

“Operation Sindoor”—many questions are unanswered



In his first public address since the cessation of 4-day long India- Pakistan conflict, Prime Minister Narendra Modi on 22 May 2025 said that “Operation Sindoor” “launched by the Indian armed forces had forced Pakistan and its terror operators into submission. Those who had set out to wipe *sindoor* (vermilion) off the forehead of (Hindu) women had been “reduced to dust”. “*Ma Bharti’s servant Modi is standing here with his chest held high. Modi’s mind is cool, but Modi’s blood runs hot. And now, it is hot sindoor, not blood, which is flowing in my veins... The world and the enemies of the country have seen what happens when sindoor turns into barood (gunpowder)*”.

“Operation Sindoor” is the name he has given to India’s military operation against Pakistan after the serene beauty of Baisaran, a picturesque meadow and tourist hotspot about six kilometers from the resort town of Pahalgam, Kashmir, was soaked in innocent blood of tourists on 22 April last. A group of terrorists gunned down 28 persons, mostly tourists from various states of the country and injured over a dozen.

How could strict security be breached by terrorists?

Notwithstanding all brag and bluster of PM Modi in public meeting ostensibly to rouse national jingoism, first question that arises how could the armed terrorists enter the spot bypassing the much touted high security of the Indian army and police. According to the eye witnesses, not a single policeman let alone any army personnel was seen at the place of occurrence of such a ghastly crime. After killing the victims, the culprits who are also stated to have been involved in 2023 Punch terrorist attack as well as 2024 Gagangir Gulmarg terrorist violence could also escape with ease and till date, after almost two months, they have reportedly not even been traced.

Were earlier promises of cleansing terrorism hoaxes?

Secondly, it may be recalled that in a media interview a year back, PM Modi claimed that his birth was not biological; he was sent by god to fulfil a divine mission. So, bursting in self-eulogy is nothing new for PM Modi. But, if one is not acquainted with the developments in India during the last decade, one might well be carried away by such bravado and presume that “Operation Sindoor” has put the final nail in the coffin of terrorism as the Indian army, as claimed, had smashed the terrorist hideouts and grooming centres in Pakistan. But the question is has terrorism been really wiped out after “Operation Sindoor”? There is no direct answer to this. When demonetization was announced in 2016, PM Modi said that one of its three objectives was to stop terror-funding. Later, in 2019, in Pulwama district of the Jammu and Kashmir a vehicle carrying 40 Indian CRPF personnel jawans was blown into ashes, allegedly by terrorists backed by Pakistan. PM Modi and the BJP top brass claimed that Indian forces have conducted airstrikes deep into Balakot, the headquarters of Jaish-e-Mohammad terrorist outfit in Pakistan, sparking retaliatory raids and an aerial combat. India claimed at that time that its warplanes had hit the terrorist group’s training camp on the site and killed a large number

of militants. But high-resolution satellite images reviewed by Reuters showed that a religious school run by Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) in northeastern Pakistan appeared to be still standing days after the claimed strike. Some local residents reported a crowd, and a few trees were only damaged. In any case, that time also, we were told that terrorism was under control. And in fact, riding on the claimed Balakot air raid and “courage of striking by entering into the territory of Pakistan”, the BJP managed to hitch the country’s people with high-pitched success story of protecting the country from the machination of the enemy country, and won the election. When article 370, a clause of the accession treaty of Jammu and Kashmir, a princely state, to India after independence, was arbitrarily abrogated much to the chagrin of the Kashmiri people, it was told that henceforth, terrorism would not raise its ugly head. But alas! Despite all such mega-measures and periodic blowing the war-bugle against Pakistan, terrorism has not been vanquished. Then what is credence quality of PM’s claims and promises?

How the ceasefire was declared and what were the conditions?

Thirdly, PM Modi, his cabinet colleagues and army generals PM Modi have been claiming that circular military array of “Operation Sindoor” has forced Pakistan to genuflect before the Indian army and seek a truce. If that be the truth and the terrorists who orchestrated the heinous killing at Pahalgam were sponsored by Pakistan, one of the principal conditions of the armistice should have been to unconditionally hand over the culprits as well as all other terrorists nestling in its land to India. Has it happened? Was any such condition given? No. On the contrary, what was most surprising, if not shrouded in mystery, was that it was US President Donald Trump who announced on 10 May the fourth day from the time the war had commenced, that India and Pakistan had agreed to a “full and immediate” ceasefire following a “long night of talks” mediated by his country. Minutes later, the ceasefire was confirmed by both India’s Ministry of External Affairs and the foreign ministry in Pakistan. Trump even boasted of how he dangled the carrot of trade deals to stop the fresh round of fighting. If that be so, what have been the terms of ceasefire and how was that Pakistan bent before Trump’s conditions and not that of India’s? Also, what prompted India to instantaneously accept Trump’s dictates? Incredible paradox! Never heard of a third country head unilaterally announcing a ceasefire between two other warring countries. Why, despite President Trump having reiterated his meditation in enforcing ceasefire not less than 11 times, PM Modi is maintaining an eerie silence on this question?

Why did PM Modi avoid visit to Kashmir after Pahalgam killings?

Moreover, neither PM Modi nor any of his cabinet colleagues has made it clear why did PM Modi, after his return to the country cutting short his Saudi Arabia visit, not go to Kashmir and even remained absent in the all Party meeting over the situation. Instead, why did he choose to fly to poll-bound Bihar to address election rallies highlighting “Operation Sindoor”? Is it that his sole mission was to rake up pseudo-patriotism and foment Hindutva sentiment as Sindoor (vermillion) is considered to be a sacred mark on the hair-parting of married Hindu women? Also, it is stated that PM Modi had intelligence input about a possible terror attack in Kashmir three days prior to the Pahalgam incident, following which he cancelled his own Kashmir trip. If that be so, why were the innocent tourists allowed to go visit Baisaran and that too without any security arrangement? Howsoever enthusiastically PM Modi and the BJP leaders might organize ‘Tiranga Yatra’ (tricolour rallies) round the country to highlight the success of ‘Operation Sindoor’, will not the families of those killed in Baisaran as well as the Indian families whose kith and kins succumbed to the counter missile attack by Pakistani army in the border area villages raise these valid questions?

Pakistani rulers are also equally deceptive

Same is with the Pakistani rulers who dupe their distressed countrymen with similar overdose of xenophobia against India and war cry. Pakistan, which is also an exploitative capitalist state predominated by the military and anchored on Islamic fanaticism, also retaliated with similar deportation of Indians in that country, sealing its airspace for the Indian flights and ports for Indian ships. Both sides are mobilizing armies across the border and surcharging the atmosphere with war-cry. Because the ruling capitalist class of both the countries have identical class interest and hence embark upon almost similar policies.

Another question. The army commanders of both sides have only been trading talks of achieving victory amid considerable misinformation and disinformation. In order to project their success in the armed conflict to the world, India claimed to have successfully destroyed nine major terror launchpads in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK), targeting Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, and Hizbul Mujahideen facilities. On the other hand, Pakistan army said of the Indian missiles have been intercepted and all Pakistan Air Force assets are safe.” Pakistani PM also claimed that some Indian missiles landed in India’s eastern Punjab and in Afghanistan and Pakistan has evidence to prove it. To project its success to the world, Pakistan has conferred the title of Field Marshall to its military head. At the same time, Pakistani Prime Minister acknowledged that Indian missiles struck multiple locations deep inside Pakistan, including an airport in Rawalpindi and the chief of army staff of India admitted to have lost warplanes.

Who are the worst sufferers?

But point is besides military losses or gains, who are the worst casualties? Is there any scratch on Indian or Pakistani leaders? No. But, 26 Indian citizens and 20 Pakistani nationals, both staying near the border areas, lost their lives. The home and hearth of many have been pulverized. So, the question is are the common Pakistani or Indian people responsible for such terrorist acts? Then why should they be victimized when such wars break-up intermittently at the instance of the rulers? Also, what is discernible is that amidst claims and counter-claims of military success, the question of containing terrorism has been pushed to the back seat.

Why are facts shrouded in riddles?

In the meanwhile, another revelation has startled all. The India's External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar informed a parliamentary consultative committee that Pakistan was alerted 30 minutes after "Operation Sindoor's" first phase ended. This is another riddle. Are we then to believe that this war was through mutual consent or it was just a show-off to buttress any other agenda like ensuring electoral victory or diverting people's attention from burning problems of life like horrendous price rise, mounting unemployment, growing inequality, soaring poverty, dwindling income and so forth. 'Country is in danger. Saving it from the attack of the enemy is the prime task that relegates every other issue, howsoever pressing it might be, to the back'—this slogan of inciting national jingoism and pseudo-patriotism is an effective manoeuvre to rally the countrymen behind the ruling dispensation subservient to the class interest of the oppressive ruling monopolists in class-divided India. As pertinent questions remain unanswered, would it be incorrect to assume such an objective behind the displaying excessive enthusiasm over 'Operation Sindoor'?

Why is India found to be isolated in global arena?

But questions do not end here. PM Modi has long been clamouring that kettledrum of India is being beaten round the globe. If that be so, how is that not a single country endorsed India's stand in regard to 'Operation Sindoor'? Why 7 all-party teams had to be sent to 33 countries to explain India's viewpoint spending crores of rupees from public exchequer? Do not the countrymen have right to know what transpired during such talks with various countries? How is that while every country condemned Pahalgam terrorist killing, no one held Pakistan responsible for that? Over and above, while India is holding Pakistan as labour-room of terrorism, Pakistan has been made chairperson of the Taliban Sanctions Committee of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2025. Pakistan would also serve as vice-chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the 15-nation UN body. US also invited Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff to attend the US Army Day celebrations on 14 June. If India enjoys a prime position in international diplomatic circle, as claimed by PM Modi and others, how could UNO with the approval of the member committees select Pakistan to such a coveted post? Moreover, Significantly, a high-level Pakistani parliamentary delegation, led by Senate Chairman and former Pakistan PM Yousuf Raza Gilani, has also concluded a visit to the UN headquarters in New York last month. Pakistan has also sent a high-level multi-party political delegation to New York, Washington DC, London, Brussels and Moscow, led by its former foreign minister Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, to canvas for support in its favour. Is it not a diplomatic setback for India?

Why this exacerbation of anti-Muslim hatred?

Another question which comes next is that why are the RSS-BJP and their notorious IT cell abuzz in anti-Muslim campaign after the Pahalgam massacre? Why are the monopoly-controlled mainstream (Godi) media over-projecting the Muslim angle of the terror attack and insinuating towards Kashmiri people for abetting terrorism? Why are Kashmiris living across India, especially students, have been reporting heckling, harassment and threats by Hindutva groups? Why, on 25 April, security forces brought down a three-storied home of the family of one alleged militant accused of involvement in the Pahalgam terror strike in a congested neighbourhood? Why did a BJP MLA of Rajasthan enter a mosque during Friday prayers, shouting "Jai Shri Ram" and placing a "Pakistan Murdabad" sign on the premises? Why was a Muslim Congress MLA of Madhya Pradesh issued death threats? Do terrorists have any fixed religion or ethnicity? If all Muslims are to be targeted for promoting terrorism, then why not all Hindus be branded as terrorists since so many Hindus are associated with terror-killing and violence? Graham Stains, an Australian missionary, along with his two minor children were burnt down in Keonjhar, Odisha, by the activists of Bajrang Dal, a constituent of Hindutva brigade. Gauri Lankesh, a rational journalist was gunned down by members of Hindutva group. Pragya Singh Thakur, a former ruling BJP MP, Lieutenant Colonel Prasad Purohit, Major Ramesh Upadhyay (retired), Ajay Rahirkar, Sudhakar Dwivedi, Sudhakar Chaturvedi, and Sameer Kulkarni have been accused by National Investigating Agency (NIA) for exploding bomb near a mosque in a Muslim-majority area during fasting month of Ramzan in Malegaon, about 200 km from Mumbai, in 2008. Also Ku Klux Klan, a Christian outfit professing white supremacy, has slaughtered many black Africans and Americans. Would anybody say that all Christians are terrorists? Do terrorists have any religion, race or ethnicity? Or they are simply terror-merchants sponsored by the imperialist-capitalist powers to intimidate people, precipitate divide among the toiling masses, fan up communalism-fundamentalism to blunt rational thought process and thereby stupefy people much to the glee of the ruthlessly oppressive imperialism-capitalism?

Glowing human spirit shown by the Kashmiri people

One more question remains unanswered. The Kashmiri people set an example of glowing human spirit and fraternal feeling after Pahalgam tragedy. The rescue of the survivors was done mainly by Muslims till the Helicopters arrived, and the injured were treated by a team of Muslim doctors. The local Kashmiris, the pony handlers, the auto rickshaw pullers and hotel owners (all Muslims) helped the travelers and decided not to charge them any money. Several tourists who were at the scene of the attack were shepherded to safety by their Kashmiri guides. A local horse rider, who counter-attacked the terrorists and tried to snatch the gun from one of them paid with his life. Tourists who returned from Baisaran were effusively praising the hospitality of the local people. *"My driver Musafir and another man, Sameer — they became my brothers. They stood by me through everything, took me to the mortuary, helped with the formalities. I waited there till 3 am...I have two brothers in Kashmir now. May Allah protect you both,"* a lady said to them as she left from Srinagar to Kochi, her hometown. On 23 April, the entire Valley observed a complete shutdown in protest of the Pahalgam attack. All educational institutions and business houses were shut. At Srinagar's city centre, Lal Chowk saw Kashmiri people were vehemently condemning the heinous act. The slogans of 'Hindu Muslim Bhai Bhai' (Hindus and Muslims are brothers) were in the air. With messages such as "Violence will never win", "Stop innocent killings", and *"Tourists are Kashmir ki jaan hai"* (tourists are Kashmir's lifeline) written on placards, the protesters raised slogans against the cowardly killings. *"It is not just an assault on our visitors, but an attack on the very identity and cherished values of Kashmir,"* remarked one Kashmiri man. Can the phenomenon of terrorism be curbed without the help of the Kashmiris? Who does not know that the Kashmiri people who was under a Hindu king in the then princely state consented to be accessed to India at the call of Sheikh Abdullah, their revered leader after British India was partitioned following transfer of power to the Indian and Pakistani ruling bourgeoisie.

This is the kind of amity, fraternity, solidarity and unity we cherish to witness among the masses—no matter which religion they profess, which language they speak, which ethnicity they belong to or which region they stay in the country. The sponsors of terrorists hoped to polarize Hindus against Muslims across India. Have they not failed in this regard as far as Kashmir is concerned. Is it not imperative that the rest of us to similarly rise to the occasion?

Yet, why the arch Hindu communal RSS-BJP and their affiliates have been raising anti-Muslim hatred to a high pitch and propagating that every Kashmiri Muslim is a terrorist? Will this not make the peace-loving the Kashmiri people unnecessarily hostile and nurture a feeling of alienation? Is it not necessary to encourage the anti-terrorist mindset of the Kashmiris which has been eloquently manifest after Pahalgam killing and involve them in the fight against terrorism?

Generation of war and sustaining war-psychosis is a sinister bourgeois machination

What is important is to be not only appraised of but convinced that it is the ruling vested interest of both the countries who want dispute and war tension to sustain. But the oppressed common people, whose misery and poverty are on the spiral and who are the worst sufferers during outbreak of wars, never want any kind of armed hostilities to settle any dispute. Have the previous armed strikes succeeded in wiping out the terrorist activities? Is there any guarantee that terrorist activities will be permanently stopped after the latest military operation? Did the previous wars solve any of the contentious issues? These questions need to be seriously pondered over by anti-war peace-loving people.

Is there any other axe to grind?

Also, many look askance at another question. Is the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar have some other axe to grind by accentuating communal fury and trumpeting spectacular triumph of "Operation Sindoor"? First of all, is not creating war-psychosis a convenient ploy to divert people's attention from the burning problems they are reeling under, like mounting unemployment, price rise, growing inequality, soaring poverty, dwindling income and so forth? Country is in danger. Saving it from the attack of the enemy is the prime task that relegates every other issue, howsoever pressing it might be, to the back—this slogan of inciting national jingoism and pseudo-patriotism is an effective manoeuvre to rally the countrymen behind the ruling dispensation subservient to the class interest of the oppressive ruling monopolists in class-divided India. Secondly, is not the BJP has another interest, that is to consolidate its Hindu vote bank before the ensuing assembly elections since it is bankrupt in so far as other issues are concerned?

Truth that must dawn upon oppressed masses

Truth behind all such incidents, phenomena, divisive acts, mindless killing and orchestration of mindless violence, setting one community against another, using fiery rhetoric and incite mass hysteria about so called patriotic war is only one. Haunted by the fear-complex of anti-capitalist socialist revolution, an inevitability following inexorable law of social development and progress, the capitalist rulers and their servitors, whether in India or Pakistan or any other bourgeois country are desperate to thwart any sprouting of united powerful people's movement, rising above all divides and led by correct revolutionary leadership, which would be conducive to anti-capitalist revolutionary movement.