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Response to Intifada **COVER STORY** Can Gol overcome its own Predicament

By Dr Ajay Chrungoo

THE tactical dimensions of the Intifada in Kashmir valley are coming to the fore sooner than later. Any doubts that the recent public mobilisation drives in Kashmir Valley have been deft manoeuvres to create space for both Pakistani Government and the separatists in Jammu and

Shrine.....This was no passing episode as the renewal of protests in 2009 testifies." Ms Maleeha Lodhi also alludes to the immediate political objective of the continuing intifada in the Valley. Ms Lodhi says, "to understand these questions, it is necessary to place them in the context of what has been happening in Jammu and Kashmir since 2008. This

Kashmir Valley is being employed as one more game changer. The hope is to break the status quo of Indian position in Jammu and Kashmir. To impart sufficient momentum to this 'game changer' Pakistani government has come out for the first time to support the proposition of 'independent Kashmir'. A day before Maleeha



Dukhtran-e-Millat volunteer protesting in Srinagar.

Kashmir state in the existing international environment should be put aside taking due notice of what is emerging from Pakistani side at unofficial as well as official level.

The views of high profile former ambassador of Pakistan to USA Miss Maleeha Lodhi which appeared in press recently are pertinent in this respect. She very clearly acknowledges a linkage between the public protests in Kashmir Valley last year during the Amarnath Land Row and the spate of protest campaigns there after the discovery of female bodies in Shopian. "The year 2008 witnessed the highest number of anti-India protests in Kashmir's recent history. The catalyst was the controversial government decision to transfer forest land to the trust that administered the Hindu Amarnath

is the year the Indian authorities declared as the most non-violent since 1989, when Kashmir uprising began. The militancy according to Indian officials had been crushed. A relative though surface calm prevailed...The eruption of protests shattered this illusion of normalcy".

The eloquent Pakistani diplomat further underlines the tactical perspectives as recognised in Pakistan about the intifada in Kashmir by raising the question, "what could happen if the Kashmiri struggle that has increasingly assumed the shape of a non-violent movement fails to achieve its objectives, if its grievances are not addressed; if the stalled Pakistan dialogue is unable to alleviate the demands of the movement? will this be a game changer?"

After the Kargil war, the Intifada in

Lodhi's views appeared in the press the Pakistani foreign office spokesman Abdul Basit made a statement on August 5 articulating this stand, "There, has been no change in our foreign policy. We want an independent Kashmir. We want the Kashmir issue to be resolved in accordance with the wishes of people." Having given this signal Pakistan recalibrated its international stand to the previous non-committal posture on the issue of 'Independence' to Kashmir. Responding to various questions on Kashmir the Foreign Minister of Pakistan stated, "Kashmir is still an outstanding issue and Pakistan wants its solution according to UN resolution through plebiscite."

(Contd. on Page 7)

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

1. Smt. Umar Shori Tufchi W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Tufchi R/o 137 Govind Nagar, Sector-2 Lane-3, Camp Road Talab Tillo, Jammu, originally resident of Sheshyar Habbadal Sgr. 29/4/2009
2. Sh. Inder Krishin Raina S/o Late Sh. Lassakak Raina (Razdan) originally resident of Salia Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 357, Sector-4, Gangyal Jammu. 30/4/2009.
3. Sh. Roshan Lal Khosa S/o Sr. PN Khosa R/o Durga Nagar Lane-3, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/5/2009
4. Sh. Chuni Lal Pandita S/o Sh. Keshav Nath Pandita originally resident of village Sagam Kokernag Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 4, Vikas Vihar, Canal Road Gangyal Jammu. 4/5/2009
5. Smt. Jai Kishori Moza W/o Late Sh. J.N. Moza originally resident of Budgair Alikadal Sgr; resently residing at H.No: 528, Subash Nagar near Sharika Peeth Jammu. 4/5/2009
6. Smt. Pushpa Bhan W/o Late Sh. D.N. Bhan originally resident of Ladhwna Tullamulla/Banamohalla Razdan Lane Sgr; presently resident of 1267-A-G Colony Sector 41/b Chandigarh. 4/5/2009
7. Smt. Sham Rani W/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Pandita R/o Mumkak Batapora Sopore Kmr; presently resideing at Sharda Colony Patoli Brahmana Jammu. 5/5/2009
8. Sh. Girdhari Lal Thusoo S/o Pt. Mukund Ram Thusoo of Drabiyar Sgr; presently residing at H.NO: 191, Sector-1, E.W.S Colony Roop Nagar Jammu. 5/5/2009
9. Sh. Naveen Mahaldar S/o Late Sh. Chaman Lal Mahalder originally resident of Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Delhi. 5/5/2009
10. Sh. Rakesh Trackroo S/o Sh. Chuni Lal Trackroo R/o Late No: 4, H.No: 81, Udheywalla Bohri Jammu. 6/5/2009
11. Smt. Mohan Rani W/o Sh. Kanya Lal Pandita R/o Chandigam Lolab Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 67, Purkhoo Camp Phase-1st, Jammu. 6/5/2009
12. Smt. Gunwati Bhat W/o Late Sh Krishan Lal Bhat originally resident of Nadimarg Shopian Kmr; presently resident of Gura Barnaie Lane No: 11, H.No: 22 Jammu. 6/5/2009
13. Sh. Raj Nath Mongha S/o Sh. T.N. Mongha originally resident of Mangal Kunj Shivpora Sgr; presently resident of Vashi Mubai. 6/5/2009
14. Sh. Kashi Nath Saproo S/o Late Sh. Hari Ram Saproo R/o Panzmulla Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 141, Sec-A, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 8/5/2009
15. Sh. Janki Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Govind Ram Bhat R/o Kilam Bozgam presently resident of H.No: 37, Lane-4, Kailash Vihar Netar Kothian Barnai Jammu. 8/5/2009
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17. Smt. Rani Bhan W/o Late M.L. Bhan R/o Raghunath Mandir Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 58, Phase-I Muthi Camp, Jammu. 9/5/2009
18. Sh. Ram Chand Pandita S/o Sh. Dharam Chand Pandita R/o Village Karihama Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of T.R.T. Phase 4th, Qtr. No: A-12/F-23 Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 10/5/2009
19. Sh. Dawarika Nath Handoo S/o Late Sh. Govind Ram originally resident of Chandian Pajan Vessu Anantnag; kmr presently residing at ORT No: 524 (RI) Purkhoo Camp Phase-IIIrd Domana Jammu. 10/5/2009
20. Sh. Makhhan Lal Pandit S/o Late Sh. Tika Lal Pandit R/o Nowgam Shangas Kmr. 10/5/2009
21. Smt. Tarawati Koul (Arzbeq) W/o Late Sh. Bal Jee Koul originally resident of Sathoo Bar-Barshah Sgr; presently resident of Lane No: 5, H.No: 25, Puran Nagar Bhagwati Nagar Canal Jammu. 11/5/2009
22. Sh. Som Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Kanth Ram Raina R/o Zainapora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 105, Lane-13, Sec-16, Nanak Nagar, Jammu. 11/5/2009
23. Sh. Som Nath Sathu S/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Sathu originally resident of Fatehpura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at 232 Top Sherkhania Jammu. 11/5/2009
24. Sh. Niranjn Nath Bhat of Bhagat Barzula Sgr; presently resident of Flat No: 607, Lalleshwari Vatika Sector-21D, Faridabad. 11/5/2009
25. Smt Laxmishori Waza W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Waza R/o 70-Sheshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 309, Sector-4, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 12/5/2009
26. Smt. Shanta Razdan W/o Late Sh. Jagan Nath Razdan R/o Gund-e-Ahalar Naisarak Sgr; presently resident of 102-Upper Laxminagar Sarwal Jammu. 12/5/2009
27. Sh. Ashok Kumar Rangroo S/o Late. Sh. Sri Kanth Rangroo originally resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Plot No: 980, Gauri Appart. Shalimar Garden Ext-1, Gaziabad (UP). 12/5/2009
28. Sh. Prathvi Nath Pandit S/o Late. Sh. Sarwanand Pandit originally resident of Baghatpora Handwara Kmr; presently resident of T.R.T. No: 25, Block-J Butta Nagar Muthi Jammu. 13/5/2009
29. Smt. Rattna Putto W/o Late. Sh. Girdhari Lal Puttoo, R/o Bohri Patta Talab Tillo, Jammu. 14/5/2009
30. Sh. Soom Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Lambodhar R/o Sheelteng Habbakdal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 43, Paloura Jammu. 14/5/2009
31. Sh. Moti Lal Bhan S/o Late Sh. Neel Kanth Bhan of 27-Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 118-A, Sector-B/10 Udhaigiri-IIInd Noida. 15/5/2009
32. Sh. Janki Nath Razdan S/o Late Sh. Raghunath Razdan originally resident of Wanpoh Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 68 B, Sector-3 Vinayak Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 16/5/2009
33. Sh. Shiv Narayan Bhan S/o Late Sh. Sham Sunder Bhan formerly resident of 254-A Gandhi Nagar, Jammu presently residing at H.No: 5, Lane No: 12, Tawi Vihar Sidhra Jammu. 14/5/2009
34. Sh. PK Kotru S/o Late Pt. R.N. Kotru R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently resident of Pinjore, Panchkulla Haryana. 16/5/2009
35. Smt. Chuni Sadhu W/o Sh. Peary Lal Sadhu R/o Baghi Sunder Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 1/27A Pamporsh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 17/5/2009
36. Sh. Roopawati Miya W/o Late Sh. Narayan Joo Miya R/o Kocha Nidhan Raina Wari Sgr; presently residing at D--10 Plot No: 631, Shalimar Garden Ext-1 Sahibabad (UP). 17/5/2009
27. Smt. Mohini Bakshi W/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Bakshi originally resident of Nae-Basti Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Shivala Colony HNo: 259, Amritsar Punjab. 18/5/2009
28. Smt. Nancy Saproo W/o Sh. B.L. Saproo originally resident of Malayar Habbakdal, Rawalpora Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 10, Lane-2, Butta Nagar, Jammu. 19/5/2009
29. Smt. Dhanwati W/o Late Sh. Sri Kanth Pandita resident of Kawapora Handwara Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 22/1 Naseeb Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 20/5/2009
30. Smt. Somawati Koul W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Koul originally resident of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari, Sgr; presently resident of 354 HIG Partap Vihar Gaziabad (UP). 20.5.2009
31. Smt. Santosh Tickoo W/o Sh. Maharaj Krishen Tickoo formerly resident of Natipura Pamposh Colony Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 69, T-8, Kurinji Flats Thiruvanmiyur Nagar Chennai. 21/5/2009
32. Sh. Manohar Krishen Raina S/o Late. Sh. Nila Ram Raina (Harkar) R/o Panzmulla Salia Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 163, Ext. Housing Colony Janipur Jammu. 22/5/2009
33. Smt Dhanwati Kher W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Kher R/o Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 165 Lane-7, Shakti Nagar Jammu. 22/5/2009
34. Smt. Usha Karihalloo W/o Late Ravinder Karihalloo (Raina) R/o 3/108 Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 22/5/2009
35. Sh. Girdhari Lal Tickoo S/o Sh. Jia Lal Tickoo of Agahaman Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Lane-5, Adarsh Nagar Barnai Road, Bantalab Jammu. 22/5/2009
37. Sh. Poshkar Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Hari Ram R/o Sopore Kmr; presently residing at H.NO: 43, Saraswati Vihar Bohri Jammu. 22/5/2009
38. Sh. Ram Krishen Koul (Patwari) S/o Late Prem Nath Koul (Patwari) originally resident of Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 73165-A Parmhans Marg Mansarovar Jaipur. 22/5/2009
39. Smt. Raj Dulari Koul W/o Late Sh. S.S. Koul R/o 1280, 42-B Chandigarh. 23/5/2009.
40. Smt. Som Rani Kaw W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Kaw of Khankhai Sokhta Safa Kadal/194 Jawahar Nagar, Kmr; presently residing at Jarigoda Orissa. 24/5/2009
41. Sh. Bansi Lal Raina S/o Sh. Vish Nath Raina of Nagam Chadoora Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 537/A Colonel's Colony Talab Tillo, Jammu. 24/5/2009
42. Smt. Kamla Vali W/o Sh. Amar Nath Vali R/o Surataing Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 180, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 25/5/2009.
43. Sh. Bushan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Bhat originally resident of Deeri Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 10, Block-D, T.R.T. Phase IIInd Muthi Camp Jammu. 26/5/2009
44. Sh. Shyam Lal Pandita S/o Late Sh. Laxman Pandita originally resident of village Kharwara Shopian Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 126, Sector-4, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 27/5/2009
45. Smt. Rupawati Saproo W/o Late Pt. Jia Lal Saproo R/o Babapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Birla Lane, Juhu Beach Mumbai. 27/5/2009
46. Smt. Shobawati W/o Lae Sh. Prem Nath Pandit of Hanumanpora Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Jammu. 27/5/2009
47. Sh. Dawarika Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Thakur Dass Koul R/o Zungalpora Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at Ganesh Nagar T.V. Tower Patoli Jammu. 27/5/2009
48. Sh. A.K. Trisal S/o Late Sh. G.N. Trisal originally resident of Melikangam Fatehkadal Srinagar presently resident of H.No: 47C Sector-2, Ganga Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 27/5/2009.
49. Sh. Prithvi Nath Bhan presently resident of Saharanpur (UP) 28/5/2009
50. Smt. Kamla Dhar W/o Sh. Pushkar Nath Dhar originally resident of 89-Balgarden Sgr; presently residing at Montrial Canada. 28/5/2009
51. Smt. Prabawati Dhar (Thas) W/o Late Sh. P.N Dhar originally resident of 346 Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently residing at Flat No: 221, Sita Ram Appart I.P. Ext. Patpargunj New Delhi. 29/5/2009
52. Sh. Shamboo Nath Mehaldar R/o 76-Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 30/5/2009

EDITORIAL

WISHFUL THINKING—SHUN IT

Persecuted social groups and communities require the faculties of comprehension more than anybody else to devise responses to the historical challenges they are face to face with. Prolonged attrition builds incomprehension amongst many of them about their existential reality. Incomprehension drives them to see hope where there is none and search for such solutions which only multiply their problems. The impact of incomprehension on critical faculties can be seen in ample measure amongst some displaced Kashmiri Hindus.

Recently the Chief Minister of the state Sh. Omar Abdullah tried to set the speculation about the birth of a Kashmiri Pandit into his cabinet to rest by stating, "I don't do things for tokenism unless I get a good person to adorn that job." The statement was given during an interview in response to an observation that there was no Pandit member in his cabinet. Normally it should have provided a sufficient insight into the thinking of the NC lead ruling alliance amongst those who had invested a lot of energy in cultivating the hope that after the demise of Pyare Lal Handoo a Kashmiri Pandit may get an eventual birth in the cabinet. Such individuals and groups have over the years seen a foothold in the government, howsoever small it may be, as an end in itself. It seems even this brazen refusal has not made them wise enough to comprehend political realities in the state in their real perspective.

Not long ago, when a Kashmiri Pandit retired Chief Secretary joined National Conference many amongst such a wishful gentry believed that a capable Kashmiri Pandit with high stature was finally on its way to adorn the ramparts of the top circle of the government in the state sooner or the later. The signal inherent in the fact that the new high profile incumbent into National Conference was denied a mandate from the prestigious constituency of Habbakadal had gone unnoticed His becom-

ing a MLC was also not a cakewalk. Now when NC leader admits that he has none amongst the Kashmiri Pandits in his party capable enough to adorn the cabinet, it is less a reflection on the issue of capability and more a rationalisation of the mindset of exclusion which has been the bedrock of the political ideology of National Conference.

The real issue, however, is not why a Kashmiri Pandit who had risen to the highest office in the government was not deemed capable enough to be a minister. The real issue is why a section of thinking gentry amongst Kashmiri Pandits refuses to see the writing on the wall and recognise that it is face to face with an iron curtain of exclusion.

Cultivating wishful thinking blunts creative faculties. It makes the persecuted groups to invest energy in unproductive ventures. The proclivity of finding space where there is none leads to a social attitude which is like a person who digs a well at a particular place and after failing to find water fills the pit with earth and then again and again indulges in digging at the same place to find water. This is a sort of a compulsive and obsessive tendency which only brings disappointment and despondency. The remedy is only to change the course of ones thinking and invest in solutions which make exclusivist politics full of stakes to undermine it.

Omar's views on the problems of Kashmiri Pandits, articulated before he became the Chief Minister, have been more sensitive and humane than that of PDP leaders. But can he prevail upon his party to change its outlook about displacement of Hindus? More importantly can he bring about a transformation in the communal outlook of his party? Mr. Omar abhors tokenism in the allotment of portfolios. He should actually dispense away tokenism in the secular behaviour of his party.

LETTERS

INDIA
Ragdo

Sir,

The in-depth analysis of the write up the challenge of new fundamentalist Intifada carried by the July issue of *Kashmir Sentinel* awakens the readers to the reality of the situation prevailing in Kashmir Valley. It brings to fore the role of different political groups whether main stream or separatists. I agree with the author of this write-up who has summarised the present situation of the Valley in its true form. Let me be honest in admitting that, this is exactly the situation of the Valley as I am myself a witness to it since I was in Valley during this created Shopian controversy.

I pray that the ingrained consistent attitude of blackmailing and exploitation of the Kashmiri Society comes to its end at the earliest. The sooner it happens the better for the natives of Valley.

—Sanjay Karihaloo
New Delhi.

Sentinel-The
Real Voice

Sir,

Kashmir Sentinel by its keen research and in-depth study has assumed the role of real voice for the nationalist people. The openness with which the events political, historical, or discussions and interpretations carried by sentinel from issue to issue has silenced many false voices. This goes to the credit of the dedicated team of people who work tirelessly and selflessly for this paper.

We wish more and more people have access to this magazine. I request the readers to voluntarily contribute to the circulation of this paper so that more people get educated and became aware of our rich past and various other issues.

—R.L.Kaul
Jammu



By J N Raina

A lot of fuss has been created about Kashmir. It is a deliberate attempt to confuse the international opinion about the 'ownership' of Kashmir.

The U S Secretary of State Mrs Hillary Clinton's obfuscatory remarks that "feelings of the people of Kashmir" must be taken into account to resolve the issue, tantamount to interference in India's internal affairs. She must understand that Jammu and Kashmir, constituting the three regions of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, is an integral part of India, just like Texas—where feeble voices of secession were heard recently—belongs to US.

The Obama administration has even gone to the extent of 'admonishing' India to provide a 'solution' to the so-called Kashmir 'problem'. It is mind-boggling. These tangy observations are made off and on by fustspots, not just to baffle global opinion about Kashmir, but to force another partition of India and beleaguered Pakistan. The latter has already got truncated, following the separation of erstwhile East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. The real motif behind these pungent remarks cannot be underestimated. There has been no end to machinations against India, ever since the subcontinent was divided by the imperialists in 1947. The root cause of partition was the "clash of civilization". One can imagine the magnitude of the holocaust that would follow if a single Indian state secedes.

Both Mrs Clinton and U S President Barack Obama must take a judicious view of the fact that Kashmir 'problem' was resolved when Maharaja Hari Singh executed the instrument of accession on October 26, 1947. The accession was formally accepted and signed by Lord Mountbatten on the following day; October 27, 1947, in his capacity as the Governor General of India.

At the dawn of India's independence, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir,

like 560 other such states, had a choice to either join India or Pakistan. When the British paramountcy came to an end, the Maharaja had no alternative but to accede to India, in the wake of Pakistan-backed Tribal invasion. However, he consulted then popular leader Sheikh Abdullah, who subsequently took over the reins of the administration.

Any form of 'secession', being engineered by Pakistan, in collusion with some foreign forces, can lead to a greater clash of civilization, which can have far reaching consequences globally. It will have a cascading effect in the western nations, which are already on Osama bin Laden's hit list. Laden has threatened American Christians to embrace Islam. He is acquiring nuclear weapons.

It was 9\11 that changed the world, according to Italy's ambassador to India, Roberto Toscano. "Clash of civilizations has left the sphere of scholarly debate to become a familiar reference", he has said.

Pakistan has been provoking the Kashmiri separatists and misleading the international community that Kashmir 'is a disputed territory' and Kashmiris were 'waging a struggle for their right of self-determination'. Plebiscite is a dead issue. It was buried in the Indian Ocean when Bangladesh emerged, following the 1971 war between India and Pakistan. Now Pakistan is seeking the services of Barack Obama, to get Kashmir on a platter. The U S has a vested interest in Afghanistan. This is why India is being pressurized to obtain Kashmiris's opinion while the two countries resume talks. The U S Under Secretary of

State for Political Affairs has repeatedly said : " Any resolution of Kashmir has to take into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people."

Pakistan has been supporting the secessionists in Kashmir, because it is a Muslim-majority state, although the divide between Hindus and Muslims is not so wide. By dint of that very notion, East Pakistan would not have separated in 1971 war. India is united because of its huge diversity. It is the system of governance that matters.

The Kashmir issue would have been non-existent, but for mass conversion of Hindus in the 14th century. Kashmir was a Hindu kingdom till 1320. The civilizational clash, or what we may call it, continues even now. The flash point reached when over half a million Hindus were driven out from Kashmir in 1990.

According to political analysts, most states in the U N General Assembly believe that the right to 'self-determination' applied only to people under colonial domination by foreigners. India is not a colonial power. Kashmir's accession is legal and irrevocable. The U N has observed that 'self-determination' cannot be allowed to " dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity of sovereign states, conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights...".

Kashmiri Muslims are not being discriminated. In Pakistan, even Muslims are discriminated, not to speak of Hindus. Kashmiri Muslims are being misled by vested interests. They have no right to secede. The U N Security

Council, according to political observers, has recognized the accession of Jammu and Kashmir, while accepting India's complaint against Pakistan in 1948.

According to veteran journalist and writer M J Akbar " There is some good news for Hillary Clinton. The Kashmir problem has already been solved. It was solved on January 1, 1948, the day India and Pakistan froze their troops along a Cease Fire Line, recognized by the United Nations".

There are three distinct religions in Jammu and Kashmir. The Hindus predominate in Jammu, the Muslims dominate in the valley and the Buddhists in the sprawling Ladakh region. Kashmiris's opinion has been ascertained from time to time whenever elections were held, which have been generally free and fair. Only recently, Kashmiri Muslims exercised their franchise overwhelmingly, despite the boycott call by the pro-Pakistan Hurriyat Conference. They faced militants' guns but went to poll.

Some members of the United Nations Committee on India and Pakistan observe " Mere technicality of holding a plebiscite seemed beyond the scope of reality."

When the Shimla accord was hammered out between India and Pakistan after 1971 war, the Cease Fire Line was converted into the Line of Control (LoC) . Some saner persons have suggested to convert the LoC—de facto border—into the de jure one, making it an international border, although it will be difficult for India to forgo its claim to Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir (PoK), which is legally a part of India.

The U S as a 'friend' of both the countries can play a constructive role in making India and Pakistan to agree to the conversion of the de facto border into the de jure border. But instead, it is provoking Pakistan and the separatists, to keep the Kashmir pot boiling, by making frequent references to the so-called Kashmir 'problem', which actually does not exist.

The U S has a murky relationship with India. On the one hand it shows eagerness to develop good relations with New Delhi, but on the other, it has been arm-twisting India on Kashmir. The Obama administration has signaled that it would take 'markedly a different approach' to Kashmir from the previous Bush administration. Some time ago, Obama had decided to appoint a 'special envoy' for Kashmir. The U S might fastidiously pass on some modern technologies to India, as a bargaining factor, but not without attaching strings. The U S is virtually seeking partition of India by frequently making such references, to placate Pakistan, for its own involvement in Afghanistan. It is raising the bogey of Kashmir frequently.

The rub is, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has been keeping mum and not reacting to such verbose. India can never bargain on Kashmir. Singh is pliable. The U S wants to weaken India, asking it to demilitarize. It knows Pakistan has a well-established 'proxy force' to deal with India.

**(The author is a veteran journalist based at Pune)*

ACCESSION

Obama should know, Kashmir's accession is irrevocable

ATTENTION READERS

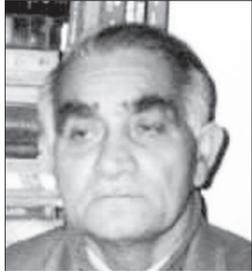
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--Editor

Thanks

THE WAY FORWARD WITH PAKISTAN



By Dr. M.K. Teng

When the Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh stated in the Indian Parliament that India could not change her neighbours, did he convey the message to the Indian people that India could not choose policies which its neighbours did not approve. How come that the Indian Prime Minister did not know that in the community of nations there are no neighbours and neighbourhoods but there are independent and sovereign states and their national borders which are secure from invasion only so long they are defended? Evidently the Indian Foreign office must have briefed the Indian Prime Minister on what the core concerns of the Indian foreign policy are. Could it follow from what the Indian Prime Minister told the Parliament, that he was selling a monitored lie to the Americans and the people of Pakistan, that India could be persuaded to accept a settlement on Kashmir which was acceptable to the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir? For, no one would believe that the Indian Prime Minister could ride roughshod over the Indian people and the Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists in Jammu and Kashmir, who have always formed the main resistance to the Muslim separatist movements in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Indian Prime Minister should have known that the international relations are an intricate interplay of the national interests of the members of the community of nations irrespective and independent of the geographical distances among them. The Americans are fighting a war in Afghanistan and Iraq, both the countries located, nowhere near the American borders. Infact Americans are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan to defend their borders on the American continent. The Russians stuck out their neck in the Bay of Pigs to deploy its missile systems in Cuba in order to secure a foothold on the

American cantonment. The Chinese fought a relentless war for a decade and a half against the allied forces in Vietnam to secure the Malacca Straits-the waterway between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

The Indian Prime Minister has to realise that the problem of India is not that created by her recalcitrant neighbours. The stark Truth is that the Indian borders have for most of the history of the independent India, been left undefended. Worst of it is that the successive Indian Governments have spared no efforts to neutralise the civilisational contours of the Indian frontiers. Right after the annexation of Tibet, the Chinese have been insisting on the unity of the "five fingers" of China. But successive Indian Governments have insistently disclaimed the Sanskrit content of the Indian frontiers in the north of which the first citadels were built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh which closed the routes of the invasion of India in the north.

The consequences have been disastrous. Jammu and Kashmir was invaded in 1947. The state was by no means a personal preserve of Pakistan, in spite of the Muslim majority of its population. It is a little known historical fact that when the partition of India was on the anvil, the British assured the Congress leaders, who harboured misgivings about the future of the princely states, that after the British Indian Princes were divided to form Pakistan, no impediment would be allowed to come in the way of uniting the rest of India, including the Indian Princely States. Pakistan did not have any claim on Jammu and Kashmir. Infact, Pakistan did not have any claim on any Princely State of India. The Princely States were never brought within the purview of the partition of India. In a cease-fire brokered by the Security Council, the invading armies retained their hold on nearly half the territories of the state including Pakistan and Gilgit and the Gilgit Agency along with the Dardic principalities

recognised as the "Dependences" of the state. Among the Dardic principalities, Hunza, Nagar, Pumial, Yasin, Ishkonan, Koh Gizir, which stretched along the northern fringes of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan and the southern flanks of the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan were considered to be strategically the most important part of the northern frontier of India.

Gilgit frontier apart, India

the world powers to protect the freedom of his country. While Britain and the United States, virtually accepted the Chinese claim over Tibet, the Indian representative, Jam Shahib of Nawnagar, watched the proceedings in dismay. For more than a decade after the subjugation of Tibet, India left the McMahon Line undefended. In 1962, the Chinese troops swept across the McMohan Line, more than a hundred miles south, occupying the most strategic features of the Indian frontier and lay claim to Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim.

The Indian borders in the north have been vulnerable to attack because they were, for most of the history of the independent India, left undefended. The long sea-coast of India, in the south, has been guarded by the waters of the Indian ocean. Indian problem with Pakistan, or China, or even Bangladesh has not been that of unfriendly neighbourhood. The Indian problem with these countries has been that of the borders which India did not defend.

In a solemn statement after the second world the American President Harry Truman said that world had to be made safe for the United States. The Americans spared no efforts to make the world safe for their country and that is exactly how they survived the Cold War. Truman underlined the

commission of diplomacy as the security of his country. **The Indian leaders, never realised that world has to be made safe for India to live. India cannot live in an unsafe world. Manmohan Singh's prescription to leave India to the care of its neighbours is a counsel of despair, a state of mind, which the Indian political class has inherited as a legacy of its colonial past.**

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is an ideological state. True to its commitment

to the unification of the Muslim Umah into a Muslim International and the consolidation of its power into an alternate polar-structure, Pakistan has exported Islamic Revolution, aimed at the fundamentalisation of all Muslim society everywhere in the world including the Muslim society in India. As an Islamic State, Pakistan has used the Jihad as the main instrument of its foreign policy. In waging religious wars, Pakistan has resorted to international terrorism, guerrilla warfare and subversive war. The military intervention of Pakistan in Afghanistan followed the course of Jihad. The Taliban, Pakistan helped to raise in Afghanistan, were as much committed to Islam, as were the soldiers of the Northern Alliance, who also fought against the Soviets. In Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan has been waging a religious war against India with the avowed objective of liberating the Muslims of the state, who it claims, form a part of the Muslim nation of Pakistan. For the last twenty years, Pakistan has been waging a Jihad in India.

Both Pakistan and China are seeking to demolish the northern frontiers of India, de-Sanskritise the Himalayas and exclude India from any future balance of power in Asia. India is already caught in a pincer-hold of the Anglo-American-Pakistan Alliance and the Sino-Pakistan Axis. Both Pakistan and China are seeking to drive India out of Jammu and Kashmir, the central spur of the northern frontier of India. The Americans have an eye on Russia, the real contender they face in Asia, rather than China. For them, a balance of power in Asia, in which Pakistan and China are on their side would always be more favourable a proposition, than a balance of power, in which China is arraigned against them.

Manmohan Singh's exhortion that "India seeks cooperation with Pakistan and engagement is the way forward", is deceptively simple. Engagement with Pakistan is not the way forward to seek the cooperation of Pakistan. The present engagement with Pakistan is the way forward to seek the cooperation of Pakistan. By its content it is a way forward to the second partition of India.

**(The author is head of Panun Kashmir Advisory)*

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Prime Minister Manmohan Singh talking to media persons at Sherm-ul-Sheikh.

faced a debacle along the McMahon Line, the Indian frontier with Tibet. When the Chinese commenced the invasion of Tibet the Indian Government agreed to withdraw its garrisons from the Clumbi Valley and end its military presence in Lhasa, unmindful of the consequences involved. In the political committee of the General Assembly, where the Tibetan complaint to the General Assembly against the Chinese invasion of Tibet was being considered, the Tibetan representative pleaded with

Jammu victim of gross discrimination

journal to see for themselves the manner in which the people of the region have been neglected by the authorities in the state.

Inadequate funds

The development of Jammu province has been prevented by inadequate funds allotted to it. For example, in the 8th five-year plan (1992-1997), 9th five-year plan (1997-2002), 10th five-year plan (2002-2007) and 11th five-year plan (2007-2012) Jammu's share in such sectors as agriculture was Rs 57.61 crore, 147.31 crore, 270.49 crore and 337.56 crore, respectively; irrigation 91.14 crore, 112.79 crore, 267.76 crore and 282.04 crore, respectively; roads and buildings 144.2 crore, 29.38 crore, 730.93 crore and 1229.24 crore, respectively; health 123.92 crore, 226.07 crore, 330.32 crore and 510.81 crore, respectively; tourism 15.21 crore, 34.99 crore, 47.17 crore and 36.29 crore, respectively; sewerage 2.92 crore, 6.26 crore, 30.61 crore and 11.54 crore, respectively; drainage 20.37 crore, 27.84 crore, 32.31 crore and 67.75 crore, respectively; housing and urban development 19.38 crore, 39.87 crore, 69.65 crore and 279.4 crore, respectively; and power 516.75 crore, 56.94 crore, 1154.3 crore and 3278.78 crore, respectively.

In contrast, the share of Kashmir in such vital sectors as agriculture was 104.5 crore, 253.17 crore, 380.29 crore and 519.41 crore, respectively; irrigation 136.64 crore, 210.05 crore, 466.72 crore and 365.35 crore, respectively; roads and buildings 247.22 crore, 403.67 crore, 751.03 crore and 1229.24 crore, respectively; health 135.34 crore, 274.45 crore, 390.25 crore and 819.22 crore, respectively; tourism 34.39 crore, 58.01 crore, 109.85 crore and 83.09 crore, respectively; sewerage 6.81 crore, 14.61 crore, 71.42 crore and 35.67 crore, respectively; drainage 47.53 crore, 64.96 crore, 75.41 crore and 1091.61 crore, respectively; housing and urban development 45.23 crore, 93.02 crore, 162.52 crore and 518.88 crore, respectively; and power 775.12 crore, 85.41 crore, 1731.43 crore and 4918.17 crore, respectively.

A single reference to the sales tax realized from Kashmir and Jammu between 1975 and 2007 would also be in order. The Government realized Rs 2474.802 crores from Jammu and Rs 1075.29 crores from Kashmir (J&K Planning Department papers).

Unemployment rate

If the official data is any

indication, then it can be said without any hesitation that the share of the people of Jammu province in the crucial employment sector is inadequate. According to the information tabled on the floor of the assembly in 2007, the unemployment rate in Kashmir was less than 30 per cent. On the contrary, it was as high as 69.75 per cent in Jammu. The people of Jammu province had a very little representation in the civil secretariat, the seat of power. According to the report, which the State Government presented to the Assembly on January 22, 2007, the number of employees from Kashmir, who were working in the civil secretariat, was three times that of Jammu. As for the cold-desert and far off Ladakh, it virtually had no representation in the civil secretariat. Its share was a paltry 12. In other words, the share of Ladakh was just 0.68 per cent.

As per the official report, the number of employees working in the civil secretariat was 1715. These include gazetted, non-gazetted and fourth class employees. The number of gazetted officers was 199. The share of Kashmir was 118 and that of Jammu 81. As for the number of non-gazetted officers, it was 1041 (767 from Kashmir and 274 from Jammu). The number of fourth class employees was 363. While the share of Kashmir was 256, the share of Jammu was 107.

In other words, the share of Jammu was nearly 44 per cent as far as the gazetted posts were concerned. The share of Kashmir was almost 56 per cent. As for the share of Jammu in non-gazetted positions in the civil secretariat, it was 26.23 per cent. In contrast, the share of Kashmir was 73.67 per cent. Likewise, the share of Jammu as far as the fourth class employees were concerned, it was 29.48 per cent, as against the Kashmir's 70.52 per cent.

That the youth of Jammu has not been given its due share in the employment sector can also be seen from other official figures. The figures from the employment exchanges located in the Kashmir's six districts show that they had till September 2006 registered 35,329 unemployed youth. The position in Jammu province was just the opposite. The Jammu province-based employment exchanges had registered as many as 63,613 unemployed youth. In other words, the number of unemployed youth in Jammu province in September 2006 was nearly two times that of

Kashmir.

As for the number of unemployed post-graduates in Kashmir, it was 2,474. Contrast to this, the number of such unemployed youth in Jammu province was 5,421. That means Jammu province had 2,997 more unemployed post-graduates as compared to Kashmir, including Leh and Kargil. Ladakh is part of Kashmir province administratively. As far as the number of unemployed post-graduates in Jammu district was concerned, it was 4,444. In Srinagar district, the number of unemployed post-graduates was only 605. That means the unemployed post-graduates in Jammu district were seven times more than those in Srinagar district. However, the number of unemployed graduates in Kashmir was slightly higher. While in Kashmir the number of unemployed registered graduates was 7786, it was 7250 in Jammu.

The story of neglect of the Jammu district-based technocrats was no less pathetic. There were 8,327 unemployed technocrats in Jammu district. In Srinagar district, the number was 1,511. That means the Jammu district had 7,826 more – over five times more – unemployed technocrats, as compared to Srinagar district. The region-wise break-up was: Jammu 11,861 and Kashmir 6,370 - a difference of 5,491 between the two provinces. Likewise, the total number of registered unemployed persons in Jammu district was 27,738. In Srinagar district, the number of such unemployed persons was 10,648. In other words, Jammu district had 17,090 more unemployed youth.

The situation continues to remain the same even today. The reason is that the State Government has not done anything in this regard during the past three years. With the result, the unemployed post-graduates and graduates and technocrats organize protest demonstrations at regular intervals in Jammu to attract the attention of the authorities so that they are absorbed in government service.

Disparity in wages

During the days of agitation, one of the issues several political and social groups raised was related to glaring disparities in the wages. They would repeatedly say that the life of the people of Jammu was not one of the political and economic aspirations and that it was just one of toil. They

would also say time and again that the people of Jammu were subjects, not citizens, or, at best, the third grade citizens, who were not entitled to those rights and privileges to which those belonging to the Valley entitled. It would be no exaggeration if someone says that the ruling coalition in the state had turned somewhat inhuman.

That the ruling coalition had turned highly discriminatory could be seen from the fact that everyone from Jammu, who was working with the Public Health Engineering (PHE) Department under the Community Participation Scheme (CPS), was getting a monthly wage of Rs.500, as against the monthly wage of Rs.2,100 his Kashmiri counterpart was getting. The PHE, Irrigation and Tourism Minister, Dilawar Mir acknowledged this glaring disparity or gross discrimination against the people of Jammu province while participating in a debate on the grants relating to his departments on January 27, 2007. It was during this debate that certain members belonging to the ruling coalition itself expressed their grave concern over the manner in which the State Government had been treating the people of Jammu province. One of the members even went to extent of asking: "Should the youth of Jammu take to the gun in order to obtain justice?"

When grilled, the said minister said that he needed a sum of Rs. 46 crores in order to meet the demand of the Jammu-based workers, who were working under the CPS. (Their number ran into thousands.) It also became clear from the discussion that the government had already paid full wages to such workers in Kashmir.

It needs to be recalled that the wages of the employees working under the CPS were the same throughout the state. Every worker was getting a monthly wage of Rs. 500. It was only in 2006 that the State Cabinet revised the wages of such employees. The decision was: Each employee working under the said scheme would get a monthly wage of Rs 2,100. It was indeed a good decision considering the prevailing price situation. The State Government did implement this decision but only partly. It was enforced in Kashmir alone, thus leaving such employees in Jammu high and dry. Their wages remain the same even today.

(To be continued)

By Prof. Hari Om

Jammu province, which is rich in green gold and natural resources, including water and mines, is the second largest region of the state after the trans-Himalayan Ladakh. It is basically a Dogra region. It houses almost half the state's population and occupies an area nearly two times that of Kashmir. Jammu region contributes to the state exchequer more than 70 per cent revenue every year. In spite of this, it is largely underdeveloped. The reason: The Kashmiri leadership has not only been exploiting since October 1947 the people of Jammu region and its natural resources to the hilt but also pursuing a policy designed to change the region's demography by facilitating the influx of ethnic Kashmiri Muslims in and around Jammu city and other Hindu-majority towns and erode the region's distinct identity and personality.

Paradoxically, the powers-that-be in New Delhi have not done anything whatever to rein in the Kashmiri leadership and make it pursue a policy that is based on the principle of justice and equity; that treats all the three regions of the state equally at all levels. On the contrary, they have given unbridled powers to the Kashmiri leadership and the result has been the emergence of a system which is rabidly anti-Jammu and anti-minorities.

It's no wonder then that the life of the people of Jammu region is highly pathetic. And, if they consistently complain both against New Delhi and the Kashmir's ruling elite and demand justice and fair play saying they have been reduced to a nullity for all practical purposes, it is something natural. Their complaints are as justifiable as they are well-founded. In this particular essay on the Jammu's miserable plight, I am not reflecting on the otherwise very crucial political aspect. I am only dealing with the people's complaints relating to developmental matters, unemployment, road connectivity, power generation, disparity in wages, admission policy, administrative units and so on in order to enable the esteemed readers of this

Response to Intifada

(From Page 1)

The to and fro-postures of Govt of Pakistan on the third option (independence) have been aimed at widening the space of Pakistan's manoeuvrability with separatists, Americans, the entrenched subversive class in India and facilitate cooperation between pro-Pak and pro-Independence groups operating in Jammu and Kashmir. At more subtle level Pakistan is aiming to deepen the ideological wedge between the National Conference and the Congress, the parties which are in alliance and running the government in the state.

NC's response to Pakistani postures has been on expected lines. Its MLA from Hazratbal constituency and the younger brother of NC patron Dr. Farooq Abdullah responded to Pakistani stance by stating, "Pakistan is now pleading for independent status for Jammu and Kashmir...It is a welcome step". Dr. Kamal referred to Late Sheikh Moh. Abdullah's interview given to London observer in 1948 in response to the establishment of UN Commission for India and Pakistan to play the role of mediator on Kashmir issue and claimed that Sheikh Abdullah had said then, 'the only viable option would be for Jammu and Kashmir to have a neutral status vis-a-vis both India and Pakistan. However because of ruptured politics within Jammu and Kashmir and given the diverse political, religious and ethnic affiliations within it, the sovereign and autonomous status of the state would need to be acknowledged and guaranteed not just by India and Pakistan but by the United Nations and the World Powers as well". During the incarceration of Sheikh as well as after his release right till his death NC had maintained that charges to sedition against him were false and fabricated.

Through Dr Kamal's response NC aims to claim a moral vindication for its politics which has vacillated between the stance of maximum autonomy and Independence over the years. Through the Kamal's posturing NC also has sought to preserve the space of deniability to ensure minimum strain on its alliance with the Congress party. Dr. Mustafa Kamal did seek an apology from Pakistan for the tribal raid in 1947 but its purpose seems less to embarrass Pakistan and more to placate Indian opinion. The sudden and open espousal of independence by one of the credible faces of Sheikh's family reminds one of the sudden release of Greater Autonomy report by NC in its previous tenure. That time Kathwari visit to India and his plan was the catalyst. This time it is perhaps the realisation of the widening support in Pakistani establishment for 'Independence'. Pakistan's foreign office spokesman while supporting independence option virtually recognised it as the dominant wish of the people of Kashmir.

Both the separatist establishment in Jammu and Kashmir and Govt. of Pakistan are building a core theme

which they hope would crystallise enough support from USA, Europe and more crucially within India for a change of status quo in Jammu and Kashmir. The features of this theme are that the separatist movement in Kashmir is purely an indigenous phenomenon; separatism in Kashmir is a mass movement which graduated into a violent phase in 1989-90 only after the failure of its non-violent phase; the movement has once again rediscovered its non-violent character through the present intifada providing a unique opportunity for peace; the democratic dispensation in the state is only a makeshift arrangement which is incapable of mitigating the injustice of Indian imperialism; separatists and Pakistan are open to all solutions of changing the status quo in Kashmir which includes greater autonomy, self-rule and even Independence; finding a solution as per the wishes of people of Kashmir will create a congenial atmosphere for defeating terrorism in the region and last but not the least as per Ms Lodhi 'tensions between the nuclear neighbours can easily be reignited by turmoil in the Valley. Paralysis in peace making and international apathy only heightens the danger in a volatile region that is poised at a tipping point".

Indian state is facing a serious predicament in its Kashmir policy. This predicament is mostly self created. Instead of contesting and exposing the regressive content of various variants of separatism in Kashmir, GoI has, over the years concentrated mostly in transforming its violent expressions into non-violent form. GoI has been more ill at ease only with the violence of separatists rather than their ideology. While doing so it conveyed implicitly as well as explicitly that it was violence which was taking the separatism towards a regressive manifestation. GoI never exerted itself to bring to the fore that the violence unleashed in the state was inevitable consequence of the regressive exclusivist content of separatism. When GoI started describing terrorism as militancy and terrorists as misguided youth it has been not merely a cosmetic or tactical ploy but reflected the outlook which guides its Kashmir policy. This outlook accords respectability to separatist cause.

The attitude of not contesting ideology of separatism is explained as a deft physiological intervention which seeks to minimise the affront to separatists mind with the hope of taming it. Gross distortions of Kashmir's history are allowed to be carried forward as gospel truths under the cover of this attitude. The separatist think-tank uses this space to project the blatant falsehoods like Kashmir being an unfinished agenda of partition, article 370 having a treaty status between two sovereign bodies namely constituent assembly of India and Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir which was eroded unilaterally by India absolving

Kashmiris of any obligation to respect accession, Kashmiris had signed only an instrument of accession and not instrument of merger and that is why Jammu and Kashmir is still not an indivisible part of Union of India, so on and so forth. Such falsehoods have sustained separatists consciousness. GoI instead of putting facts in correct perspective has sought to convey that Indian Constitutional organisation was flexible enough to even provide space for autonomies based on religious identity with only the sky as their limit. As the non-violent intifada unfolds in the Valley GoI is caught on the wrong foot. It has through its own outlook armed separatism with respectability and disarmed itself of legitimate and crucial arguments.

The predicament is not merely how to counter the thrust of a non-violent mass mobilisation. GoI is in fact face to face with a dangerous cocktail of non-violent Intifada and calibrated violent Jihad. Recent events in the state have shown that violence has not abated at all in intensity or sophistication. In the first week of August at least 18 militants, five troopers and two civilians were killed in Jammu and Kashmir in militancy related violence. Gun battles lasted for days forcing even the army chief to admit that militants 'have changed tactics'. With Pakistan seeming to succeed in convincing the world at large that it was distancing from sponsoring the terrorism in J&K and other parts of India, it continues to threaten the world that autonomous terrorists regimes may crystallise an event which can lead to a war between India and Pakistan. It stresses a solution to Kashmir problem as an imperative so that the present non-violent phase of separatist upsurge is not allowed to relapse into violence bedevilling peace in the region

Indian predicament only deepens the way it has allowed the elected democratic dispensations to be undermined by none other than the elected governments themselves. GoI facilitated PDP's emergence on a soft secessionist plank. It introduced fierce competitive secessionism between PDP and NC on the ground. When PDP lead government assumed reigns, its leader described the elected government as merely an interface between Pakistan, India and people of Jammu and Kashmir. Impression has been inculcated that elections are merely a makeshift arrangement for day to day requirements.

The presently ruling NC, taking a cue from PDP even before getting elected, described elections not a solution but only a day-to-day use arrangements. Hundreds of political workers have perished during the democratic mobilisation in the state during last one decade. When the world started recognising J&K elections as credible GoI allowed the governments, of which it was a partner, to undermine their own legitimacy and credibility by describing themselves as mere 'interfaces' or temporary arrangements. The entire democratic mobilisation against the blackmail of armed separatism was disowned by allowing

'Soft Secessionism' as a guiding principle of Governance.

Democracy in the state has assumed a form which seeks a reach beyond the Constitution of India. It has started ceasing to be an expression of sharing the sovereignty of India on a principal of equality. Instead GoI has allowed the democracy in the state to unleash assaults on the very sovereignty of India. We have now a government in the state whose front partner does not hesitate to support 'Independence' of the state. The separatism has a partner in the government which otherwise is expected to fight separatism.

Last but not the least the GoI has allowed segments of our own strategic community and track-2 diplomats to flirt with ideas of Independence of J&K or fully autonomous J&K. These ideas have been introduced from our side and the rationale provided has been that counterpoising these options would checkmate Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. With Pakistan giving clear indications of supporting both autonomy and Independence options GoI appears to have only checkmated its ownself.

The indulgence of a section of Indian State in promoting religious based identity politics in Jammu and Kashmir including the options of Greater Autonomy and Independence has not been always very subtle. It has been many times crude and ugly. During the IInd Round Table Conference on Kashmir organised at the behest of Dr. Manmohan Singh in Srinagar one of the delegates, the then MLA from Bandipora Sh Usman Majid, posed the following to the Prime Minister of India "Sir, you are witnessing the violence and shutdown in the Valley during this conference. Why was the Jamaat Chief Ali Shah Geelani released just a few days before this conference? If he was released why was he allowed to hold a rally near the airport itself? Who advised the government on this account? Do you know sir that the flags hoisted there were that of Lashkar-e-Toiba? Do you know sir what where the slogans which were raised there--Lashkar Aayee Lashkar aayee-Manmohan Ki Maut aayee, Lashkar-aayee, Lashkar aayee-Aazad Ki Maut Aayee" His posers forced some of us who were also delegates to the conference to ponder subsequently. We asked ourselves a question--was Geelani released to raise more radical noises outside to make us recognise that by comparison the 'self-rule' slogan of PDP and 'Greater Autonomy' slogan of NC, were moderate options and as such should command our support? was GoI itself promoting the ideas of 'self-rule' and 'greater autonomy'. During the entire mobilisation for the present intifada in Kashmir Jamaat and Dukhtaran-e-Millat cadres have been given a free hand last year as well as this year. There are very few persons who know that none other than former Pakistan Army Chief Mirza Aslam Beg is on record of saying that even Jamaat of Kashmir may support autonomy or independence.

The predicament which Indian state has built in its handling of Kashmir is gradually turning into a self goal for an ignominious defeat.

**(The author heads Panun Kashmir)*

Prakash : Objectivity Against False Consciousness

By Dileep Kumar Kaul

1. Lalded was a Shaivite Yogini. But towards the end of her life she had converted to Islam. Her grave has also been spotted. On seeing some Muslim Faqir she jumped into a baker's Tandoor.

2. Amarnath Shrine was discovered by a Muslim with the sir name Malik. That is why a part of the offerings at Amarnath still goes to the people of Malik family.

These two statements concern two very important Kashmiri Pandit community icons. Even those Kashmiri Pandits who have no knowledge of Kashmir Shaivism say that Kashmiri Pandits are Shaivites and Lalded also was a Shaivite. But they also quote some fake vakhs like '*Kalimay Porum tu Kalimay Sorum*' and feel that she might at least have some reverence for Islam. They even believe the story of her jumping into the Tandoor on seeing that Muslim Faqir though there is no evidence of it being true.

Who floates these stories? Certainly the politically dominant community—The Kashmiri Muslims. They dominated the political power and tried to distort different forms of knowledge to obscure them into a direction that benefited their interests. These beliefs were even internalized by the community whose icons were distorted i.e. the Kashmiri pandits and they too served the interests of the Kashmiri Muslims. Same thing happened with Amarnath shrine. Most of us believed that it was discovered by a Muslim and helped Kashmiri Muslims put on a secular facade. This continued even after we were thrown out of Kashmir. This is a clear case of **false consciousness**, a concept that concerns the relationship between power and knowledge and includes the premise that power distorts knowledge.

But this presupposes a knowledge which is free from power and hence objective. Power has a definite ideology behind it while as scientifically obtained knowledge is

objective. When the Kashmiri Muslims say that Lalded ultimately embraced Islam it clearly implies that Islam was the only true practice and her practice (Shaivism) was false. Same is the case with intrusion of Maliks in Amarnath matter. It is not giving the matter a secular face but implies that Maliks made the Amarnath known and before this it had no history. This means negating a sizeable part of our history in which Amarnath exists since sixth century A.D.



Thus, in front of us comes a system of constraints developed by the politically dominant Kashmiri Muslims. The total effect of these constraints acts as a comprehensive control system, and fixes boundaries within which one should act. We begin to doubt our community icons (Did lalded really convert to Islam? May be we Kashmiri Pandits may have become too corrupt!), our history is shortened (We were going to Amarnath since mid nineteenth century when Maliks discovered it). With the result our cultural mobility is lessened, our sense of personal pride is severely dented and we begin to live by the constraints created by the politically dominant class.

Sensing these dangers, Panun Kashmir launched a cultural initiative PRAKASH to promote Kashmiri arts, science and history. In its two programmes aimed at Lalded and Amarnath it successfully emphasized

objective knowledge instead of a knowledge steered by communal power, aimed at creating cultural constraints for our community. Prakash aims at countering false consciousness, was evident from its first programme on Lalded which was centered on a critique of a book **Lalded Meri Drishti Mein** written by Mrs. Bimla Raina. The critique was writtefn by Prof. M.L. Kaul. Mrs. Raina, keeping all the rules of textual criticism at bay, had distorted some vakhs of Lalded to such a horrible

Amarnath from history which dated back to 6th century A.D. it showed the effect of false consciousness. Nobody till now had dared to come forward with truth though many would have known it. Some would have done so on the premise that let secularism remain. But this was again serving the interests of the dominant Muslim community. The story of Malik's discovery of Amarnath has been repeated by media and politicians off and on to keep alive the secular façade and in the process the plight of exiled Kashmiri Pandit community has been forgotten. But that is not the question here. It is the question of the consciousness of the whole world that lives in peace with this story of Maliks. By exposing the distortions and establishing the truth Prakash has ensured the mobility of the culture of whole humanity.

Prakash aims at helping such a humanistic culture flourish that has least constraints and more mobility. Some constraints are, of course, necessary. We cannot hurt or kill at will. That is direct, visible violence. Prakash has the objective of countering those structures of violence that were created ideologically and culturally and the sphere of life of other people was heavily constrained. This also underlines the fact that Kashmiri pandits were thrown out through direct violence, but a whole framework of structural violence in form of above mentioned and other distortions still exist and through these an invisible hurt is inflicted.

Prakash is there to counter this structural violence. These elements of structural violence act as dangerous constraints and as their weight builds up the man may turn towards direct violence. When structural violence is countered as Prakash is doing, man feels more mobile and free, violence is lessened and there can be no better contribution towards peace.

**(The author is a poet and a prolific writer.)*

Militant Training Camps in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir: An Existential Threat

Priyanka Singh

Investigations into Mumbai's 26/11 attack made startling revelations about the militant training camps in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). The Mumbai perpetrators started from Baitul-Mujahideen in Muzaffarabad, the capital of the so-called 'Azad Kashmir', and headed for Mumbai via Karachi. They underwent specialized training in PoK for an extended period before the attack.

Over the years, PoK has become a safe haven not only

for terrorists operating in Kashmir but also for those linked with international terror outfits like Al Qaeda. At least 55 training camps are said to be located in the region and their cadres number close to 5,000. The proximity of these camps to Kashmir and the terrain of the region make infiltration much more convenient especially during summers. Muzaffarabad and Kotli are known epicentres of such camps and dreaded militant organizations such as Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) and Hizbul Mujahideen have their operational headquarters

there. Terrorist camps are noted to be widespread in Bhimber, Bakryal, Balakot, Chawari, Kotli, and Mangla. Lashkar has two camps in Muzaffarabad -Abdul-Bin-

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Masud and Danna. Hizbul has one in Muzaffarabad and the other in Mangla. Jaish-e-Mohammed also has a strong foothold in the region even though it operates chiefly from Balakot (North West Frontier Province).

The Chief of Hizbul

Mujahideen, Syed Salahudin, led a procession in Muzaffarabad in early September 2008 which shouted anti-India slogans. The audacious act in PoK from one of the deadliest Kashmiri terrorist groups in a way reiterated Pakistan's support for Kashmir militancy.

There are reports that these terrorist camps recruit women cadres to deceive the Indian security forces as they pass off as locals. The tactic was adopted after the Indian forces foiled a number of infiltration attempts by these groups. The women cadres undergo tough

training in the handling of arms and guerrilla warfare in the Bhimber and Kotli camps in PoK.

Pakistan has always denied the existence of militant training camps in PoK. The situation became paradoxical when soon after the Mumbai attacks, under mounting international pressure, Pakistani authorities sealed the Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) offices in Muzaffarabad and arrested the Lashkar chief Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi from there.

The region, ravaged by a
(Contd. on Page 13)

By S.M. Pandit

JAMMU, Aug 4, 2009: On the eve of Shravan Purnima and Raksha Bandhan, Panun Kashmir organised a programme on "Amarnath Shrine and Pilgrimage" under the banner of PRAKASH. The programme organised at Press Club Banquet Hall Jammu was presided over by Prof. B.L. Fotedar, Chairman of PRAKASH. The programme was organised to present the Amarnath pilgrimage in right perspective and contest the distortions and concoctions aimed at negating the history of the Shrine and axing the civilisational connectivity of Kashmir with the rest of India. A book on the pilgrimage, the Amarnath Pilgrimage—History and Facts by Prof. Mohan Lal Koul was released on the occasion.

Mr MM Munshi presented a paper and slide show and one more paper was presented by Maj. Yoginder Kandhari (Retd) on the subject.

The booklet the Amarnath Pilgrimage—History and Facts by Prof. M.L. Koul has traced the course of history of the pilgrimage. Prof Koul, who has authored many books and is a prolific writer, has extensively referred to historical and mythological records to substantiate his point of view and contest all those machinations that are aimed at distorting the history about the pilgrimage.

Prof. Koul has referred to Bringesh Samhita, Amarnath Mahatmya, Nilmat Puran, Rajtrangani of Kalhan, Jonraja, Shrivara and Shuka Pandit and other valuable records that have documented the Amarnath Pilgrimage.

Describing the worship of Shiva Lingam a very popular religious practice in Kashmir, Prof. Koul refers to monumental work of Kalhana's Rajtarangini as "Vateshwar" an ancient Shiva Lingam, was worshipped even in his life time.

Referring to Kirpa Ram Dutt and Holy Cave of Amarnath, Prof. M.L. Koul says that Pandits were subjected to



Sh. M.M. Munshi.

PK programme on Amarnath Distortions



(L) A view of the audience (R) Prof, Hari Om, Sh. B.L.Fotedar, Prof. M.L. Koul, Sh. M.M. Munshi & Dr. Ajay Chrungoo during the release of booklet Amarnath Pilgrimage-History & Facts. Photo P.N. Raina

worst persecution and torture for their conversion to Islam by Iftikhar Khan at the behest of Aurangzeb. The Pandits, under the astute leadership of Kripa Ram Dutt, a known Shaivite Scholar, met at the Holy Cave of Amarnath to devise a workable strategy to meet the challenge. One of the Pandits at the Holy Cave had vision of Shiva in his dream directing him to call on Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-75 AD) and subsequently a delegation of five hunder Pandits led by Kirpa Ram Dutta went to Guru Teg Bahadur, whose sacrifice saved Pandits from persecution and conversion, Prof. Koul has also referred to Guru Arjan Dev Ji Mahajaraj (1563-1606 AD) who granted land in Amritsar for the ceremonial departure of Chhari, the holy mace of Lord Shiva.

The audience had the bliss of Lord Shiva as Mr MM Munshi presented his paper and the slide show taking them on the pilgrimage. Mr MM Munshi, retired Deputy Director Geological Survey of India who extensively worked on the Amarnath Yatra, presented paper "The Holy Cave Shrine of Amarnathji—Tirtha of Amreshvara". Like Prof. ML Koul has also referred to the historical books and records to trace the origin of the Amreshvara. The paper deals with the legend, history, physiography and routes of the pilgrimage.

Mr Munshi contests the so-called rediscovery of the shrine of Maliks and Parvez Dewans theory about Hapatgund being the base camp for pilgrimage. Mr Munshi describes

Amreshvara as the only Ice Linga in the whole world that has been visited and worshipped since early historic if not prehistoric time. There is conclusive evidence that pilgrims were regularly proceeding to the cave via Sheshnag, Panjtarni during the middle of 12th Century, the 15th century and the shrine was well known during the rule of Mughals i.e. 17th Century. There is no evidence to prove that the Amarnath Cave was lost for thousands or hundreds of years until it was rediscovered by Maliks of Batkut by 1600 or 1750-75 AD.

Major Yoginder Kandhari (retd) presented his paper titled Annual Amarnathji Yatra: A Fact Sheet. The paper deals with the conduct of the Yatra and profile of controversies with regards to the conduct of the pilgrimage. The paper is based on the experience and observations of the author as he had been associated with the Yatra for last three-four years. Mr. Kandhari's paper deals with the impediments in the efficient functioning of SASB, the myth above environmental concerns and suggestions to the Shrine Board to make Yatra comfortable for one-and-all the concerned.

Mr Kandhari has described attitude of local politicians, business community and local administration as the main impediments in efficient functioning of the SASB.

Ruing commercial exploitation of the Yatries, Major Kandhari has suggested the Shrine Board to stand its ground and issue Exhaustive Information Brochure, fix rates

in advance, stop outsourcing of the services, improve medical facilities and reorganise SASB and its Central office for the convenience of the pilgrims.

Speaking on the occasion, Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir said that it is a very apt decision of Prakash to organise its second seminar on the distortions regarding pilgrimage to Amarnath Cave and organised its first seminar on the distortions of legacy of Lal Ded who is a most important cultural symbol locally. Dr Chrungoo said, "Amarnath Pilgrimage is a cultural symbol having Pan Indian appeal, Both symbols emanate from the Shaivite consciousness which has pervaded Kashmir."

The Panun Kashmir Chairman asked that we should be cautious about those who preach that past has no relevance and remembrance of experience is only regressive. The famous holocaust expert Eli Weasel has said that Memory is a shield and forgetfulness is death of civilisation and culture. "Kashmiri Pandits have

to preserve the memory of its past basic-asset" implored Dr. Chrungoo.

Dr. Chrungoo exhorted,

"The war of distortion of the Hindus has to be defeated as the most crucial aspect of our endeavour to preserve civilisation".

Delivering his presidential address, Prof BL Fotedar, convenor PRAKASH described PRAKASH a socio-cultural initiative launched by Panun Kashmir to dispel the darkness created by distortions of the history of Kashmir and its contribution to world civilisation. He said that it is an initiative to act as a catalyst to promote creativity in the fields of literature, art and history: Prof. Fotedar said that an academic effort is a foot to negate the fact of Kashmir being integral to the civilisation continuum of India and our effort is to contest there attempts based on logic reason and facts. He described the programme an attempt in the direction.

**(The author is a Known Writer)*



Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Prof. ML Koul, Prof. BL Fotedar, Sh. MM Munshi & Prof. Hari Om sharing the dias.

KASHMIRI PANDIT LEADERSHIP CONCLAVE

Promote Unity Of Perception And Not Unity of Heads.....

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug 2, 2009: As a follow-up to the community meet programme of July 12, 2009, Panun Kashmir organised a one day conclave of Kashmiri Pandit leadership at India International Centre at New Delhi. The programme consisted of two sessions. The first session debated and discussed the community politics and programmes.

The participants openly put forward their opinions and suggested various measures in further consolidating the only community's political goal of Panun Kashmir. All the participants were of serious concern about the delinking of terrorism from Indo-Pak dialogue and unanimously urged upon Govt. of India to desist from such moves. Dr. Ajay Chrungoo while responding to certain queries during the meet exhaustively elaborated the role of Panun Kashmir in upholding the exiled community's honour, dignity, and politics. He said that Panun Kashmir has been instrumental in creating a situation where Kashmiri Pandit, once virtually forgotten and blatantly ignored has become the Central figure of Jammu and Kashmir politics. He thanked and appreciated the community and said that it was possible because of the untiring effort and struggle of the community.

He urged upon the participants that the time has come where it is important to emphasize, encourage and promote the concept of "Unity of perception and not Unity of Heads". He further impressed that since all the participants represented the community in various foras and organisations, they need to communicate this perception and make people understand this. "Ignoring this vital aspect in our struggle for survival is building an inertia for non-functioning and an easy escape for non-accountability," remarked Dr Ajay. He said that it is high time when community has to discourage the vaccinating leadership/organisation, to give more fillip to the community struggle in positive way. Dr L.N. Dhar President Kashmiri Samiti Delhi, during his presentation said that the community's all efforts should be focused in only one direction and that is the demand of Homeland for 7 lakh displaced Kashmir Hindus in the Valley of Kashmir. He said it is ripetime and each and every KP organisation where ever it is, besides their day to day activity should focus move on educating the community members about PK goals.

The programme was organised under the able guidance of Dr. Shakti Bhan, Sh. Vijay Tickoo and Sh. Kanwal Wangnoo. Besides the activists of Panun Kashmir from NCR Delhi others who participated were Sh Kundan Kashmiri, General Secretary, ASKPC, Sh. A.K. Kaul, President KPS; Vashali, Sh. Vijay Aima, President Kasyap Kashmir Sabha, Gurgaon; Sh. Rakesh Pandita President KPS, Jain Nagar; Sh. A.Zutshi, President KPS, Shalimar Garden; Sh.Rajesh Langer, President Millchar; Sh Pamposh, President Displaced Traders Association; Sh. Rakesh Kaul ,General Secretary, Kashmiri Samiti Delhi; Sh. Sanjeev Raina (Gautam) Kashmiri Sabha, Ashoka Enclave Faridabad, Sh, Anil Dhar, KSS Faridabad; Sh, Ashok Raina, Harmukh Vipin Garden; Sh. Ashok Kalla, K Sabha, Nagafgarh; Sh. A.K. Dhar, Kashmiri Sabha, Satisar, Dawarika; Sh B.L. Bhat, President K o s h u r Milsar Committee, New Palam Vihar, Sh. S.K. Ambardar Advocate Supreme Curt of India, Prof. M.L. Raina, Dr. S.S. Toshkhani Capt S.K. Tickoo, Sh. R.N. Naqib, Vijay Bhat, Chandjee Pandita, Sanjay Dhar, Puran Munshi and many others.

Mr Raj Raina as usual was busy in catching the different modes of meet on camera.

The second session of the meet was precisely devoted to the present situation in Jammu and Kashmir state and the response of Govt. of India. The session was chaired by Sh. G.Parthasarthy former Indian Ambassador to Pakistan. Sh.Ajit Dovel former CBI Chief and Sh. Govind Acharya were also scheduled to join the meet but could not do so because of some personal reasons.

Sh. Parthasarthy made a 45 minute presentation on Indo-Pak diplomacy/dialogue with specific reference to Jammu and Kashmir.

He enlightened the audience about the dangers of the new proposition put forward by Govt. of India like delinking of terror with dialogue.

Photo Feature

By Raj Raina



KS Correspondent

JAMMU, July 21, 2009: Panun Kashmir has expressed great concern over the delinking of action against terrorism from Indo-Pak dialogue as the decision amounts to legitimising terrorism and perpetuation of Jihad against India at a time when Pakistan's outlook about India has come under scanner. Referring to the reported settlement on the Kashmir issue, the organisation has asked Prime Minister to tell the nation whether the so-called settlement has the concurrence of the Union Cabinet, Parliament and has been discussed with the mainstream political parties of the country.

Addressing a press conference, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that the decision of government of India to delink the action against terrorism from Indo-Pak dialogue has come at a time when a dangerous cocktail of militant Jihad and intifada has emerged in Kashmir Valley and Indian Sovereignty on Kashmir is being lampooned and put to ridicule with impunity. Questioning the rationale behind the decision, Dr Chrungoo said that the decision has once again legitimised terrorism and perpetuation of Jihad against India at a time when Pakistan's outlook about India had come under critical scanner and the decision will help, Pakistan to preserve its Kashmir policy to the detriment of only Indian integrity and interests.

Panun Kashmir Chairman said that in the aftermath of Mumbai attack natural

Delinking talks from terror amounts to legitimising Jihad

consensus reflected that there will be concrete policy to fight the terrorism but the current decision has only provided oxygen to the Jehadi war. He said the government stand betrays lack of commitment to

reportedly kept out of the negotiations.

Referring to the reported some sort of final settlement on the Kashmir issue, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that the situation has assumed a highly

Panun Kashmir leader described the acceptance of so-called settlement as acceptance of a variant of Dixon Plan and dejure Muslim state. "If what former President of Pakistan has revealed, are the contours

Questioning the logic of non-territorial settlement Dr. Chrungoo opined that if India concedes anything in the areas which fall in the realm of the interests of its ideology of secular nation building and civilisational then territorial integrity will be jeopardised. "It is our firm conviction that a nation which cannot protect its national outlook and civilisational interests eventually concedes its territory", he added.

The Panun Kashmir leader appealed Prime Minister to set all the serious doubts about Indo-Pak peace process to rest and reassure the nation about the commitment of the government of India to project the integrity, sovereignty and ideology of Indian nation.

Describing the creation of Panun Kashmir to the North and East of river Jhelum an imperative not only for the survival of Kashmiri Hindu but also for integrity of the country, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that Panun Kashmir is opposed to the concept of porous border and rejects, the Dixon plan and its variants like greater autonomy, self rule or Musharaff formula.

President AKPSC Sh. O.N. Trisal, Chairman PK Advisory Prof. M.K. Teng and PK General Secretary Mr. Kuldeep Raina were also present in the press conference.



Panun Kashmir leaders addressing media persons at Jammu.

fight the scourge of terrorism and reminds of the Vajpayee's statement on board bus to Pakistan in late 90's that peace process will continue when his attention was drawn to the gruesome massacre of Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir. The PK leader said that Prime Minister owes an explanation to the nation as the Union Foreign Minister has expressed surprise and the secretary who looks after Pakistan and Afghanistan in the ministry had been

demoralising import and asked, "Does this so-called settlement has the concurrence of the Union Cabinet and the Parliament of India? Has its contours been ever discussed and deliberated upon amongst mainstream political parties and put before the nation?" Dr. Chrungoo described it a shame that anybody and everybody of consequence in Pakistan seems to be knowing about the contours of this so-called settlement except the people of India.

of this settlement, then it is easy to infer that India has eventually accepted a variant of Dixon formula to divide Jammu and Kashmir along the Chenab. If it is true, it means that those at the helm have now agreed to a dejure Muslim state or states on the territory of India," he said. Dr. Chrungoo added that Kashmir should not be addressed as a Muslim question and if Kashmiris settled as such, India cannot be saved.

Ancient idol of Ashtadash Bhujia stolen from Parna Chingam, Distt. Kishtwar

KS Correspondent

A copy of the memorandum addressed to Hon'ble Chief Minister Sh. Omar Abdullah dated 22/7/2009 sent by Sh. R.K. Shan Vice-President Sanatan Sabha, Kishtwar received by Kashmir Sentinel reveals that the ancient idol of Ashtadash Bhujia Mata (18 armed Devi) made of rare black stone at Parna (Chingam) district Kishtwar was stolen on the intervening night of 4th & 5th December 2008. Consequently a case was registered with the police stations of Chhatroo and Kishtwar and enquiry started. Some suspects were held up for questioning but were simultaneously released on the alleged intervention of some political heavy weights, who did not want to get the election process disturbed by these arrests. The people resorted to protest but they were si-

lenced by the administration on the plea that the idol will be recovered soon after the elections to the state Assembly are concluded. After the new Govt headed by your worthyself was formed, the police continued to go on slow on this sensitive matter. Soon after elections

News

to the Parliament followed and this was another tool in the hands of the administration to put up lame excuses before the people. Parliamentary elections, too, concluded successfully and there is yet no sign on the part of the administration and the police to take, seriously, effective steps to recover the stolen idol. People suspect some hidden political pressure on the administration and the police to go slow with this sensitive matter. The result is that the people have

been left high and dry and a strong wave of resentment and anger is brewing among the Hindu population of Kishtwar.

When contacted Mr. Shan said that the people of this area are religiously and sentimentally attached to this place. The people around this area would perform various religious functions like Mundan Sanskar (first hair cut) of the newly born babies in the month of July every year at this place. He further said that people have exhausted their patience now and are ready to go to any extent if the idol is not recovered in near future.

The memorandum urged up the Chief Minister to personally intervene in this matter at the earliest further delay in recovery of the idol may lead to mass agitation Mr. Shan added.



The file photo of stolen idol.

Reproduced here are the excerpts of the comments and observation of Accounts Review Committee of Hindu Education Society Kashmir (HESK) as set up in the Annual General Meeting of HESK on 29th March 2009.

Review of Accounts of Hindu Education Society Kashmir, (HESK) for the financial years 2003-04 to 2007-08 by the Accounts Review Committee, as constituted by the General Body of HESK in its General meeting held on 29/03/2009.

Background of and reasons for Constituting the Accounts Review Committee:

Management of Hindu Education Society Kashmir, being referred to as HESK, was taken over by a team led by Sh. A. K. Dewani, in year 2000.....

.....Passage of time, after year 2000, reveals and puts on record the character of the new management as far as keeping the Members (un) informed about the working of the Society, particularly with regard to preparation, presentation and audit of its accounts.

.....The Members kept on demanding presentation of annual accounts and the audit Reports thereon and kept expressing their concerns about unlawful and unjustified holding up of the accounts for long and indefinite length of time. The management continued to ignore the genuine concerns of the Members regarding the accounts of the Society in order to avoid monitoring and regulating its activities by the Members.

After totally ignoring the accounts up to 2000 (pre take over period) and those from 2000 to 2003, the Statements of Account and the so called Audit Reports for 5 years 2003-04 to 2007-08 were placed before the Annual General Council Meeting convened for the purpose and held on as late as 11th Jan.2009, to approve and adopt the same.....

.....The Members were persuaded, in an unabashed manner, to approve and adopt the Accounts and the Audit Reports for the said 5 year, there and then on spot without giving them any time to even go through the bunch of material. Persistent attempts were made to push through the *accounts* and the audit reports for approval by the members even before the Members could even read the same.....

.....The inconclusive meeting of 11th Jan. 2009 was reconvened on 29th March 2009, along with another meeting

fixed for the same day for discussing and according approval of budget for 2009-10. Fixing up the two meetings for the same day had the purpose of cramping up the agenda so that the Members are left with very little or no time for discussion and detail relating to the accounts.....

.....The Members present in the meeting, some of whom with good knowledge of accounts and auditing, tried to reason out with the President and the Member Finance (EB) and explained, by turns, at length, the serious and far reaching failings in the Statements of account and in the performance of the so called audit, as indicted by the superficiality of the audit reports. It was amply clearly explained to the management that owing to the reasons explained by some members in writing as well as verbally, the accounts presented and the audit reports thereon cannot be accepted in the given form. The accounts were put to vote to be adopted by the Members. **The Members, unanimously rejected the accounts and the audit reports for the five years from 2003-04 to 2007-08.....**

.....After unanimously rejecting the Accounts and the Audit Reports, the Members resolved to and appointed an "Account! Review Committee" to highlight failings and shortcomings in the accounts as presented to the Members for the years 2003-04 to 2007-08 so that the necessary changes and rectifications are carried out in the respective years and so that the accounts relating to each year, read together with the notes and qualifications thereon, gives a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society.

The minutes of the said General Meeting held on 29.03.2009 signed and issued by the Member Finance give a distorted and incomplete version of the proceedings of the meeting in order to suit his and the management's mala-fide intentions.

The fact that the Member Finance was reprimanded by the Members present for showing utter disregard and disrespect to them and for passing unparliamentary remarks against them and that he was allowed to proceed only after he tendered an unconditional

apology to the Member present does not find any mention in the minutes. The fact that the Member Finance as well as the President offered their resignation and virtually stepped down from their respective positions, after failing to convince the Members present on the defects and shortcomings in the accounts, has not been recorded. Whereas during course of the meeting, the Members nominated on the Accounts Review Committee were CA M. L. Sarup, CA M. K. Kaul, Prof. H. L. Bhat and Prof. Sunil Tiku, yet in the distorted version of the minutes of the meeting the name of CA M K Kaul has been left out. The brief for the Accounts Review Committee as mentioned in the minutes is also totally distorted. The fact that the Accounts Review Committee was born out of the rejection of the accounts and was entrusted with the task of 'reviewing' the accounts for the said years so that the same are brought to a level where the same can be accepted by the Members, has not been brought out. The Committee was not constituted for recommending changes in systems and procedures to be carried out in future years or for recommending changes and adjustments to be carried out in future years so that accounts of earlier years stand taken care of. It has to be appreciated that changes required in or relating to a particular year have to be carried out in the concerned year only.

Without going into competency of the Member Finance to sign and issue the minutes of an Annual General Body Meeting (even an adjourned one) and validity of such minutes, several glaring distortions in the minutes issued by him reveal absence of fair-play and fair mind and existence of vested interests.

The Accounts and Audit
i) Accounts and Audit for the initial years of the present management viz. 2000-03 and prior to 2000.

After taking over in the year 2000, the present management assumed responsibility for not only the accounts for years 2000 onwards but also has taken upon itself the responsibility of preparing and presenting and reporting upon the state of affairs of the accounts relating to period prior to its take-over.

However, the Management has chosen just five years, by its own choice and convenience, viz. 2003-04 to 2007-08, for which the Statements of account have been prepared and presented to the Members, in a lump, as late as on 11th Jan 2009. The accounts for three years from 2000-01 to 2002-03, being the initial years of its own tenure of the present management and for the period prior to 2000 have been completely ignored or withheld.....

.....The fact of the matter is that the accounts for 2000-03 and for some of the periods prior to 2000 are available with the management but for reasons best known to the management the audit thereof has not been got completed ' and same have not been presented to the Members so far. It is also learnt that the Management has apprehensions of exposure of sorts in placing before the Members the accounts for period prior to 2003 or has some other axe to grind.....

.....The failure of the successive E. Bs to present the accounts so far is their failure and they must feel and take the responsibility for the same. Holding back the accounts of the Society for the initial years and for period earlier to that from the members, so far, is suspected to be a part of a bigger game plan to provide as long a rope as possible to escape to those who may have indulged in some kind of malpractice....

"The EB has stopped talking about accounts for 2000-01 to 2002-03 and about audit thereof. Under the present scenario it appears that the E.B. has already prepared its mind to write off the accounts from 2000-01 to 2002-03, the same way in which it has presided over the liquidation and foreclosure of similar situation of accounts and finances prevailing during the period prior to 2000-01. It is now only preparing ground to do so.....

....While replying to the written comments on the accounts sought from the members, the present Member Finance and the President simply ignored and by-passed the above comments of the hon'ble member, which sum up as well as speak volumes about the working of the persons at the helm.

ii) Misappropriation of Funds of the Society

A glimpse of miss-management and miss-appropriation of funds in the earlier years is

clearly reflected in the unsigned Report presented to the General Body of HESK in their meeting held in August 2007 wherein only the provisional Accounts of the period 2002 to 2007 were presented without authentication or signatures of office bearers of the Society and in which a submission was made to the General Body to write off an Amount of Rs. 16,99,484/ under the head suspense Account (read Sh. H. K. Sopori) as follows:

Suspense A/c H.K. Sopori.
Rs. 2, 50,557.00
Unauthorized withdraws
Rs 6,00,695.00
Suspense Account
Rs. 3, 58,232.00
Suspense A/c
Rs. 4, 90,000.00
TOTAL Rs. 16, 99,484.00

Enquiry after enquiry was conducted into the matter. In one of enquiries the present Member Finance was actively involved. Each and every enquiry including the one conducted by the Member Finance (the then Auditor) confirmed the fact of miss-appropriation through and by Ex Accountant Sh. Sopori. The President, exuding some personal interest in Mr. Sopori, who was not only representing himself in the scandal but overtly as well as covertly the old management subsisting till year 2000 as well, tried his best to shield and absolve Mr. Sopori.....

Enough delay has already been caused in presentation of the accounts up r.o 31.3.2003 and the audit thereof, including those relating to the period prior to year 2000. Sanctity of the accounts stands lost. The credibility of the management has taken a great hit and has become suspect. Even at this stage, presentation of the accounts after subjecting the same a genuine audit may help the management to retrieve a bit of its position. The abandoned audit for the said years, has got to be resumed and completed in a *bona fide* manner.

The matter cannot be just wished away.

iii) Statements of Accounts for years 2003-08

The Accounts Review Committee has not been able to carry out a detailed examination of the accounts for the year 2003-08 due to lack of positive approach of the concerned at the helm of the finances, though the same is warranted in view of the game

(Contd. on Page 13)

Reproduced here is Report of ARC of HESK.....

(From Page 12)

of hide and seek being played by the management. However, the Committee is of considered view that keeping in view the following observations and for such reasons, the Statements of Account for the years 2003-04 to 2007-08, as prepared and presented to the Members do not state true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as prevailing on various dates of the Balance Sheets and the of Income & Expenditure Accounts for various years.

1. Complete and correct Accounts relating to any year, in case of a running institution or a going concern, must positively relate with the accounts for the preceding year(s) and in certain situations with the accounts for the succeeding year(s) as well. The management of the Society has by itself and by its own choice chosen last five years for preparation and presentation of the accounts of the Society and have completely ignored the years prior to 2003.

2. The Executive Body of the Society has failed to get the Society registered U/s 12A of Income Tax Act.

Besides, in case of the College of Education it has also failed to obtain approval of the Chief Commissioner of Income Tax Amritsar U/s 10 (23) (c) (vi) of Income Tax Act, till date. Consequently, the Society is not entitled to any Income Tax exemption, at least not with retrospective effect. The net earnings of the Society as well as earnings of its various units like the College of Education is bound to suffer not only Income Tax but also interest and penalties for not complying with the tax laws in time. On conservative estimates, the Society is exposed to a tax demand of over Rs. One Crore.....

3. The accounts and the audit do not carry any assurance that the funds of the Society have been utilized for the specified objects of the Society as laid down in its constitution by its founders which reads as " Propagating liberal education in consonance with the ideals of Hindu religion and culture amongst inhabitants of Kashmir in particular for the Educational Development of the Children of our Community. No such activity has been started by the Society till date." There is reason to believe that bulk of the activities carried out by the Society are not as per the objects specified in its constitution. Accordingly, whole or part of the expenditure is on

unconstitutional activities and therefore not acceptable. The auditors have not considered this issue and needs to be taken care of.

4. Significant Accounting Policies adopted by the Society in framing the Statement of Account have not been revealed or stated anywhere. There is no mention anywhere regarding the Method of Accounting employed or the norms of income recognition and the assets evaluation which is a necessary requirement for proper reading and understanding of the accounts. Apparently, no standard method has been employed.

5. Expenses shown in the yearly Income and Expenditure Accounts appear to be also including some expenditure relating to some of the preceding year(s). No proper distinction between capital and revenue has been made.

6. Provision for liability in respect of each year for future payment of Gratuity to staff, which is mandatory, in terms of Accounting Standard 15, has not been made, by way of making a charge on the revenue of the Society for each respective year. Also total Liability on account of Staff Gratuity due at the end of each year has not been evaluated and reflected in the Balance Sheet. Making investments in the Gratuity Fund with the LIC does not amount to reflecting the overall liability on account of Gratuity....

7. The Single biggest item of asset, as shown in the Balance Sheets is **INTER UNIT ACCOUNT (Srinagar)** with balance of Rs. 3,16,15,512/- as on 31.3.2004 and the balance is shown increasing thereafter. There is no comment or clarification regarding this asset from either the management or the auditors with regard to its nature, method of evaluation, recovery status and prospects, and its age etc. The same is left to the imagination of the Members and the readers of the Statements of Account. It is learnt (unconfirmed though) that broadly this amount constitutes payments made to GMC Srinagar staff working at Jammu, in anticipation of receipt of grant in aid from J & K Govt. It is also learnt that part or whole of the amounts have since been received and not credited or reduced from this outstanding amount. The receipts have directly been credited to the Capital Fund A/c, thus inflating the assets on the one hand and

the Capital Fund on the other hand. The position should have been clarified by the management or the auditors. In any case, status of reconciliation of the accounts with the Srinagar Unit and confirmation of balance being shown outstanding against the unit has not been talked about in the audit Report or in the Notes on Accounts.

8. The first of the 5 years viz. 2003-04 has been started with a Capital Fund Balance of Rs 5,41,00,493/-. In absence of any authentic back up statement of account for the immediately preceding year, it was imperative for the management as well as the auditors to explain as to how this figure has been arrived at and also explain its make up...

9. Large number of items of expenditure, both revenue and capital, have been found exceeding the corresponding budget provisions. The management has never ever

reported such excessive expenditure items to the General Council and has never sought and obtained additional budget provisions or post facto approval for the same. Accordingly, such expenditure is unauthorized and necessary action in the matter needs to be taken.

10. The E.B. Members have been found to be rewarding themselves in the form of Honorarium with a raise from time to time besides enjoying other facilities and perquisites like free telephone, traveling conveyance and reimbursements of other expenses as stated in the statements of account and as confirmed by the incumbent Member Finance. While on the one hand the Management has been taking high moral ground of rendering honorary services to the Society yet on the other hand has been drawing monies from the funds of the Society

without seeking approval of or even informing the General Council. Interestingly, the E.B. has never thought it fit to make suitable provision for the same in the budget of the Society from year to year lest the same becomes conspicuous. Under these circumstances these payments are unauthorized and nothing short of miss-appropriation....

11. The format in which the Statements of Account for the said five years have been presented is not in conformity with the generally accepted format or on the one prescribed by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, the supreme statutory accounting body in the country, in case of educational institutions or the one adopted by EB in 2001. They also do not conform to various other statutory requirements. Besides, as required, these statements of account do not reveal the working results of each activity of the Society. They have also been presented in such a way where they do not lend themselves to any comparison with the budgetary provisions and deviation there from, if any. It is not lack of any insignificant cosmetic presentation in the Statements of accounts, as held by the President and Member Finance of the Society, but it shows lack of statutory requirements and the conventions generally followed in preparation and presentation of accounts in the interests of clarity and transparency.

12. There are other numerous items requiring necessary adjustments in the respective years. Whereas a detailed examination was neither offered to be carried out nor is it thought necessary at this stage yet several items have emerged crying for necessary adjustments in the respective years. The same are listed separately in the Annexure annexed.

Militant Training Camps in Pakistan- Occupied Kashmir: An Existential Threat

(From Page 8)

devastating earthquake in 2005, is yet to recover from the colossal damage. Some of the training camps were said to be significantly damaged. Soon after, LeT, which was banned both by Pakistan and the United States, reincarnated as JuD with social manifestations especially in PoK. JuD gained strong ground amongst the locals with its socio-welfare manoeuvres as earthquake relief. It not only provided medical aid to the affected, but also sent essential supplies to far-flung villages cut off from the mainland due to the massive quake. Ever since, these groups conduct their training and operations under social camouflage, running schools and hospitals.

Aid worth billions has poured into PoK from nations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) across the globe, but with little impact. There are thousands who still live in tents. More than 70,000 people have fled the area hoping for a better life. The pace of rehabilitation is evident from the estimates which state that out of 1,500 dwellings reported damaged, only 450 have been partially reconstructed. These figures point to gross irregularities prevailing in the system there.

The proliferation of militant camps in PoK could also be attributed to the absence of socio-economic development. These clandestine activities thrive on the small economic incentives which the terrorist groups provide to lure the people. An appalling fact that emerged during the interrogation of Mohammad Ajmal Amir Kasab, the lone surviving terrorist of the Mumbai carnage, is that his family, which is very poor, was given Rs 1 lakh in exchange for his inclusion in the group. Militants in training camps are paid as little as Rs 1,000 a month along with food and clothing.

Problems in PoK are multi-dimensional - there is poverty, unemployment, and an acute sense of alienation amongst the people. Most significantly, there is a lack of political will in Pakistan for the betterment of PoK. The region has been under Pakistan's control for over 60 years but successive establishments have not cared for its socio-political and economic development. There is a titular political structure which is totally ineffective. People have endless grievances against the system and they demand basic political and economic rights. Militant groups have tapped the sentiment to fully establish themselves in PoK and pursue jihad from there.

*(The author is research assistant at Indian Defence Studies and Analysis.)

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By. Dr. B.N. Sharga

First Indian Chairman of I.T.C. Pandit Ajit Narain Haksar

To check the fast growing monopoly of the American Tobacco Companies in the world market especially of James Buchanan Duke thirteen British tobacco and cigarette companies including the famous W.D. & H.O. Wills of Bristol merged together in 1901 to form the Imperial Tobacco Company to carry out their business in the global market under this new brand name. Mr. William Henry Wills of the leading W.D. & H.O. Wills group became the first chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company on 24th August 1910. The company was incorporated as a Private Limited Company under a new name Imperial Tobacco Company of India Ltd. for manufacturing cigarettes and smoking tobacco in the country. **Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar who joined this company in 1948 as a trainee in marketing became its Chairman in 1969. He was the first Indian to occupy that coveted post.**

Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar's ancestor Pt. Mahesh Haksar was originally a resident of Srinagar in Kashmir, where he used to live in Tankipora locality near Kani Kadal around 1680. He was a highly religious person

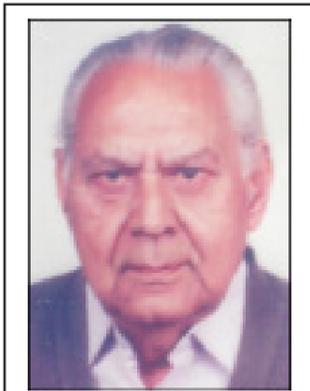
with sharp intellect. He had a son Manohar Haksar who in turn had a son Roop Ram Haksar and a grandson Nand Ram Haksar. During the Afghan rule in Kashmir from 1752 upto 1819 the Kashmiri Pandits were subjected to all kinds of brutalities and indignities by various Afghan governors. Many Kashmiri Pandit families migrated from Kashmir to the plains of North India to avoid their religious persecution during this period. Pt. Sita Ram Haksar, who was the son of Pt. Nand Ram Haksar came to the imperial capital Delhi in 1804 to seek employment in the Mughal court, whereas his brother Pt. Sahib Ram Haksar stayed back in Kashmir to look after their ancestral property there.

When Pt. Sita Ram Haksar came to Delhi he found the Mughal emperor Shah Alam 11(1759-1806) almost a puppet in the hands of the British as the British forces under the command of Lord Lake took over Delhi under their Marathas in the Anglo — Maratha War leaving little scope for the Mughal emperor to exercise his powers. Finding the employment opportunities quite dim in those uncertain conditions in a war zone. Pt. Sita Ram Haksar after living in Bazaar Sita Ram for a couple of years then moved to the

Gwalior state in Central India. After some time he became a teacher in some school there. He had a son Jagat Narain Haksar and a grandson Pt. Bishan Narain Haksar.

He was an ardent admirer of Lord Krishna. He had four sons Dharam Narain, Prem Narain, Swaroop Narain and Shyam Narain alias Kathaiyya Lal.

Pt. Swaroop Narain Haksar who was born in 1828 at Delhi and had his education in Delhi College was the first member of this Haksar clan to take up a



Ajit Haksar

job in the Indore state around 1846 as a teacher in a school on the recommendation of his British Principal of Delhi College. He was in the good books of Mr. R.H. Hamilton, who was British Political Agent for the Indore state during the rule of Maharaja Yashwant Rao Holkar. Pt. Swaroop Narain Haksar became a 'Mir Munshi' of the British Political Agent in 1850 and than Dewan of Bundelkhand in 1856.

Pt. Dharam Narain Haksar who was born in 1824 left Delhi in 1849 after completing his education at Delhi College and became the editor of Malwa Akhbar. In 1856 the British appointed him as the Mir Munshi of the Indore state. His another brother Pt. Prem Narain Haksar became Dewan of Tehri state in Central India around 1854.

When Queen Victoria of England took over the administration of India on 1st November 1858 from the East India Company and conditions became perfectly normal at Delhi Pt. Bishan Narain Haksar who was at Alwar came back from Alwar to Delhi and found his ancestral haveli badly damaged and completely ransacked by the British soldiers totally

unfit for living. The then commissioner of Delhi C.B.

Kitchlu the son of Pt. Praduman Krishna Kitchlu of Lahore.



Antique silver toy train in Gwalior Palace.

Saunders helped him in getting a big compensation from the British government. Pt. Bishan Narain Haksar from that money purchased a big plot of land in Gali Prem Narain and built two havelis Rang Mahal and 'Sheesh Mahal' besides a temple of Lord Krishna at Mathura in 1870. He died in 1890 at the age of 85 years at Gwalior.

Pt. Dharam Narain Haksar after his retirement from the British service in 1879 shifted his base from Indore to Gwalior. Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia made him a Hony. magistrate and tutor of prince Madhav Rao Scindia. The British conferred the civilian title of Rai Bahadur upon him for his services in the Gwalior state. He died in 1892 at Gwalior at the age of 68 years. He was Warned with Sushil Kumari the daughter of Pt. Pran Nath Raina of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow who later on migrated to Gwalior and became Principal of Victoria College there.

Pt. Dharam Narain Haksar had a son Har Narain Haksar who was born in 1853 at Indore. He started his career as a translator in the office of Indore Residency. He used to go to Gwalior quite often. He died suddenly due to heart failure at the residence of his elder son Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar in 1902 at the young age of 52 years.

Pt. Har Narain Haksar had two sons Kailash Narain and Iqbal Narain besides five daughter Swaroop Kumari married to Pt. Swaroop Narain Razdan the son of Pt. Bishan Narain Razdan of Amritsar, Ram Pyari married to Pt. Roop Krishna Kitchlu the son of Pt. Praduman Krishna Kitchlu of Lahore, Bilaspati married to Pt. Pratap Narain Shivpuri the son of Pt. Brij Narain Shivpuri of Aiwar, Maharaj Kumari married to Pt. Prem Nath Agha of Allahabad and Shivrajpati married to Pt. Brij Krishna

Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar then became the Prime Minister of the Bikaner state in 1938. He went to Kashmir in 1940 where Maharaja Han Singh appointed him as tutor and guardian of Prince Karan Singh. In 1940 the University of Allahabad conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He became the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state in 1943 and worked on that post till 1944. He then devoted his life in social work. He was a great orator and had an equal command on English and Persian. He died after a long illness in 1953 at the residence of his son Pt. Prakash Narain Haksar in Calcutta.

Pt. Iqbal Narain Haksar was born around 1890 at Gwalior. He had his education in the famous Victoria College and then joined the Gwalior State Scindia Railways as an Administrative Officer around 1929. Maharaja Jayaji Rao the Gwalior state from 1835 into 1886 sent Rs. 75 lacs to the British in 1772 for the construction of the Agra — Gwalior portion of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway and a similar amount in 1873 for the construction of Indore-Nemuch section of the Rajputana — Malwa railway line.

Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia died on 20th June 1886 and was succeeded by his son Madhav Rao Scindia from his fourth wife Sakhyabai. Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia appointed Pt. Iqbal Narain Haksar as the administrative officer of the Gwalior State Scindia Railways to look after its proper management and maintenance, which he did with great ability and farsightedness. This Haksar family earned a great respect and honour in the Gwalior state.

Pt. Iqbal Narain Haksar was married with Shammo (Tej Rani) around 1992, who was the daughter of Pt. Jagat

(Contd. on Page 19)



Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia.



By Prof. M.L. Koul

Writes Paul Tillich, 'In religion no one can avoid use of symbolism nor should one wish that it were possible to do so. The more lively a religion, the more complex its symbolism has to be, for it is thus it secures what protection it can get against the ever-present danger of literalism which is fatal to the life of any religion'.

Rigveda as the oldest record of human civilisation is replete with its own slew of symbols and motifs that potentially express its broad mosaic of myths, theology, thought-flashes and religious reflections. *Aum* is the dominant divine symbol that fully reflects the Rigvedic essence and weltanschauung. It symbolises the reality that has been a deep concern of man since his inception on the earth. As a religious symbol *aum* signifies a Reality that is transcendental, omnipotent, omniscient and infinite, yet it suffuses all that is manifest in nature. All Rigvedic gods are nature-gods, representing forces pervading nature.

As per the Indian tradition *aum* is the first fundamental sound that burst out of the throat of *Brahma*, the creator, when he began to give utterance to the Vedic learning embedded in His lotus-heart. *Aum* as the first word is considered highly auspicious (*manglik pada*)

Swami Dayanand Saraswati, a brilliant scholar of Vedas, states that *Aum* is the most excellent name of God. It is composed of three letters, a, u & m which in turn represent many names of God. The letter *a* represents gods like *agni*, *virata*, & *vishva*. The letter *u* represents gods like *vayu*, *tejas* & *hiranyagarb*. The last letter *m* represents gods like *ishwar*, *aditya* and *prajna*. The *vedic mantras* sung in praise of multiple gods begin with *Aum* as the Divine Reality.

In the Prasnopanishad, the ever-curious Satyakam asks *Rishi Piplad* an array of questions about *Aum*, mainly about the merits which a devotee achieves when he meditates upon it. He is told that *Aum* is an all-comprehensive sound-symbol of Brahman, the Reality, that is both beyond the universe and immanent in the universe. If

meditated upon as a blend of three letters, *a, u & m* a devotee will come to behold that Macro-cosmic self residing in his own heart.

As per *Kathopunishad*, *Aum* is the word that all *vedas* expound. It is the destination of all forms of meditation. *Kath* characterises *Brahman* as the Imperishable and *Aum* as the Supreme Support. If a devotee knows *Aum* as the support, he obtains an exalted position in the *Abode of Brahman*.

Shvetashvatara upanishad says that *Aum* as an object of meditation will lead a devotee to the destination of *Brahman*.

Chandoyya upanishad proclaims *Aum* as an object of meditation. It calls *Aum* a spiritual charm. *Brahman* is to be worshipped through *Aum* as a means to attain the Immanent and All-pervading Brahman.

In the *Taittiriya-Upanishad*, *Aum* is equated with Brahman. It is all and everything (*oum iti Brahman, oum itidam sarvam*).

In the *Bhagwatgeeta* Lord Krishna tells Arjuna, who was smitten by serious doubts, that He (Lord Krishan) is the *rasa* in water, luminosity (*prakash*) in the *sun* and the *moon* and *omkar* in the *vedas* (sloka 8, chap. 7). He again tells him that the *vedic* scholars know the highest Reality as *omkar* (sloka 11, chap. 8). Lord Krishna also tells Arjuna that a man who gives up his mortal coil while uttering the divine *akshar aum & mulling over its embedded meaning attains His Abode* (sloka 13, chap. 8).

As conceived by the *vedic* seers *aum* has continued to dominate the spiritual and philosophical discourse in India. It remains the dominant symbol that shapes and moulds the broad contours of the Indian spiritual way of life. *aum* is not just a sign, but a potential symbol which as per Paul Tillich 'participates in the reality that it represents'.

Throughout the chequered history of India and cruel rule of Muslims *aum* has provided a spiritual succour to the oppressed people and has continued to find resonance in the 'collective unconscious' of the natives of this ancient land. As a spiritual beacon it has been paving the trail of men in quest of spiritual sublimity for making human life more meaningful and more purposeful on the earth. *aum* enshrines a sublime value that Hindus assiduously pursue to touch a horizon where any shade of difference between them and the ultimate Reality fades. It represents catholicity,

Aum in Indian Scriptures, Kashmir Shaivism and Lalla Ded Vakh

breadth of vision and holistic outlook on man, world and Brahman. It embodies the spirit of '*vasudaiva kutumbkam*'.

Aum in Kashmir Shaivism

Despite Kashmir being a mountain-girt valley it broadly was a part and parcel of the territorial and cultural landscape of India. The excavations at Burzhom have authentically established that the Bruzhom man, a pit dweller, was racially and anthropologically a Harapan. It can, therefore, be deduced that Kashmir had a protracted *vedic* age with its roots bed-rocked in the history and culture of Kashmir. *Aum* as a valued spiritual legacy dominated the spiritual paradigm and spiritual trajectories in Kashmir. It could not be dislodged from the spiritual pedestal even after some trend-setting Tantric motifs and symbols were introduced by Kashmir Shaivites who wove a perfect network of thought from the strands that had come all the way from south of India to Kashmir, renowned as Sharda-peeth.

Despite manifest Tantric foundations of Kashmir Shaivism, the Kashmiri thinkers remained within the ambit of the *vedic* tradition by showing their absolute allegiance to *vedacar* and *vedic* symbology of *aum*, *omkar*, *pranav*. As per the entrenched *vedic* legacy, the letters *a, u & m* are deemed as referents to *Brahma* as *rajas*, *vishnu* as *satvas* and *mahesh* as *tamas*. A dot (*bindu*) above *aum* symbolically indicates *Param Shiva* or *Param Brahma* or *Brahman* transcending the world of sense objects.

aum is taken as an eternal, un-hindered sound, *anahat nad*, ever vibrating in the heart of man. It has been linked with *bindhu & nada*. when *aum* or *pranav* is in a state of unity with Shiva or consciousness supreme, it is *bindu* and when it expands into manifest forms *neel, peel & sukha*, it is *nada*. *Aum* is *bindu* in un-manifest form and it is *nada* in manifest form.

The entire word-hoard (*shabad rashi*) owes its genesis to the eternal, un-hindered sound, *aum*, or *pranav*. *Aum* if taken as *para-vak* represents universal ideation which is the matrix of all sounds. It as the first sound is

not manifest. It remains in a state of mergence in the consciousness supreme. But, it is astir, throbbing and not in a state of stagnation. When the process of ideation begins, it is *Pasyanti*. It is just a nebulous idea without form. It all happens in the creative mind of Shiva. When the idea takes on a form in His mind, it is *Madhyama*, this-ness, idea has taken a form. Finally, the idea takes a definite form and shape, it is manifest. It is called *Vaikhuri*, a manifest expression, gross word in verbal form.

In his erudite commentary on *Samb-Panchashika*, *Khemraj* conveys that *aum* as the eternal inaudible sound throbs incessantly in the heart of man. It is the *para-vani* from which emerges *Pasyanti*, which is impregnated with form-less words and further expands into other layers of words with forms gross.

The verse reads:-

Aum iti antar nadanati niyatam yah prati prani shabdo

Vani yasmat prasarti para shambadnanmatra garbe

(*Samb-panchashikha*)

Kashmir Shaivism holds that Supreme consciousness or Shiva is beyond the physical world, grants liberation to seekers while living and creates and is the foundation of three *vedas* and is known as *pranava*, having a unique-type of self-reflection enabling an aspirant to realise his own true nature (*swarup*) of Shiva.

The verse reads:-

Yatra aarood trigun upandi Brahma tad bindu rupam

Yogindranam yadapi parmam bhati nirvanmargah

tryi aadhar pranav iti yet mandalam chand rashme antah sukhshyam bahirapi brahat mukhtaya prapana

(*Samb-panchashikha*)

Aum, to Jagdhar Bhat, a thirteen century poet-scholar of Kashmir, is the combination of three morases (*matra*) of *a, u & m* and is the eternal inaudible sound, which is the matrix of the entire word-hoard and goes on pulsating within the heart of all.

The verse reads:-

Aum iti safurad urasya anahatam

garb gumfitam samast vankhmayam

dandhaneeti hrat param padam

tat sat akhsharam upasahemaha

As per the Kashmir Shaivites the triad of *a, u & m* refers to many triads of *Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh; Iccah, Jnan and Kriya; satva, rajas and tamas* and subject, object and *praman* (proof).

Prof. N.K. Gurtu, *Commentary on sambapanchashikha*

In his scintillating commentary on *Bhagwatgeeta*, *Abhinavagupta* writes that the inaudible word (*anahat shabad*) that is audible only to the seekers is the nature (*swarup*) of the ultimate Reality. He equates '*aum*' with the consciousness supreme that embodies the universe within its matrix in an undifferentiated forms.

Aum in Lalla Ded Vakh

Though a Shaivite to the core, Lalla Ded as revealed by her *vakhs* was initiated into the world of Shiva through the *bija mantra, aum*, by her venerable guru, *Siddha Srikanth*. To her, the manifesting word of Shiva or Brahman is *aum* or *pranav* (Lord of living beings). Repetition of the word, *aum*, was the key that proved efficacious in the processes of concentrating her mind as a first step to march ahead on the spiritual journey that she had assiduously embarked upon. She was a seeker, an instinctive seeker who meditated upon *aum*. reflected upon it as the most sacred syllable of the three *vedas*, *rig, sam* and *yajur* and immersed herself in the *Shaiva-Yoga praxis* to cognise her pristine nature of Shiva.

Lalla Ded was highly aware of the great spiritual significance of *aum* as the *vedic* symbol. She had come across *aum* as delineated in the *vedas* as the crux of *vedic* learning and *vedic* spiritual praxes. She clearly says that she had read only one word '*aum*' as the essence of Vedas and then placed it in her mind through its regular recitation with one single-pointedness. To her, *aum*, was the spiritual charm beyond which she felt no necessity to seek for other means. *Aum* as a *bija mantra* metamorphosed her from ashes into pure gold.

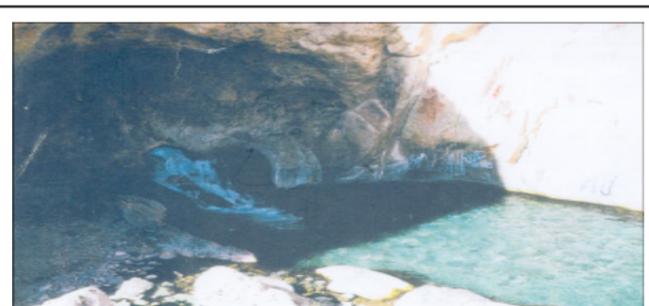
Omei akuy achur parum Sui ha malie rotum vondasmanz

(Contd. on Page 19)



By Sanjay Godbole

There is a small village called Kolpur at a distance of 25 Kilometers towards South from Quetta the capital of Baluchistan. It is situated just near the entrance of the 'Bolan' pass. The river 'Bolan' stems from here only. Evidences of many ancient human settlements have come to light from the surroundings of this river. 'Kolpur' Chiefly abounds in fruit laden gardens and Date trees. But, a village named 'Much' near the railway lines is a dry, and barren place, and has huts constructed in mud. As one proceeds, from 'Much' one comes across coal mines at a distance of 24 Kilometers and then to wards right, an uneven and wide path takes you to a place called 'Pir-e-Ghaib'. Here there is a Kund (Water tank) made in stone and gets its supply of water from a waterfall. So also, this place has many Craggs of mountains and innumerable trees in its proximity. There is a similar Kunda a Little downstream and is perennially brimful with clear and pure water. There is a sacred spot near this Kund. From 'Pir- e- Ghaib' just at a distance of five kilometers is situated a place called Bibi Nani. Due to the heavy down pour in Baluchistan in the year 1986. the historically important bridge was completely washed away. If one proceeds from over here, to Sirajabad he comes across several water Kundas (tanks). These contain accumulated reserves of hot and cold water. This place is considered as one of the delightfully charming spots in Baluchistan on account of the thickly wooded Landscapes and scenic beauty of the Kundas of water. Tourists of Foreign origin, however, are not permitted to tour this area, unless specially permitted to do so by the authorities of the Government of Pakistan.



Indus Valley Script near Bibi Nani

Bibi Nani of Baluchistan

At the far end of the 'Bolan' Pass and near the base of the mountain, there is a simple and ordinary mausoleum. A thick green cloth is always rolled up.

On the rocky crags, nearby, some ageold figures seem to have been depicted. It is said that these figures are associated with the revered Bibi Nani. A local tale makes rounds in this area as to when the Zarathrustian religion was dominant all over Baluchistan, Bibi Nani and her brother arrived here with expansionist propagation of Islam. Then the brother of Bibi Nani entered the wall in the mountain. Therefore he was popularly called as 'Pir - e - Ghaib' [The invisible Saint]. Mr. Salman Rashid- the famous author from Pakistan has the following version of the said story. As per his version, the Cracked fissure in the wall in the rock is on account of the continuous flow of hot water with traces of sulphur, through it and has formed layers of the Greenish, blue and Brown tinges. At present the Baluchi Muslims call this place as Pir-e-Ghaib and Hindus here rever this spot as the place of worship for Lord Mahadev (Shiva). Many of those, who are fortunate enough, to have their vows fulfilled tie many things to a nearby tree. As compared to 'Pir- e- Ghaib' the mausoleum of Bibi Nani (venerated lady) has been simple and is also not associated with fables and stories full of bizarre accounts. At both the above mentioned places no stone inscriptions are found. But the sacred spot of Bibi Nani is situated at an important place, namely an ancient East-West highway. From this place, the Indian Sub continent was directly linked to Mesopotamia. From here only roads take off for Mohan- jodaro; Mehargarh and other important centres of Sindhu (Indus valley) culture. So also important roads leading to trade centres on coastal areas were in existence from the 9th century B.C..

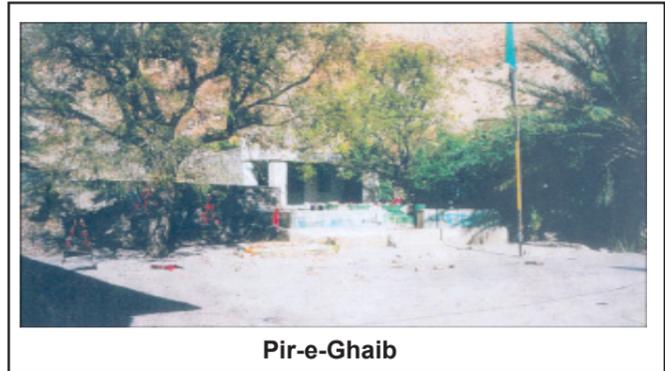
In the opinion of many

erudite and archaeologists, there is no secrecy or mistcity in the history of Bibi Nani. But the roots of her legendary history lie in the sect of Goddess Nana or Nania. This Goddess Nana or nania was being worshiped in Iran and Mesopotamia in ancient times.

King Kudur Nankhundi of Elam of Southwest Iran invaded the empire of Ur in Mesopotamia in the year 2280 B.C. and looted the city or 'Erech'. The idol of Goddess Nana was one of those precious effects which found its their way to Susa in Iran. It was installed in one of the temples of Susa and was worshipped. After hundreds a years, when the empire of Elamite was weakened and infriled, the king of Mesopotamia Assurbanipal, invaded Susa, the capital of Iran and looted 14 cities near by and took back the icon of Goddess Nania and reinstalled the same in a temple of Erech.

The sect worshipping Goddess Nania or Nana Devi Happens to be one of the most ancient sects, having a rich tradition of about 4300 years. The group of traders effecting trade for centuries between Indus culture and Mesopotamia have introduced this Goddess to the outside world. The name Nana or Nania continued to prevail over here and even as on today, this name continues albeit with few changes, in Baluchistan.

Mr. Salman Rashid, through an article in the Daily Times of Pakistan poses a question for the Western erudites as to why they tried to solve many such and similar other puzzles within the frame work of Cuneiform Tablets: and as to why they have conveniently forgotten to take cognizance of the fact that this ambiguity could also have a reference to the civilization in Indus valley. Mr. Mark Kenoyer is a famous archaeologist and has done a lot of research on Indus civilization. He is of the opinion that the Indus civilization has a close and intimate relationship with Mesopotamia Viz- a - viz trade, arts and culture point of view. The art practiced and the civilization prevailing there, was of a very high standard. Mr. Kenoyer further states that the doubtful possibility as to whether or not prior to the king of Iran taking the idol of Goddess Nania to Iran, chances are the traders and artists in the Indus civilization could possibly have taken the sect of Goddess Nania to the west in Mesopotamia. Mr. Kenoyer further reaffirms that he very



Pir-e-Ghaib

faithfully believes that Goddess Nana or Nania must have been worshipped in her original form in cities existing in Indus civilization and that the said Bibi Nani is nothing but the changed version [For the people of Pakistan] of the Goddess worshipped in the Indus Civilization for thousands of years and the Goddess Nana or Nania for the ancient Mesopotamia. The second best sacred spot in Baluchistan could possibility be declared as a place of worship for the Goddess under the disguise of guarding and protecting the vast expanse of fresh water reserve. Some eight thousand years back, the Caravans of traders and others proceeding, worshipping the Goddess and proceeding further en- route and this spot was later on addressed as 'Pir- e- Ghaib'.

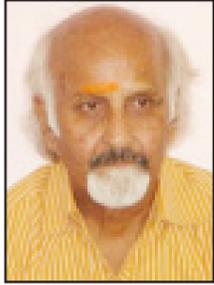
In the writings of Akkadian tablets there are stray references to some Elamite deities right from Asia Minor to Susa in Iran during the Persian era, the popular Nania sect shows some striking similarities with 'Anahita' mentioned in Avesta. Anahita is a water Goddess and is associated with fertility and functional genetics. The Goddess 'Ninni' has been depicted with the king 'Anubanimi' of lulubi in carving on the Mountain near the entrance gate of the village 'Saripul' on the ancient highway connecting Baghdad with Tehran. A Picture of deity 'Kiririsha' - a Goddess of fertility from Susa is shown on a plate used while celebrating the fulfillment of a vow. According to some scholars, all the qualitative virtues of the Goddess 'Anahita' have since been adopted from the Goddess 'Annat' of Syria.

The Goddesses 'Inana' and 'Ishtar' and the Goddesses 'Kiririsha' and 'Nania' belong to the same sect and traditions, the trio of Goddesses Ahurmazda, Anahita and

Mither, when seen in Akhmenian writing of Cuneiform, shows Anahita with Mither. A temple of Goddess Anahita' still does exist since the Sassani era at Istakhar in Iran. So also her holy temples do exist at other locations in Iran. At Susa she was worshipped as Goddess' Nania'. In olden times, there were sects which did esteem and revere the Goddess Nania in Countries outside Iran such as Lydia, Armenia and Cappadosia. In Iran, in the Sculpture showing Naqsh - e - Rustum, the King of Iran is shown as receiving the emblem of honour at the hands of Goddess Anahita. In the famous sculpture of Tak- e- Bustan, Khusru the Second is shown as receiving the Royal emblem at the hands of Anahita and Ahurmazda. Kanishka was the most eminent and superior king from the Kushan dynasty. His empire had its tentacles spread, besides India, upto the present Afghanistan and some parts of Asia minor. His era starts from the year 78 A.D. . There is a depiction of deities belonging to several religions on the coins struck by him. The portrait of the Goddess 'Nana' is seen on the coins struck by King Kanishka. Nana has a half crown on her head and an aura behind her face, with the crescent a patera in her left hand and a scepter with horse head mouth in the right hand. In the legend of the coin, the Goddess is addressed as 'Nana' or 'Nanashow'. Like Kanishaka, the coins struck by Huvishka also bear the portrait of Goddess'Nana'.

Every civilization worshipped Goddesses in primal form. The sect of Goddess Nana or Nania was powerful at that time. Bibi Nani of Baluchistan is one such spot establishing connection of olden era with the new one and has been considered as an important place of pilgrimage of Baluchistan as Hinglamata.

*(The author is noted archaeologist, based at Pune)



By Dr. S.S. Toshakhani

Food & Drinks

Coming to food and drinks, it hardly needs to be stated that rice was the staple food of people in early Kashmir as it is now. Several preparations were made from rice which included boiled rice, rice sweetened with sugar, rice mixed with pulses (*khichari*), rice mixed with sugar and milk, rice cakes and fried rice.

Barley, and not wheat, was the other important item of food *Apupa* and *pishtaka* (bread and cake) of barley were very much relished. A special festival was observed to celebrate the ripening of barley in the fields.

Pulses like *mudga* (moong), *masura*, *kulatha* and *channa* were widely consumed by the early people of Kashmir, we learn from literary sources. And of course, *parpataka* or *papad* made of pulses was taken as an appetiser. But perhaps the most popular items of the Kashmiri cuisine were meat and rice. This was found by Macro Polo in the 13th century also. Dishes were prepared from the meat of ram (*mesha*), fowl (*kukkata*) and other birds, literary sources tell us. Flesh of domesticated pigs also came to be consumed towards the end of the 11th century, according to Kalhana. Meat-soup was considered to be a tonic. Fish also was a popular item of the cuisine. Fish broth (*matya supa*) taken with onions and garlic was considered as strength-giving, as both Kshemendra and Kalhana mention.

Among vegetables, Kshemendra makes mention of lotus stalk or *nadru* as it is called in Kashmiri. It continues to be a favourite dish of the Kashmiris even today. Common people consumed *vopalkh* (Kashmiri 'vopalhakh') and 'shand' (Kashmiri 'hand'). Fruit was grown abundantly in ancient Kashmir, as testified by Hsuan Tsang. He mentions pear, plum, apricot, peach and grapes as the principal fruits of the Valley. Kashmir perhaps grew an excellent variety of grapes, a fruit which was widely cultivated. Every Sanskrit writer of Kashmir, Kalhana and Abhinavagupta included,

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speak of it effusively. Kshemendra mentions walnuts also, which appeal to have been grown in Kashmir from early times. In a place abounding with fruit, fish and fowl, people are bound to develop a taste for rich food.

Honey was popularly consumed and used as a sweetener along with sugarcane. Among condiments, saffron of course was the king Black pepper (*maricha*), *ginger* (*marichadraka*) and *aesfotida* were among the spices used to make food tastier.

Drinking of wine appears to have been prevalent in early Kashmir, despite restrictions of the religious texts. Nilamata Purana, in fact, allows it on certain festivals as, for instance, the new snowfall day, Mahimana and iramanjaripujana. It was prepared from grapes as well as sugarcane, which were distilled, cooled and scented with flowers to make a delightful drink. Among non-alcoholic drinks, Kalhana mentions *tuhyina sharkaram*, a cold drink enjoyed during the summer. People of Kashmir seem to have been very fond of betel leaves, which were imported. There are numerous references to the habit of chewing betel-leaves with lime in Damodargupta, Kshemendra and Kalhana's works.

These are many notions about the Kashmiri way of life, which a study of these literary sources shows to be wrong. For instance, it is widely believed that Kashmiris generally sleep on the ground, but we find Damodargupta and Kshemendra telling us for our information that canopied beds (*vaitanikas*), couches (*paryanka*), cots (*shayya*), bedsheets (*astarana*), bedding (*shayana*) and pillows (*upadhana*) were very much used in early Kashmir. They also mention the *pada-pitha* or the fool-stool on which ladies sat for doing their make-up. Among other articles of furniture we come to know of the seat (*asana*, *asanda*) and thick cushions (*vrisee*) which were used for sitting upon. A kind of carpet known as *patalika* was spread as a floor-covering, besides the humble reed-mat.

Another fallacious notion, for which Alberuni was responsible, is that Kashmiris did not have any riding animals or carriages. "The Kashmiris are pedestrians. The noble among them ride in palanquins called *kull* carried

on the shoulders of men", writes the Arab scholar in his *Kitab-ul-Hind*. But this is totally erroneous. There are numerous references to horses, carriages and elephants in literary sources. From Hsuan Tsang's travelogue, for instance, we come to know that the 7th century Chinese traveller was received during his visit to Kashmir in 631 AD by King Durlabhavardhana's maternal uncle who had come with horse and carriage to escort him to the capital. Incidentally Durlabhavardhana himself was an official in charge of the fodder for horses (*ashva-ghasakayastha*). King Ananta, as Kalhana tell us, was so fond of horses that he was exploited by his horse trainers during the early years of his reign. And then, of course, there are several references to mounted troops in his chronicle and a reference to the stables of elephants too which indicates that the elephant was used as aristocratic conveyance in Kashmir.

Belief System

Having discussed how society was structured in early Kashmir and what were the mores and manners that characterized social life, let us have a glance at the belief systems that prevailed during the period and inspired and guided the people. As we have indicated already, the early Kashmir society derived its attitude to life and approach to reality from a sense of harmony with nature. This gave rise to a spiritual and cultural climate in which different religious faiths flourished side by side without any antagonism. Thus, even before history was recorded, we find the religious fabric of Kashmiri life woven out of mature strands of Buddhist, Shaiva and Vaishnava traditions with patterns of other heterogeneous modes of worship like that of the Naga cult revealing themselves on the margins. Not only did these different forms of worship co-exist peacefully, they also influenced each other through a process of osmosis of concepts and ideas. In the age of Nilamata, for instance, we notice popular Naga deities like Nila, Ananta (Shesha), Takshaka, Sushruvas etc. entering the Hindu pantheon. We also see Buddhist deities like Avalokiteshvara and Tara assume qualities and attributes of Hindu gods like Shiva and Durga. At a later stage, the Buddhist term of

shunyata entered the lexicon of Kashmir Shaivism, though with a different interpretation. In the same manner, the Shaiva concept of universal consciousness provided the basis for the concept of reality in the Buddhist school of Yogachara.

Buddhism in Kashmir

Buddhism is said to have come to Kashmir in the 3rd century B.C. when Emperor Ashoka included it in his empire and sent his emissary Majjhantika to spread the Dhamma. We learn from the Mahavamsha and Ashokavadana that he had to contend with the local Nagas and their king Aravala, and only after convincing them of his superior spiritual powers was he able to win them over to the Buddhist way of life. Buddhism supplanted the Naga cult, but there is enough evidence to show that its vestiges continued to survive long after that. In Kashmiri language the very name 'nag' came to denote 'a spring'. Both Kshemendra and Kalhana described a popular festival of their times, the Takshaka Yatra, in which crowds of singing and dancing people joyfully participated.

Buddhism itself changed its entire complexion in Kashmir when Kanishka chose it as the venue for his Fourth Buddhist Council to "revise, review and reinterpret" the Buddhist texts so that the purity of its canon could be preserved. It was a monumental event at which 18 different sects accepted the conclusion of the Council, leading to the emergence of the Mahayana school. It was an altruistic doctrine with its emphasis on idealism, disinterested love, relief of the suffering of others and salvation for every living being. Mahayana deified Buddha and the concept of the divine Bodhisattvas came into being together with an entirely new pantheon of gods and goddesses. This had a tremendous appeal for the common people. Soon Kashmir became an important centre of the school, providing intellectual inputs to sustain it and sending missionaries and scholars from its soil to different lands for its propagation. Kashmir had its married Bhikshus long before other places in the country. However, it was in the 9th century that Buddhism started losing ground to Shaivism and Vaishnavism, yet it continued to occupy an important position

right up to the advent of Islam. King after king and queen after queen kept providing liberal patronage to it by building *viharas* and *stupas*. And at a time when the barbaric hordes of Mahmud Ghazni were putting thousands to the sword, Kashmiri artists were painting murals in Western Tibet.

Shaivism & Vaishnavism in Kashmir

Despite their reverence for Buddha, Karkota rulers of Kashmir were worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu. So were the rulers of the Utpala dynasty, who were ardent followers of Vaishnavism. With Buddhism receding to the background, Shaivism and Vaishnavism gained dominant position along with the worship of other Hindu gods. Festivals and rituals connected with them gained more popularity, impacting social life in many ways including a renaissance in art and architecture. Shiva, however, was a popular deity from a very remote period. According to Kalhana, Ashoka worshipped Shiva at an existing ancient temple Shiva Vijayasha, when he came to Kashmir. He built two temples Shiva Ashokeshwara and Shiva Bhutesha dedicated to Shiva. Ashoka's son Jalauka is said to have been a staunch Shaiva by faith. The Pashupata system of dualistic Shaivism was most popular in early Kashmir, but soon numerous Shaiva sects, having their basis in Agamic Shaivism, came to flourish. Among these the Kaula, Krama and Trika schools integrated themselves into Kashmir Shaivism, acquiring monistic undertones, eventually leading to a new non-dualistic school founded by the sage Vasugupta. The new school interiorised the Agamic rituals and interpreted non-dualistic doctrines in accordance with its own monistic framework. The core concept of Kashmir Shaivism is that the Supreme Reality is one pure and indivisible consciousness which manifests itself as the world and the phenomena. It is all-inclusive as nothing exists apart from it. Recognition of one's identity as Shiva or universal consciousness is, according to Kashmir Shaivism, the ultimate experience of enlightenment. As it is the universal self of which all things, animate and inanimate, are a manifestation, Shaivism regards the world as real and celebrates the joy of

(Contd. on Page 19)

- July 1: An HM terrorist was killed in a group clash in Kulgam. A territorial Army deserter turned terrorists, Zaffarullah was among three top LeT terrorists killed at Kulhand, Doda. Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram said that AFSPA is being reviewed and the centre backs J&K CM's decision to pull out CRPF. Army staged flag march in Baramulla following riots.
- July 2: Ten people were injured in the Valley as protests continued even though curfew was relaxed in Baramulla which showed signs of normalcy.
- July 3: Hizbul Mujahideen terrorists struck in Dachan, Kishtwar killing a surrendered-terrorist a former Naib Sarpanch and injuring another civilian.
- July 4: A terrorist was killed in Rajouri. Two HM terrorists were arrested in different operations in Budgam and Pulwama districts. Vice-President Mr Hamid Ansari said that PM was to decide over AFSPA. HC requested families of Shopian victims to allow re-postmortem.
- July 5: An Army jawan was killed in an encounter in Handwara. Arms and ammunition were recovered in Chak Tappar, Pattan. India said that it was waiting for credible action against terror from Pakistan.
- July 6: Nine persons including four policemen were injured in a grenade attack at Madina Chowk, Srinagar. Terrorists failed to cause any damage to PS Sopore as they fired two rifle grenades at it. Arms and ammunition were recovered from a house at Yaseen Colony, Sopore. Omar Abdullah met PM and Union Home Minister and discussed re-orientation of Paramilitary forces.
- July 7: Explosives were recovered from a hideout of terrorists at Mangnar Top, Poonch. Omar Abdullah said that CRPF cannot be withdrawn overnight as JKP was not immediately ready to fill the gap.
- July 8: A VDC member from Mahore was killed and one another injured as terrorists attacked them in a Behak in Damhal Hanjipora. An OGW of HM was arrested in Kulgam. The murder of a youth Asrar led to violent protests in Srinagar as people alleged the killing as custodial death. Jan Commission submitted its final report on Shopian incident.
- July 9: The alleged murder of a girl by a TA jawan in Trehgam led to violent protests in the area. An LeT terrorist Roshan Din was arrested with Rs 2.9 lakh hawala money in Banihal. The centre has spent 5 pc of Rs 1618-cr package announced by PM for rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits.
- July 10: An Army jawan committed suicide in Kupwara district. The strike crippled life in Valley for consecutive third day against the alleged rape and murder of a woman in Trehgam. Even if Jan Commission failed to identify the real culprits, it hinted at the involvement of some police agency.
- July 11: Seven people including a CRPF jawan were injured in a grenade blast at Magam in Budgam district. A passenger from Dehradun Harinder Singh Rathi was arrested as a live cartridge was found in his luggage. A boy was killed and two girls injured as they fiddled with an IED in Bhati Dhar forests in Mendhar. Security forces recovered arms and ammunition in two different operations in Rajouri and Ramban districts. Jan Commission has suggested probing of Neelofar's brother and husband. The state cabinet was expanded with induction of 13 new ministers.
- July 12: An LeT Commander was killed in an encounter in Handwara forests. A youth Mudasir of Ontabawan was arrested as a Chinese hand grenade was recovered from his possession. Ammunition was recovered from an open field at Kutharan-Khag in Budgam. Centre is reported to pull out 23000 jawans from J&K and shift them to left wing extremism affected areas.
- July 13: The authorities foiled march of separatists to the Martyr's grave yard by imposing curfew like situation even as mainstream leaders including Omar Abdullah, Farooq Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti performed the ritual. Various Pandit organisations observed the day as black-day.
- July 14: Top HM terrorists Janbaz was killed in a fierce encounter in Gulabgarh, Reasi. DG BSF said that Pakistan has raised bunkers close to IB. A CRPF jawan killed his colleague and shot himself in Kashmir Valley.
- July 15: An LeT module was busted with arrest of six OGWs in Srinagar city. As police claimed the Asrar's death a case of love triangle, Farooq Abdullah described the protests on the issue a conspiracy by certain elements to keep pot boiling.
- July 16: A civilian was kidnapped and gunned down by terrorist in Seel Doda. Four OGWs of terrorists were arrested in Kishtwar. A Pak trained terrorist was arrested in Kupwara and an IED was destroyed in Kulgam. A Lankan national escaped from Police custody in Jammu. Shopian 47 day old strike called off as four arrested police officers were remanded to police custody. Even India agreed to delink talks from terrorism, PM said that composite dialogue cannot resume until Pakistan acts against terror.
- July 17: Two top terrorists were gunned down and HM woman terrorist Shakeela was arrested after a gun battle at Dahrot in Doda.
- July 18: Army foiled a major intrusion bid in Machail sector. NC asked India to initiate purposeful dialogue with separatists. Maintaining that Pakistan has shown more commitment to fight terrorism for last six months US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton asked Pakistan to root out outfits like LeT from its soil. DG BSF said that Pak should smash training camps.
- July 19: A youth, working as a police-source, was killed by terrorists at Chilli, Gandoh in Doda district. Describing Pakistan as "syndicate of terrorism", Hilary Clinton said that fight against terror is in interest of Pakistan.
- July 20: Two Pak intruders were nabbed in RS Pura area of Jammu. Kasab, involved in Mumbai attack, pleaded guilty in a Mumbai court.
- July 21: A police SI was killed and three cops injured as terrorists attacked an SOG camp in Shopian. A terrorists' body was recovered from Dessa in Doda. A tragedy was averted as BSF recovered a landmine near IB in Samba. Panun Kashmir expressed concern over delinking of terrorism from Indo-Pak dialogue.
- July 22: Death toll in Shopian attack rose to two as a SPO succumbed to his injuries. Accusing the government of turning a blind eye to terrorism, BJP leader said that 45 Kishtwar youth are being trained by various terrorist outfits.
- July 23: Grenades and other explosives were recovered from a hideout in Banihal, Ramban. Terrorists gunned down a three year old Mohd. Aslam and his father at Pahlipora in Shopian. Foreign minister SM Krishna asked Pakistan to treat LeT and Taliban alike.
- July 24: A PoK citizen was held with a Pak sim card in Mendhar, Poonch. Supreme Court rapped J&K HC over the order of arrest of police officers in Shopian incident.
- July 25: Strike crippled life in Valley. Ex-Army chief VP Malik accused Musharraf of telling lies during Kargil war.
- July 26: A terrorist was killed in Kupwara. Security forces recovered huge catch of arms on Buda Amarnath Yatra in Mandi forests. Nation remembered Kargil heroes as the country celebrated Vijay Divas.
- July 27: An HM hideout was busted and arms recovered at village Kour in Gulabgarh, Reasi. An Army jawan was injured in Pak firing in Balakote sector. Three infiltrators were shot dead in Tanghdar sector.
- July 28: In high voltage political drama, Omar Abdullah submitted his conditional resignation as Muzaffar Beigh of PDP alleged his involvement in infamous 2006 sex scandal.
- July 29: Two jawan and a terrorist were killed in an encounter at Check Matribugh, Shopian. A CRPF jawan was found dead at his company HQtrs in Srinagar. Arms and ammunition were recovered from the encounter site of July 27. Arms were recovered in Surankote, Poonch. An HM recruit was rescued in Doda. PM said that there will be no talks with Pakistan unless it acts against terror. BJP, NNP legislators seek separate assembly for Jammu.
- July 30: Body of a missing jawan was recovered from a nallah in Mahore; body of another jawan was recovered from Indus river in Leh. Farooq Abdullah described Indo-Pak talks as need of the hour. Governor rejected Omar Abdullah's resignation.
- July 31: A terrorist was killed at Chokibal, Kupwara. An HM terrorists was arrested in Budgam.

Pandit Ajit Narain Haksar

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Narain Mulla a leading criminal lawyer of Lucknow. Pt. Iqbal Narain Haksar died on 9th June 1953 at Gwalior and was survived by three sons Anand Narain, Raj Narain and Ajit Narain besides two daughters Sheila married with Justice Ram Narain Gurtu the son of Rai Brij Narain Gwtü of Kanpur and Ta* married with Pt. Suraj Narain Razdan the son of Pt. Chand Narain Razdan of Ujjain.

Pandit Ajit Narain Haksar was born in 1924 at Lashkar, Gwalior. He passed his Senior Cambridge examination from Doon School, Dehradun in 1940. He then did his Intermediate from Victoria College, Gwalior in 1942. He then went to Allahabad and did his B.A. in Humanities from the University of Allahabad in 1944. He then went to America and did his M.B.A. from Harvard Business School in 1948.

Pandit Ajit Narain Haksar after coming back to India started his career as a trainee in marketing with the Imperial Tobacco Company of India Ltd. in September 1948. He was a man with a vision and extraordinary managerial skills. He soon started showing his potential as a marketing expert by evolving new strategies. He gave new fillip and direction to this wing of the company. He was made the Marketing Director of the company around 1954 to implement his policies and programmes. The result was that on 27th October 1954 the company was converted into a Public Limited Company and apart from manufacturing cigarettes and smoking tobacco also started Lithographic printing business.

Pt. Haksar then became the Deputy Chairman of the company around 1960. He then diversified the business of the company by opening up new avenues and adopting new business priorities. He thus became the first Indian Chairman of a British Company in September 1969. Under his Chairmanship the name of the company was changed from the Imperial Tobacco Company of India Ltd. to the India Tobacco Company Ltd. in May 1970. It was due to his untiring efforts and meticulous planning that the company entered into the hotel business in 1972 and built a chain of hotels in the country. In 1973 under his stewardship the company received the approval of the government for setting up

three processing plants.

On 1st April, 1974 the name of the company was again changed to Imperial Tobacco Company Ltd. In 1975 I.T.C. Ltd. purchased the net asset in India of India Leaf Tobacco Development Co. Ltd. (U.K.). In 1979 the name of the company's chain of hotels was changed from Welcome Hotels to Welcom Group and the company entered into a marketing service and reservation agreement with the Sheraton International. Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar retired from active service on 11th January 1983 after an outstanding track record of 14 years as the Chairman of the company.

Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar was then made the Chairman emeritus of the company to utilize his ability and farsight for the benefit of the company. A new company under the name Gujrat Hotels was incorporated under a joint venture agreement signed between the company and Gujrat Industrial Corporation to build hotels in Gujrat. In 1986 the company signed a joint venture agreement with Madhya Pradesh Industrial Development Corporation for setting up four hotels in Madhya Pradesh. The company introduced the new braid of Wills Flake Premium Filter and Scissors Filter in 1987 and acquired Neidou Hotel of Srinagar, Kashmir on lease. In the same year the company added 30 rooms in Mughal Sheraton at Agra.

Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar was the President of Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industries for two years. He was a Member Board of Directors of Reserve Bank of India, Industrial Development, Bank of India, Indian Airlines and Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi. He was Chairman Board of Governors of Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur and Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad. He was Member Board of Governors of Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta and Hyderabad Staff College. He was Member National Committee on Tourism and Government Committees on Public Sector.

The Hony. Membership of the Indian Institute of Industrial Engineering was conferred upon Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar in 1981. In the same year he got Man of the year Award from NIF. Modi Enterprises. He was given NIQA outstanding Industrialist Award in 1982 and Business India's First Busi-

nessman, of the Year Award. He was elected in World's Hall of Fame in 1982 and 83. He became an Honorary Fellow of All India Management Association 1987-88. He got Udyog Life Time Achievement Award 2005.

Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar during his school and college days was a voracious reader and a good sportsman. He was a god hockey and football player. He had a great passion for cricket. He also took a keen interest in theatre during his student life. Later on in service he switched over to playing lawn tennis. He! then started playing golf to keep him fit and mentally alert.

Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar was married with Madhuri the

daughter of Pt. Trijugi Narain Sapru and granddaughter of Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of Allahabad. He had a son Anant Narain Haksar and a daughter Neena married to Pt. Kapil Narain Channa the son of Pt. Uttam Narain Channa. Pt. Anant Narain Haksar was born on 31st August 1951 at Gwalior. He had his schooling at Doon School, Dehradun. He then did his graduation from the University of Calcutta in 1971. He then went to London and did his graduation Economics from the London School of Economics in 1975. He then did his Tar-at kaw from Lincoln's Inn, in 1977. He then came back to India to start his legal practice as an advocate in

the Delhi High Court. He became a senior advocate of the Delhi High Court in March 1992.

Pt. Ajit Narain Haksar was responsible for steering the change at ITC towards a company that may look more Indian than British. He took the company to new heights by introducing a new work culture in it. He was one of the most dynamic and high profile Indian manager in independent India. He very successfully led the ITC into newer businesses beyond cigarettes. He will always be remembered as a great visionary and a pioneer in business management. In the words of **William Hazlitt**. If you think you can win, Faith is necessary to victory.

He died on 20th May 2005 at Delhi at the age of 80 years due to brain haemorrhage.

Aum in Indian Scriptures, Kashmir Shaivism and Lalla Ded Vakh

(From Page 15)

Sui ha mali kani peth garum ta charum asus sas sapdas sone

To Shaivites *aham* is the most powerful mantra that leads a seeker to spiritual fulfilment. But, to Lalla Ded, *aum* is the mantra that alone works for any seeker. She has concentrated and meditated upon it and it is through this mantra that she established a bridge between her micro-cosmic self and macro-cosmic Reality. The fact very well known to Lalla Ded is that the eternal, un-hindered sound, *aum*, throbs in the heart of every man. What is needed is only to concentrate on it for higher ascendance.

Lalla Ded says:-

Akuya omkar yus nabhi dare kombuya brahmandas somai gare akuya mantra yus chyatas kare tas sas mantra kyaha zan kare

As Lalla Ded has marched upon spiritual path step by step, She has worked out various methodologies at various stages to tune and temper and temper herself to the consciousness supreme. In the course of her Shaiva praxes a stage came when she got merged in the essence of *aum*, that is Shiva consciousness, and had a feeling that her body got blazed like a red-hot coal. It is a spiritual feeling, quite nebulous and Lalla Ded has

objectified it through red-hot coal as a matter of her observation in the world. It is a stage that seekers reach as a result of *Shaktopaya*. She gave up the six paths of *varna, mantra, pada, kala, tattava and bhuvan* as prescribed in the Shaiva methodology and embarked direct upon Shambhava-yoga (sat marg) for complete mergence in the Shiava-consciousness.

Says Lalla Ded:-

Akuya omkar yali layi onum vohee korum panun paan shya vath travith sat margrotum tyali Lalla bo vachas prakashasthan.

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creation. This has implications at the societal level also, with Shaivism rejecting all differences of caste, creed or sex and allowing one and all to be initiated into it. The Shaivas maintain that Shiva manifests himself as the universe through his Cosmic Energy Shakti, who is inseparable from him. At the temporal level, these two cosmic principles, one transcendental and the other immanent, are represented by the male and female principal. As Shaivas consider all females

as manifestation of Shakti, they regard woman as equal to man so far as her social position is concerned. Even today in a Kashmiri Pandit marriage the bridegroom and the bride are worshipped as Shiva and Shakti.

In fact, Shaktism, which found expression in the mother-goddess cults, also became very popular in early Kashmir and is so even today. Considering God as a woman is something unique that Tantric vision of reality has contributed to religious thought. Intense devotion to the goddesses

Sharika, Ragya, Tripura and Jwala as different forms of Jagadamba or the mother of the Universe, is an integral part of Kashmiri Hindus' religious life. The Shaktas regard ultimate reality as feminine in essence, as we have pointed out earlier, and this is a factor that has contributed to reverence for women in the Kashmiri Hindu society. Being Mother, she is kind and benevolent and grants all wishes of the devotees even as she upholds the cosmic order and destroys the demons, they hold. **(To be continued)**

'No Indo-Pak talks sans Kashmir'

Shopian highlights need for policy reforms: Omar

Ifthikhar Gilani

NEW DELHI, July 23: Chief Minister Omar Abdullah has learnt enough lessons from Shopian episode and admits it highlighted the need to reform policy system. Our police force must realise now they are in a post-conflict period dealing with general public rather than militants, he told KTNS here exclusively. Hinting a slew of measures to initiate police reforms, Omar also expressed satisfaction at the recent India-Pakistan joint statement which has queered pitch for Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh with both the Opposition as well as a section in his own Congress party baying for his blood.

Asked if he was concerned at the missing reference to Kashmir in the joint statement, young Chief Minister shot back, "there cannot be any discussion between India and Pakistan without Kashmir. What else they can talk if not Kashmir?" He said the joint statement had a clear reference to outstanding issues. "If there is no mention of Kashmir in the joint statement, it does not mean it has vanished," he added.

He also dissociated with his party MP Sharifuddin Shariq who recently criticised the Foreign Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon for talking Kashmir with Pakistan when it was an integral part of India. This is not the party line. He must have aired his own opinion, said the Chief Minister. He underlined that his party the National Conference believes in a sustained dialogue at all levels and Kashmir stands as a most outstanding issue.

INFILTRATION: Chief Minister said a calm exists along the LoC and infiltration was almost negligible. "Besides factors across the border, a strong mechanism has been put in place along the LoC both technical and human to check any movement. Even if somebody crosses, it is not possible for him to avoid prying eyes and remain undetected," he said. He, however, hastened to add that militants have now shifted their strategy and attempt to infiltrate during winter months, when fencing gets covered in snow. He referred to detection of dead bodies of nine militants in Gurez sector buried in snow recently, who were probably

killed in an avalanche while attempting to sneak in during winters.

HURRIYAT: He said the government wants separatists to be active and productive. He sought some sort of a constructive engagement with the Hurriyat leader, saying, he was willing to clap if they too contribute a hand, as clapping needs two hands.

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST HIM: Asked, if was aware of whisper and open campaigns going against him in New Delhi and Srinagar, Chief Minister nodded in the positive. "Yes, I am aware. They don't bother me. Best counter is to do my work honestly and seriously. It doesn't affect my mind."

SECURITY CHANGES: Omar Abdullah said there was need to make some structural changes in the security set-up to make a transition from confronting counter insurgency to dealing law and order. As a chairman of the Unified Headquarters which includes representatives of the Army as well as security and intelligence agencies Omar said he has asked them to look at the deployment pattern of security force and adjust according to the changing circumstances. He said there was need to provide greater role to Jammu and Kashmir Police in operational duties. He said his police chief was in constant touch with other security top brass to prepare a road map for taking responsibilities from the Army as well as other central paramilitary forces. We have already decided to relieve 7500 state police personnel from guard and VVIP duties to be inducted in operations. These vacancies will be filled by the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), he added.

LESSONS FROM SHOPIAN: Omar said no amount of misleading the government would be tolerated. Information will be checked and cross checked and police force would be made more accountable. He further revealed that a strict action will be taken against police officer refusing to file an FIR. He said he applied lessons learnt from Shopian in the recent almost identical events in Tangmarg and Trehgam (Kupwara). We controlled the situation there by intervening effectively and identifying and filing cases against the accused swiftly.

He asked the police force

and the CRPF posted in Kashmir to understand the transition. "We are making them to understand that they are in post-conflict situation dealing with normal law and order problems, he said. Chief Minister also agreed that a larger section of current police and para-military force was not trained in dealing with normal law and order and crowd control. For over past 20 years, their minds are stuck to fire and kill militants. In past, there were instances where militants would take refuge in the crowd. But the situation has changed," he added.

He lamented that police at the very first instance in Kashmir uses teargas shells even if there is crowd of 50 people rather using lathis. They must know that bullet proof vests cannot insulate them from stones which need a different apparatus. Mostly the crowds who gather to pelt stones are not unmanageable. There are 50-60 youth who start pelting stones and create a law and order problem. It is time to deal with their families and embark on traditional policing.

PANDIT INDUCTION IN CABINET: Chief Minister said there were two vacancies

in the council of ministers. But it is not compulsory to include a member of minority community. There was no Pandit member in the last government of Ghulam Nabi Azad too. He emphasized that he does not believe in tokenism. "I don't do things for tokenism unless I get a good person to adorn that job," he said. He, however, hinted that his coalition partner Congress party may give representation to a member from minority community.

TIFF WITH CONGRESS: He admitted that act of PCC chief Prof. Saifuddin Soz announcing the portfolio to ministers was unfortunate, but the matter stands there. "I wrote to the Congress President Sonia Gandhi and she responded as well and the matter stands there," he said. Disagreeing that the dissidence within the alliance partner was affecting the working of his government, he, however, had a word of caution for the Congress party, saying they need to take a re-look at their own internecine battles. But, he said the two parties were working in full coordination.

R E G I O N A L DISPARITEIS: Reminded



Omar Abdullah

that he had promised a judicial commission to look into regional imbalances, chief minister said the State Finance Commission headed by Mehmood-ul-Rahman was already working on it. "Yes, I had promised. But when I assumed office, I was told that the Finance Commission was already working on it. So there was no need to create a separate body," he said. "Finance Commission was even taking a detailed look at the intra-regional imbalances as well, studying development, grants and other patterns to Poonch, Doda, Rajouri within Jammu region as well as to remote areas of Gurez, Keran, Karnah, in Kashmir Valley. We will have a fair picture whether regions have been treated fairly once the Commission presents its report, he added."

Source: Kashmir Times

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