between accession and merger.
- June 24: A cop was among six injured as terrorists fired a rifle grenade towards Police Station Sopore. 16 more shells were recovered from a KHUD in Greater Kailash. India today informed Pakistan that Kashmir cannot be resolved under the shadow of gun.
- June 25: Police arrested an Let terrorist for firing a rifle-grenade towards PS Sopore. Goc-in-C Northern Command reviewed situation in Kashmir.
- June 26: An infiltration bid was foiled in Poonch and a terrorist-hideout busted and arms recovered in Kishtwar.
- June 27: Two terrorists were killed and two Jawans injured in an encounter in Tral area. A forest department employee was shot dead in forests in Ganderbal area. A hunt has been launched for terrorists in Budhal.
- June 28: Arms and explosives were recovered in Kishtwar. Hitting at OIC for its Kashmir remarks, Farooq Abdullah asked it to take care of Arab world. The annual Amarnath Yatra began today.
- June 29: In a rare incident an HM terrorist Junaid shot himself dead in a mosque in Sopore after finding himself trapped. Terrorists shot at and injured a cop in Bemina, Srinagar. An intrusion bid by three terrorists was foiled in Samba sector. PM said that Omar Abdullah will serve full six year term and added that dialogue with Pakistan will continue.
- June 30: An IED was defused along the banks of famous Dal lake while explosives were recovered in Kupwara. Terrorists attacked a Police Post in Keshwan and injured a cop. A White House report described LeT a threat to India and the US.
- July 1: A conduit of HM was arrested in Tral. CM said that terrorists will not be allowed to disrupt Yatra. India rejected OIC's comment on J&K.
- July 2: Mufti Mohd Sayeed asked India not to wait for Pakistanis response but address internal dimensions of Kashmir problem. Farooq Abdullah advised political parties not to use religion as tool.
- July 3: FS Nirupa Rao said that Pakistan's attitude towards terrorism has changed and it is a concrete development that India should take note of.
- July 4: The case filed by Prof. Bhim Singh challenging the legality of the state's rehabilitation policy for the youth who had crossed over Pakistan in 1990s has been referred to the constitutional bench by the Apex Court.
- July 5: Police busted a terrorist module and arrested two persons with 1.19 lakh hawala money in Kulgam. A hunt has been launched in Sopore after reports of the presence of LeT terrorist Abdullah Uni. The UK foreign Office Minister Jeremy Browne met Union home Minister as the two countries strengthened cooperation against terror.
- July 6: Nine cops were injured as terrorists detonated an IED packed in a scooter outside PS Sopore. A terrorist was killed in Keran. Home Minister said that 28 names out of 700 militants have been cleared for return from PoK but there are practical issues in implementing the policy and MHA and EAM are to resolve the aspects.
- July 7: SAS Geelani asked youth to desist from stone pelting as 120 civilians were killed last year and nothing was achieved. Announcing new Power Policy, Omar Abdullah said there are no chances of joint projects between J&K and PoK.
- July 8: An HM hideout was busted in Arnas and huge cache of arms and ammunition including five rifles recovered. Geelani was put under house arrest to stop him from addressing a Friday congregation at a mosque at TRC Srinagar. Majority in Ramban rejected separatism and demanded for HDC as interlocutors visited there.

PRESS CONFERENCE

PANUN KASHMIR delegation visited the newly constructed Jagati Camp at Nagrota twice recently to take stock of the facilities at the new camp and also to assess the quality of construction of new accommodations for more than 4000 families shifted from various camps located around Jammu.

For the whole fact finding delegation the experience has been appalling. Just entering the Camp exposes one to stench and foul smell from the manholes constructed for sanitary waste. Even while sitting in the parks inside the camp site one is exposed to the stench, not to speak of families living in the quarters closer to the man notes and soakage pits. At many places in the residential quarters there are sanitary leakages at sanitary pipe joints.

Water Seepages can be seen openly along the walls and roofs of the quarters at many places. Water seepage into electric fittings has on man/occasions caused electric short circuits. The plasters of the walls in the quarters at many places are peeling off on slight rubbing showing the poor quality of construction material used. The Pillars along the balconies at many places have shown cracks and even collapsed at a few places.

Whole of Jagati Camp site has till now only one ration depot. There are two ambulances available but they are not available during night time when their services are urgently required. The police security is in the form of a few police personnel. Cooking Gas supply to the camp is scanty.

Matador service to the Camp is still inadequate. As per residents of the Camp the government has issued 50 permits for the matadors and amongst them only 10 are functional.. Normal fares from Jammu to Sainik school Nagrota is Rs. 8 while the fare from Indira Chowk to Jagati Camp is Rs. 10 even as the distance is almost one kilometer less

Schools have scanty furniture. Fans were installed after repeated complaints by the residents of Jagati. There is no watchman in the camp schools after the school hours and hence no protection for computers, laboratory equipment and the books in the library. Bathrooms in the schools are yet to be completed for use.

There is no place for cremation of dead bodies which is most appalling for the residents of the camp.

The power supply to the camp is infrequent with almost 10-14 hours power cuts every day. There are power cuts even on public holidays and festivals. Water supply is irregular. There was no water in the Camp even from the evening of Aug 10 till the evening of Aug 13. The camp residents were without water supply even on Raksha Bandhan day as per the residents of the camp.

The small shopkeepers in the previous camp sites from amongst the camp dwellers were promised shops so that they can help in their own self-employment. They were asked to deposit RS 35000 each person to be entitled to — hop facility in the new camp. As per Camp residents more than 350 small shop keepers have applied for the shop facility in the camp after depositing their money. Only 50, as per the residents of Jagati Camp have so far been provided the shop facilities. Those who have not been allotted are facing the specter of unemployment once more. The camp residents say that camp residents are discouraged from having shops which can provide them self-employment while encouraging those who can build shops outside the camp periphery by spending huge sums. The periphery of camp has been kept without fence for the same reason and the proposed market place is at a wrong place. There are complaints of many from amongst the Camp resident that quarters were not allotted in a fair and honest manner. People complained that the model quarters shown to Prime Minister are qualitatively better and yet to be allotted. In fact some of these quarters were allotted to persons around the time of the Prime Minister's visit but were asked to return the keys immediately after the visit.

Panun Kashmir has asked a team of experts to assess the quality of construction work in the Jagati camp after comparing it with the proposal which the government had circulated before starting the work at Jagati. The team of experts will assess the reasons for seepages of the walls and roofs, leakages of the sanitary pipes, soakage pits and manholes. Panun Kashmir will come out with a detailed assessment of the whole matter including allegations of rampant corruption and inform the public opinion accordingly.

Panun Kashmir urges the government, to immediately intervene to look into the safety of the newly constructed quarters at the Jagati Camp, assess the nature of cracks and seepages that have appeared in the pillars, walls, roofs and other places of these quarters, and take the corrective measures, it also urges the government to look into the sanitary condition in the entire camp which if left unattended can lead to a health disaster. Panun Kashmir asks the government to put in proper place all the arrangements regarding ration depots, health care, school and market facilities as well as; transport and security.

Preserve the Memory to preserve the Civilization



Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo speaking on the solemn occasion.

PANUN KASHMIR observed the Martyrs' Day on 14th September this year amidst the din generated by the allegations of massive corruption in the Relief Organization in Jammu. In the days preceding it the newspapers in Jammu had reported extensively about the mismanagement in the affairs at the newly constructed two room quarters (TRTs) at Jagati near Nagrota by the Relief Organization. Panun Kashmir had taken a lead to highlight the apprehensions of corruption in the construction of the TRTs at Jagati and also the atmosphere of fear and intimidation generated by the officials of the Relief Department to smother dissent and disenchantment brewing in the camps against the government handling of the affairs of the camps of the displaced Hindus in Jammu. The public resentment and outcry had forced the state government to shift the Relief Commissioner and appoint in his place a new person to handle the Relief Department. The henchmen of the relief Organization in Jammu were working overtime to dissuade Kashmiri Hindus, particularly the displaced Hindus living in the camps, from joining the main Martyrs' Day Rally organized by Panun Kashmir near the Press club Jammu. There were unconfirmed reports that some of these henchmen were also planning disruption of the solemn proceedings of the Martyrs' Day. Ignoring all these efforts aimed at disruption a large number of Kashmiri Hindus participated in the main Martyrs' Day rally organized by Panun Kashmir near the Press Club in Jammu.

The participation from the Camps in the Rally was not only an indicator of the resentment of the residents of the various Camps in Jammu against the corruption and mismanagement in the Relief Organisation and also against its paid stooges, but also the widespread popularity which Panun Kashmir enjoys amongst the displaced Kashmiri Hindus living even in the Camps. The participants from camps particularly came in matadors decorated by Panun Kashmir banners despite the veiled threats from the government not to participate in

the rally. There was participation from all Camps. The residents of the Purkhoo Camp were threatened by the henchmen of the Relief Organisation not to board the matadors going to the rally site. Despite this brazen intimidation the camp dwellers gave these henchmen a slip and proceeded individually to participate in the rally. There was participation from all localities in Jammu. Women from different walks of life from amongst the Kashmiri Hindus also participated in the rally. The rally was conducted in a peaceful and disciplined manner.

The Anna movement against corruption seemed to have influenced the rallyists this year and most of the women participants in the rally were seen wearing Gandhi caps with Panun Kashmir written on it. It seemed Gandhian spirit had pervaded the sentiment of the participants on the Martyrs' day.

The proceedings of the rally were conducted by Sh S K Handoo who started the proceedings by explaining the essence of the occasion after asking the participants to stand up and observe silence to commemorate the martyrdom of all those including the security forces who had fallen victim to the bullets of terrorists in the state since 1990. Leaders particularly from the displaced camps spoke eloquently on the occasion and highlighted the crucial importance of the Panun Kashmir in fighting the onslaught of genocide

perpetrated by the Jihadi forces on the Hindu minority in Kashmir valley.

Sh Bhushan Lal Bhat from Jagati said that Panun Kashmir movement has become the beacon of resistance against the forces of Intolerance in the state and has played a critical role in exposing the real face of the so called freedom struggle in Kashmir. He said in a typical Kashmiri folk idiom that Panun Kashmir's relevance is only increasing with each day.



Sh Pyare Lal representing the Muthi Camp spoke in detail about the dubious role played by some members of the Apex Committee by acting as the virtual agents of the state government. Sh Pyare Lal who is himself a member of the Apex committee told the gathering that there were many amongst the Apex Committee who did not endorse the government line on return and rehabilitation.

He said that unless there is change of system in the state the Kashmiri Pandits cannot return. He said and the change of system essentially means creation of Panun Kashmir.

The displaced Kashmiri Sikh representative Sh Trilok Singh who is also the member of the apex committee said that the situation in the valley is not conducive for the return of any body and said that only remedy to the problem in Kashmir is creation of Panun Kashmir.

In his Martyr Day speech Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman of Panun Kashmir said that the silence which they had observed in memory of the martyrs like Tika Lal Taploo the first community leader assassinated by the Jihadis on Sept 14 1989 was a reflecting silence which generates introspection and helps in enriching the memory of the Past. He said memory is the immune system of a civilization and its preservation leads towards the progress of the civilization. Dr Ajay explained in detail how the state government's symbolic return policy was acting as a weapon to continue the genocidal attrition on the Kashmiri Hindus. He said we are not witnessing a return of the displaced but hostage of the displaced to create a camouflage to hide a communal war unleashed on Kashmiri Hindus. Dr Ajay said those who have returned to get employment have not done so due to normalcy in Kashmir valley but due to compulsions of destitution and naivety. Dr Ajay warned about the role played by certain persons within the community and said that they have acted as fifth column of the communal separatist forces. He further said victim collaborators only increase the viciousness of victimhood. Dr Ajay told the gathering that all those actors who were responsible for their plight are getting gradually weakened. Developments in Pakistan are a testimony of this. He urged the entire community of Kashmiri Hindus, sikhs and all nationalist forces to join hands and fight the communal separatism in the State. Dr Ajay Chrungoo said creating a Union territory of Panun Kashmir in the north and east of river Jhelum is the foremost out of box solution available to the nation in the state to resolve the problems in the state and defeat separatism.

The Panun Kashmir Martyrs' day rally was joined by a group of around fifteen persons lead by Sh Amarnath Vaishnavi and Sh D N Kissoo while the rally was mid-way through. However the resentment of the participants in rally regarding the role of Sh Vaishnavi in the Apex Committee was manifest when they started to leave as soon as Mr Vaishnavi took to the dias to deliver his speech.