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COMMUNAL AGENDA

First Round of the New Assembly Won by communal forces: Panun Kashmir

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Mar 16: The recently concluded Jammu and Kashmir Assembly Session was used to promote Communalism and Secessionism. The declaration of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to seek a mandate from the present assembly to change the name of Anantnag to Islamabad by introducing a bill in the Assembly made this amply clear.

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo Chairman Panun Kashmir while addressing the media persons at Jammu on 16th March 2009 said, "We condemn all forms of communalism and urge the new coalition to stop anybody from using Legislative Assembly for promoting Communalism and Secessionism, Anantnag is not a chowk whose name can be easily changed. The place has ancient civilisational history of 5000 years, the remarks of the PDP are highly objectionable."

Dr Chrungoo said the proceedings of the new Assembly, the elections to Rajya Sabha and Legislative Council have once again shown the sway of communal tendencies and reach of forces who have institutionalized discrimination. That all the newly

to wreck it. "We condemn all those unequivocally who are raising the issues of final settlement with Pakistan. If they think that a concession to Pakistan in Kashmir is directly linked to the stability in Pakistan, then they are pushing the nation on a suicidal path.

The chaos in Pakistan is an outcome of its ideological character and it will continue to be unstable until it embraces pluralism and right to equality as its core ideology," He added.

Reiterating the PK stand Dr Chrungoo said that solution to the problems in J&K lie in empowering those people who have unflinching faith in Indian Constitution and unity of the nation.

This can be done by re-organization of the State with carving out homeland for Kashmiri Pandits in Valley with UT status.

Other PK leaders who were in the press conference included Prof MK Teng, Sh. Kuldeep Raina and Sh. O.N Trisal



PK leaders addressing media persons at Jammu.

elected four members to Rajya Sabha belong to one religion and ethnic denominator speaks for itself, he added.

He said the declaration by PDP that it will seek the resolution of Kashmir issue through the aegis of new Assembly is a significant departure from its past position. While at the helm and part of the ruling coalition, PDP persistently had maintained that the then Government and the elected representatives were merely an interface between Pakistan, India and Kashmiri Muslims and responsible only for day to-day problems. The new course is a clear signal that the party would use the Legislative Assembly for the separatists agenda, he added.

He further said democracy in the state is a cardinal expression of the Indian sovereignty rather than a ploy

Anantnag is not a chowk whose name can be easily changed. The place has ancient civilisational history of 5000 years

The chaos in Pakistan is an outcome of its ideological character and it will continue to be unstable until it embraces pluralism and right to equality as its core ideology

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

1. Smt. Uma Devi (Arandati) W/o Late Sh. Arjan Nath Bhat of Murran Pulwama Kashmir and presently putting up at H.No: 99/6, Buta Nagar Paloura, Jammu. 1-11-08
2. Sh. Sukh Dayal Riana (Kaka Jee Thalchoor) of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of A-II, Ajanta Anu Shakti Nagar Chambur, Mumbai. 1-11-08
3. Smt. Mohini Shori Tickoo W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Tickoo originally resident of Baghe Sunder Bala Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 358-1st Purkhoo Camp Domana, Jammu. 1-11-08
4. Sh. Kanya Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Bagwan Dass Raina R/o Handwara Kmr; presently resident of 487-21-C-Faridabad Haryana. 1-11-08
5. Smt. Shanta Bhan W/o Late Sh. H.N Bhan of Karan Nagar Sgr and presently residing at B-9, 77-A, Udaigiri-II, Noida (UP) 2/11/08
6. Sh. Ram Chand Tickoo S/o Late Amar Chand Tickoo of Batsargam Kulgam, Kmr; presently at Lane-2, Gurah Keran Barnai Bantalab, Jammu. 3/11/08
7. Sh. Vasdav Razdan S/o Late Mahadev Joo Razdan originally resident of Salea Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 780-A Prem Nagar, New Plots (Near Tali Morh) Jammu. 3/11/08
8. Smt. Sonabatne Koul W/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Koul of Nai Sarak (Gund-Ahalmar) Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 307, Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 4/11/08
9. Sh. Dwarka Nath Bhat of Haripuri Gam (Tral) presently residing at Sharda Colony, Sector-2, H.No: 38, Patoli Brahmana Jammu. 4/11/08
9. Smt. Tarawati Sadhu W/o Late Sh. T.C. Sadhu originally resident of Ganpatyar Sgr; presently residing at Alaknanda New Delhi. 4/11/2008
10. Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat S/o Suraj Ram Bhat R/o Village Sari Rakwalan Gomnasha Road, Jammu, previously of Chandpora Sgr. 4/11/08
11. Smt. Dhanwati W/o Late Sh. Jaggar Nath Koul of Nunar Ganderbal Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 44, Lane No: 3 Durga Nagar, Talab Tillo. 5/11/08
12. Sh. Janki Nath Fotedhar originally resident of Sathoo Barbar Shah Sgr; presently residing at JMC 1047/1048 Jawahar Nagar Lane Talab Tillo, Jammu. 5/11/08.
13. Sh. Brij Lal Kaw originally resident of Gund Ahalmar Nai Sarak Sgr; presently residing at Vasant enclave Kashmiri Colony Najabgarh New Delhi. 5/11/08
14. Sh. Budha Dev Koul (Dulloo) Sh. Late Sh. Shridhar Koul (Duloo-Masterji Ji) originally resident of Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 54, Ajeet Colony Ext. Gole Gujral Jammu. 5/11/08
15. Sh. Hriday Nath Kachroo S/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Kachru originally resident of Bulbul Lankar Ali Kadal Sgr; Jawahar Nagar Sgr and presently resident of 42-Justice Bhat Lane Lower Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 6/11/08]
16. Smt. Raj Rani Kaul W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul (Dembi) R/o 7-A, Sundar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/11/08
17. Smt. Vijay Lakshmi Kakru W/o Sh. H.N Kakru of Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 72, Sec-2 Channi Himmat Jammu. 7/11/08
16. Sh. Vinod Bhat S/o Late Sh. Vijay Kumar Bhat R/o Aajar Bandipora Kmr. presently putting up at H.No: 18, Lane-7, Saraswati Vihar Tomal Bohri, Jammu. 7/11/08.
17. Smt. Kamlawati Trisal W/o Late Girdhari Lal Trisal of Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently putting up at 77-E Durga Nagar Sec-1, Jammu. 7/11/08.
18. Smt. Soomawati Khordi of Sehvar Ali Kadal Sgr; presently putting up at H.No: 213, Upper Laxmi Nagar, Sarwal Jammu. 8/11/08
19. Sh. Vishambar Nath Bhat of Wachi Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at Sector-5, Shankar Colony Gangyal Jammu. 8/11/2008.
20. Sh. T.N. Koul of Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 41-B Hans Vihar, Sector-13, Rohini Delhi. 8/11/08.
21. Sh. Ashok Kumar Pandita S/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita R/o Tral Pahalgam Kmr; presently residing at TRT No: E-9, Phase-4, Purkhoo Camp-B, Domana, Jammu. 8/11/08.
22. Sh. Mohan Lal Tikoo S/o Late Pl. Shamboo Nath Tikoo originally resident of Bomai Sopore Kmr; presently at H.No: 141, Lane-10D Lower Shiv Nagar, Jammu. 9/11/08.
23. Smt. Roopwati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bhat R/o Hari, Tral, Pulwama, Kmr; presently residing at Sector B-1, Laxmi Puram, Chinore, Jammu. 9/11/2008.
24. Smt. Raj Rani (Tilak Jigir) W/o Late H.N Pandita originally resident of Raj Ghat, Baramulla, Kmr; presently at H.No: 37, Sector-G, Sainik Colony, Jammu. 10/11/08.
25. Sh. Sham Lal Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Ganesh Dass Tickoo of Narparistan Illrd Bridge Sgr and presently at 11/1-B East Extension Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 11/11/08.
26. Sh. Shridhar Bhat of village Tengopora, Pulwama Kmr; presently putting at 575 Sarwal Jammu. 11/11/08.
27. Sh. Rugh Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Dhar of Gand Dolipora Villagam Kmr; presently putting up at 87/3, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu.
28. Smt. Pushpa Mantoo W/o Sh. Nand Lal Mantoo R/o Gole Pulli Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 11/11/08
29. Sh. Bihari Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Arjan Nath Bhat of Raj Ghat Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at 362/12 Kabir Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 12/12/08.
30. Sh. Kashi Nath Kachroo S/o Late Shamboo Nath Kachroo of Rambagh Sgr and presently residing at H.No: 58, Sector-4, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 12/11/08
31. Sh. Dina Nath Garib S/o Late Raghu Nath Garib originally resident of New Colony Sopore Kmr; and presently residing in H.No: 89, Lane-3, Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 12/11/08.
32. Pt. BK Jalali of Batyar, Reshpeer Alikadal/ Sanat Nagar Sgr; presently resident in H.No: 6, Street No: 4, Hazori Bagh Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/11/08.
33. Smt. Danwati Koul originally resident of Ganpatyar Sgr; presently residing at Krishna Nagar, Miran Sahib Jammu. 13/11/08.
34. Smt. Durga Ji W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Bhan of Chattabal Sgr; presently resident of 698 Post Office Lane Upper Subash Nagar Rehari Jammu. 13/11/08.
38. Sh. Sarwanand Koul S/o Sh. Late Sh. Mahadev Koul of Dukani Sangeen Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 714, Upper Subash Nagar, Rehari Jammu. 13/11/08.
39. Sh. Saligram Dass S/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand originally R/o Bomai Sopore Kmr; presently putting up at H.No: 346, Sector-4, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 15/11/08.
40. Sh. Triloki Nath Tickoo of Bijbehara Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of 201, Gaur Heights, Sector-4, Vaishali Gaziabad. 15/11/08.
41. Smt. Sham Rani W/o of Sh. P.N. Pandit erstwhile resident of Umanagri Anantnag Kmr and presently residing at H.No: 90, Sector-7, E.W.S. Colony Lower Roop Nagar Jammu. 17/11/08.
42. Smt. Jai Kishori Sumbly W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Sumbly R/o Sathu-Barbarshah Sgr; presently residing at B-90, Lane No: 12, Bhawani Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 17/11/08.
43. Dr P.N. Khazanchi S/o Late Shiv Nath Khazanchi of Bal Garden Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 10, Sector-2, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 18/11/08.
44. Smt. Kamlawati Dhar W/o Late Sh. D.N. Dhar originally resident of 114 Qutab-din-Para-Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 83, Sector-10, Nanak Nagar, Jammu. 18/11/08.
45. Sh. Jia Lal Pandita S/o Late Sh. Dharm Chand Pandita of Bangam Fatehpur Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at M-22, Migrant Camp Buta Nagar, Jammu. 18/11/08.
46. Smt. Prabawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Bhat of Wadwan Budgam Kmr; and presently residing at H.No: 122, Krishna Nagar, Miran Sahib, Jammu. 19/11/08.
47. Sh. Keshav Nath Bhat (Malla) resident of Bijbehara Kmr; presently at Roop Nagar, Digiana (Ashram) Jammu. 19/11/08.
48. Smt. Sham Rani Razdan W/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Razdan R/o Shital Nath Sgr and presently at H.No: 697, Lane No: 6, Bawani Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 20/11/08.
49. Smt. Sham Rani Munshi W/o Late Sh. Saligram Munshi of Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 114, Sector-2, Govind Nagar Gole Gujral Talab Tillo, Jammu. 20/11/08.
50. Sh. N.C. Bali (Retd. Post Master) S/o Late Sh. Sri Kanth Bali of Zainadar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently putting up at Lane-2, Naseeb Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 20/11/08.
51. Smt. Soomawati Bhat W/o Late Shankar Nath Bhat of Fatehpura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Q.No: 1, Block-M, TRT Buta Nagar, Jammu. 20/11/08.
52. Smt. Pushpa Pandit W/o Sh. B.L. Pandit originally resident of Brariangan (Umanagri) Anantnag Kmr.; presently residing at Lale-Da-Bagh. 21/11/2008
53. Sh. S.N. Razdan S/o Late Sh. Mukund Ram Razdan originally resident of 180 Karan Nagar Sgr; presently putting up at Village Enclave Trikuta Nagar Ext. Jammu. 21/11/2008
54. Dr. Kanta Chib Parimoo wife of Sh. Bushan Lal Parimoo resident of F-521, UNO Lane Talab Tillo, Jammu. 21/11/2008
55. Smt. Arandati (Hakhoo/Pandita) W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Hakhoo R/o Arigam Budgam Kmr; preently residing at Patoli Brahmana Sharda Colony, Jammu. 22/11/2008
56. Sh. Badri Nath Nehru Husband of Smt. Krishna Nehru and son-in-law of Late Sh. A.N. Sumbly resident of New Delhi. 22/11/2008
57. Smt. Umashori W/o Late Sh. Brij Lal Bhat of Bonagund Verinag Kmr; presently resident of 57 Camp Nagrotra Jammu. 23/11/2008
58. Sh. Gopi Nath Peer S/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Peer originally resident of Vicharnag Sgr; presently residing at 5/3 Shantipuram Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 23/11/2008
59. Sh. Surinder Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Dhar originally resident of Baghi Sunder Balla Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at 62-C DDA MIG Flats Mayur Vihar, New Delhi. 23/11/2008
60. Sh. Badri Nath Ji Koul S/o Late Pt. Radha Krishen Koul (Kandroo) of Dharmarth Road opposite Food and Supplies Deptt. Shaheed Gunj Sgr and presently residing at 9-Ashok Nagar Canal Road Jammu. 23/11/2008.

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EDITORIAL

GUARD AGAINST TRIVIALISATION

LONG persecution breeds pockets of degeneration within. In fact the inner degeneration many times is an extension of the forces of persecution outside. These forces seek the total submission of the victim by nourishing in it a sense of powerlessness and impotence. These forces also cultivate a sense of guilt in the victim. The process of capitulation which they envisage has self blame and self negation integral to it. Besides, it also contains a campaign of distortion and falsification by which the victim relapses into amnesia or forgetfulness.

Kashmiri Pandits have loci of degeneration within. These loci always seek to integrate with the persecutor. Bereft of any self esteem they endeavour to glorify the persecution. They relentlessly try to build a discourse in the community which trivialises its existential reality-the genocide.

Anybody who seeks to raise the comprehension of the community about the dimensions of its exclusion and expulsion is described as extremist or parochial. The victor and the tormentor is entrusted with a veto to determine the course of survival which the victim may embark upon. The Kashmiri Pandit MLC who earned the birth in the upper house through the toss of a coin reflected this attitude of total surrender when he proclaimed in a public function recently that a leader cannot emerge amongst Kashmiri Pandits unless he or she is acceptable to Muslims of Kashmir.

During the tenure of Gh. Nabi Azad as the Chief Minister of the state a meeting was organised to seek the support of Kashmiri Pandits for the township under construction in Jagati. Some of the participants advocated forgetting of the past as a way towards redemption for Kashmiri Pandits and supported their return to the Valley without even talking about elementary needs of security. Their suggestion of a voluntary amnesia animated from an unhealthy state of mind.

Eli Weasel the celebrated expert on holocaust has said, "forgetting can happen not only to one person but to the group. Forgetting means end of civilisation, the end of culture, the end of generosity, the end of compassion, the end of humanity. Therefore I celebrate memory and I try to strengthen it. And I believe and I still do, inspite of everything, that memory is a shield".

The forces which perpetrated genocide on Kashmiri Pandits want their victims to forget. And those within the community who advocate forgetting the past are actually abetting in a process of destruction of a culture and a civilisation.

How could the victims, fight these collaborators living within their body polity and defeat them? The first and foremost is the preserving the memory of persecution. And the next logical step is to comprehend the persecution in all its dimensions. The degenerative forces are not all emanant, all pervading and overwhelming in strength. They are in a very small minority. By being an awakened witness to what is happening within the community these loci can be isolated as a human body walls off a pocket of infection. We cannot stop their collaboration with the enemy but we can delegitimise this collaboration.

We have also to guard against demoralisation and sense of impotence which these degenerative forces unleash. The sense of impotence or powerlessness can push the community mind to total submission. To avert it we have to cultivate a self-esteem. Yes, we are not a large community mass. But despite the colossal forces arraigned against us we have preserved our sanity, our culture and our spirit of resistance.

We have sensitised the nation about the challenges in Kashmir. We have educated the world opinion about the malaise of Jihad afflicting the Kashmiri Muslim society. We have succeeded in changing the discourse on human rights in Kashmir. World no longer recognises the separatists movement in Kashmir as a freedom struggle. Opinions are building all over that even autonomy politics is regressive and exclusivist in content. The reversal of genocide of Kashmiri Pandits is gradually becoming the acid test for any solution of Kashmir problem.

Active and fearless advocacy of Kashmiri Pandit perspective has forced the government to enlarge the scope of its help. The project of creating a township in Jagati or employment package for displaced Pandits are the measures which have materialised by speaking the truth and not fudging it. The parliamentary committee report has now recognised the Pandit Contention that the exodus was forced on the community. The report has censured the government for its apathy and negligence. The discourse on Kashmir is changing because of us. There is no reason for despondency or desperation. Steadfastness and perservance will deliver the community out of the present perseverance and not compromise or capitulation.

We have to be afraid of only one thing and that is trivialisation and banalisation of the memory of our glory as well as our persecution □



By Dr. M.K. Teng

Bombay Attack: The After Shock

the patronage the parliamentary structure of the Indian governments offers, the assortment of the rich and influential, who constitute the Indian middle class, have, in invariably acted to camouflage the objectives of the terrorist violence, the jehadi war groups have spread in the country, right from 1990, when the jehadi war groups, mounted their first major assault in Jammu and Kashmir down to the day, have did distinction in Bombay. Strangly the blame for what the terrorists wrought was apportioned where it did not belong.

For the massacre, the terrorist regimes carried out in Kashmir and the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province which led to the ethnic cleansing of the entire community of the Hindus from Kashmir and displacement of more than two-hundred thousand Hindus from the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province, the blame fell every where and on every one, except on the people, who were actually responsible for the carnage. Blame fell on the "Indian misrule in Kashmir"; the dilution of the "autonomy the Muslim majority of Kashmir was promised in return for its support to the accession of the State



to India", the economic deprivations the Muslims in Kashmir had suffered, and the political alienation to which they were subjected by the Hindu minority in Kashmir, the communalism of the Hindu majority in India, the rigged elections and the isolation of Muslims from the political government of the state and of course the proverbial "foreign hand" which had enticed away the Muslim youth and driven it to take up arms against India. Not a word, not even a whimper was heard against the flanks of the Muslim separatist forces, in

Jammu and Kashmir, which had spearheaded a three decade long struggle for plebiscite and self-determination to delink the state from India and unite it with, Pakistan. Indeed, the leadership of the terrorist flanks which operated in the state, came from the generations of the Muslims which had grown under the shadow of the movement for right of self-determination of the Muslims in the state. Not a word was said about the Muslim leadership in the state, which had worked ceaselessly for the importation of the Islamic Revolu-

tion into the state; brought about the fundamentalisation of the Muslim society in Kashmir as well as Jammu and militarisation of the Muslim separatist ranks in the state.

Not only that. The Indian political class adopted an ostrich-like attitude in respect of the objectives the terrorist flanks claimed do fight for. To be fair to the Jehadi war groups, they spelt out their objectives in unambiguous terms and with a conviction, which left no one in doubt. The Jihad in Kashmir was

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Still Asleep After Mumbai

By Daniel Pipes

VICTIMS caught in terrorist atrocities perpetrated for Islam typically experience fear, torture, horror, and murder, with sirens screaming, snipers positioning, and carnage in the streets. That was the case recently in Bombay (now called Mumbai), where some 195 people were murdered and 300 injured. But for the real target of Islamist terror, the world at large, the experience has become numbed, with apologetics and justification muting repulsion and shock.

If terrorism ranks among the cruelest and most inhumane forms of warfare, excruciating in its small-bore viciousness and intentional pain, Islamist terrorism has also become well-rehearsed political theater. Actors fulfill their scripted roles, then shuffle, soon forgotten, off the stage.

Indeed, as one reflects on the most publicized episodes of Islamist terror against Westerners since 9/11 -the attack on Australians in Bali, on Spaniards in Madrid, on Russians in Beslan, on Brit-

ons in London - a twofold pattern emerges: Muslim exultation and Western denial. The same tragedy replays itself, with only names changed.

Muslim exaltation: The Mumbai assault inspired occasional condemnations, hushed official regrets, and cornucopias of unofficial enthusiasm. As the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center notes, the Iranian and Syrian governments exploited the event "to assail the United States, Israel and the Zionist movement, and to represent them as responsible for terrorism in India and the world in general." Al-Jazeera's website overflowed with comments such as "Allah, grant victory to Muslims. Allah, grant victory to jihad" and "The killing of a Jewish rabbi and his wife in the Jewish center in Mumbai is heartwarming news."

Such supremacism and bigotry can no longer surprise, given the well-documented, world-wide acceptance of terror among many Muslims. For example, the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press conducted an attitudinal survey in spring 2006, "The Great Divide:

How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other." Its polls of about one thousand persons in each of ten Muslim populations found a perilously high proportion of Muslims who, on occasion, justify suicide bombing: 13 percent in Germany, 22 percent in Pakistan, 26 percent in Turkey, and 69 percent in Nigeria.

A frightening portion also declared some degree of confidence in Osama bin Laden: 8 percent in Turkey, 48 percent in Pakistan, 68 percent in Egypt, and 72 percent in Nigeria. As I concluded in a 2006 review of the Pew survey, "These appalling numbers suggest that terrorism by Muslims has deep roots and will remain a danger for years to come." Obvious conclusion, no?

Western denial: No. The fact that terrorist fish are swimming in a hospitable Muslim sea nearly disappears amidst Western political, journalistic, and academic bleatings. Call it political correctness, multiculturalism, or self-loathing; whatever the name, this mentality produces delusion and dithering.

Nomenclature lays bare this denial.

When a sole jihadist strikes, politicians, law enforcement, and media join forces to deny even the fact of terrorism; and when all must concede the terrorist nature of an attack, as in Mumbai, a pedantic establishment twists itself into knots to avoid blaming terrorists.

I documented this avoidance by listing the twenty (!) euphemisms the press unearthed to describe Islamists who attacked a school in Beslan in 2004: activists, assailants, attackers, bombers, captors, commandos, criminals, extremists, fighters, group, guerrillas, gunmen, hostage-takers, insurgents, kidnappers, militants, perpetrators, radicals, rebels, and separatists - anything but terrorists.

And if terrorist is impolite, adjectives such as Islamist, Islamic, and Muslim become unmentionable. My blog titled "Not Calling Islamism the Enemy" provides copious examples of this avoidance, along with its motives. In short, those who would replace War on Terror with A Global Struggle for Security and Progress

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The Sickness Of Slavery

By Special Correspondent

KHALIL GIBRAN wrote about slavery with a spiritual insight. "I found the **lame slavery**, which places man's neck under the domination of the tyrant and submits strong bodies with weak minds to the sons of Greed for use as instruments to their power.

".....I found the **subtle slavery** which entitles things with other than their names--calling slyness an intelligence and emptiness a knowledge, and weakness a tenderness and cowardice a strong refusal.....I found the **twisted slavery** which causes the tongues of the weak to move with fear and speak outside their feelings, and they feign to be meditating their plight, but they become empty sacks which even a child can fold or hang."

Communities having long history of persecutions have slavish individuals or groups who side with their persecutors and prolong their own agony. Kashmiri Hindus also have a fair share of such persons. They relish in the art of keeping their own community a hostage to the communal establishment of Valley. These individuals or small groups operate as fifth columns of the Muslim establishment. They run organisations or NGOs having patronage of the government. The slavish behaviour as described above is in ample evidence in the programmes or functions which they organise.

Recently a programme was held to commemorate the death anniversary of Late Pyare Lal Handoo on 27th Feb, 2009 at Abhinav Theatre Jammu. The proceedings were conducted by a retired educationist. The verses from Quran which he quoted forced the Muslim dignitaries, who otherwise appeared very indifferent, to adopt a serious demeanour. A well known Kashmiri Physician received an award for and on behalf of a voluntary medical mission. He also spoke on the occasion. His words were directed mainly at the chief guest on the occasion, the President of National Conference Dr Farooq Abdullah. The physician in a show of abject sycophancy confessed that he did not have the qualities to become the 'Shreeya Bhat', the legendary

physician of 'Zain-ul-Abdin-Budshah'. But at the same time claimed that Dr Farooq Abdullah had all the attributes to relive the spirit of 'Budshah'. He implored that the new government lead by NC should somehow take the Kashmiri Pandits back. The request carried the undertones of endorsing a return by any means.

The physician, in the not distant past, never missed any opportunity to claim to be an ideologue of Panun Kashmir. He also presents himself the brain behind the ideas of 'Constituencies in Exile', 'Reservation in Legislative Bodies', 'A Greek City State, Model for rehabilitation of the displaced and last but not the least the 'Minority Status' for Kashmiri Pandits.

In the same programme a retired bureaucrat, who recently won one more extension of his carrier by getting a berth in the upper house, also spoke. The bureaucrat has the distinction of earning the extension first as the Chief Secretary and then as the advisor in the State government before joining the National Conference. Known more for his total subservience to Muslim establishment, the quality which he has wielded with consummate effect, the bureaucrat had words of censure for the Pandit audience or perhaps for Panun Kashmir which he seemed to suspect commanded the respect of the audience he was addressing. He declared that parochial visions and extreme positions do not have takers now. He also enunciated a thumb rule that a Kashmiri Pandit can only become a leader if he is also acceptable to Kashmiri Muslims.

The chief guest on occasion Dr. Farooq Abdullah started his speech by showing discomfiture at the words of an Advocate who had spoken little more assertively eschewing sycophancy pervading the rank and file of the speakers. Dr Farooq expressed his helplessness to instal a statue of Late P.L. Handoo in Kashmir Valley which was the demand of the P.L. Handoo foundation. He was unsure whether he would be able to do the same in Jammu. He, as is his key tactic while talking to Pandits, lamented on the disunity among Kashmiri Pandits and conveniently ignored the issue of their reservation in Legislative Assembly. Farooq Abdullah

however could not restrain himself to hurl the insult at the Kashmiri Pandit audience by making an insinuation that Kashmiri Pandits in cohorts with brokers in Valley had themselves got their homes and hearths burnt or plundered only to claim the insurance money.

The audience left dumb founded.

The attitude of abject slavery, self denial and self flagellation is evident in the behaviour of a class of Kashmiri Pandit individuals who have an uncontrollable urge to some how remain closer to power echelons or who have enjoyed some measure of importance with the Muslim establishment while the large community was ruthlessly being marginalised and excluded from the socio-economic organisation of the state.

This attitude of slavery described here is not only unique to individuals described above.

An office bearer of a Pandit organisation in Kashmir Valley was abducted by terrorists in Srinagar. He was then strangled with a steelwire. Thinking that he had died, terrorists left his body near a drain in the downtown. The Pandit had not died. He regained his consciousness and crawled into a nearby Hindu house where from he was taken to the hospital. He then lived in Jammu alongwith his wife. One day a Hurriat interlocutor placed in Jammu visited his accommodation. The interlocutor, talked about the great tradition of love and brotherhood between Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley. The Pandit leader, slavishly nodded in affirmation. It is said that after listening to their conservation the elderly wife of the Pandit got enraged. She stood up and lifted the Kurta over the back of her husband and revealed the torture marks still left on his back to the Hurriat leader. The Hurriat interlocutor quietly walked out.

Another individual wrote a letter to Hurriat Conference which was published in the local dailies, requesting its leaders to invite the types of his ilk for dialogue so that the hands of secularist within the community are strengthened and communal forces weakened. The brother of this individual was murdered by the terrorists not long back.

A group of writers, perhaps eager to win official patronage would listen condescendingly the expositions of the cultural czars of the Valley making suggestions as obnoxious as claiming Lal Ded to be a Muslim convert and having even seen her grave.

A group of KPs managed to capture a KP education society. They surreptitiously got a clause in its constitution changed which guaranteed the society the status of a minority institution only to pave way for its take over by the government. The bargain which they sought to strike was to ensure the regularisation of its set up in Jammu in return of handing over the prestigious college run by the society in Kashmir Valley to a Muslim management. The take over was aborted by a third party intervention through Court after the general body of the society had reintroduced the expunged clause into its constitution.

What makes members of a persecuted community to act in a way which jeopardises its very struggle for survival? Incentives in the form of money and patronage play a role in this attitude. The bureaucrat must have used abject subservience to rise up the ladder and secure extensions even after reaching the top.

The teachers of the education society supported the take over of the college in which they were employed by the government hoping to secure their salaries and pensionary benefits.

Late Pyare Lal Handoo would defend anything and everything with regard to National Conference even brazen communalism directed against the community to which he belonged to fortify his position within the party and the government.

But the attitude of self denial, negation and flagellation has more to it than mere self-interest. Late Pyare Lal Handoo said in early 90s that Kashmiri Pandits should have stayed put in the Valley even if thousands of them would have been killed. He knew very well the character and strength of the genocidal forces which brought about religious cleansing of Hindus. The statement he made was not just overlooking the tragedy which had befallen his own community. It was a blatant self condemna-

tion.

When the bureaucrat said that parochial vision and extreme positions have no takers it was not an innocuous egalitarian vision which he was articulating. It went even beyond self blame. It sought to create a self guilt within the community for having stood and spoken against forces of intolerance, exclusion and genocide.

When somebody whose kith and kin has been killed by the terrorists chooses to appeal to the same terrorist leadership for recognition it is not merely a political ploy to gain importance or leadership credibility. It is a statement of total impotence powerlessness and surrender.

We are actually witnessing a diseased mental state-a psychopathology. Khalil Gibran calls this state as lame slavery, or subtle slavery or twisted slavery. Psychoanalysts call it masochism-a diseased state of mind where the individual or a group takes pleasure in suffering or submitting. In such a state of mind one tends to glorify and praise his tormentor. One sees enemy only within one's ownself and security in submission in front of the victor. One behaves in such a state out of a sense of total impotence.

What was manifest during the deliberations of the commemoration of death anniversary at Abhinav Theatre was not mere selfishness or self aggrandisement. The Pandits were told that they were disunited and rudderless. They were told that they themselves got their houses burnt in the Valley to claim the insurance money. Such expositions carried sadist streaks-an urge to show absolute and unrestricted power over the victims.

The Pandits listened helplessly to such grave insinuations. Such a submissiveness shall only qualify as masochism. The great psychoanalysts Eric Fromm qualifies that, "Both the sadist and masochist need another being to complete them as it were. The sadist makes another being an extension of himself; the masochist makes himself the extension of another being. Both seek a symbiotic relationship because neither has his centre in himself. While it appears that the sadist is free of his victim, he needs the victims in a perverse way."

By James Kitfield

Al Qaeda's Pandemic

IN the collective body that is Islamic extremism, often only a few synapses stand between a spoken word and an act of wanton bloodshed half-way around the world. Tracking exactly how the organism of global jihad translates such violent impulses into distant actions is critical to grasping how the virulent terrorism that struck the United States on September 11, 2001, has mutated in the past five years. And that knowledge is key to understanding the degree to which the virus is still spreading. "What happened to Al Qaeda and its affiliates since 9/11 is a very dangerous convergence of terrorism and a mass mobilization that would be traditionally associated with a liberation movement or insurgency, only on a global scale," Mario Mancuso, deputy assistant secretary of Defense for special operations and counter-terrorism, told *National Journal*. "Quite frankly, we've damaged Al Qaeda the organization significantly, but the threat is much broader. The best way I can describe it is that the global insurgency reacts to Osama bin Laden's radical ideology almost like distant and seemingly disconnected light particles respond in unison to an unseen wave. Over the long term, halting the spread of that extremist ideology will be our most important metric of success."

Take the audio tape that bin Laden released in fall 2003, one of many such sermons delivered by the Qaeda leader and his top lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahiri. In fact, the pace of pronouncements from these leaders to the greater Islamic jihad, presumably issued from hideaways in the ungoverned tribal regions of Pakistan, has increased markedly in the past year. On October 19, 2003, however, bin Laden had a very specific intent to intimidate nations participating in the United States' "unjust war" in Iraq. He singled out Australia, Britain, Italy, Japan, Poland, and, for the first time, Spain.

The very next day, a Moroccan named Youssef Belhadj, who had shadowy ties to Al Qaeda, purchased a cellphone in Belgium. On the application, a knowledgeable source says, Belhadj falsely noted his birthday as "3/11." A few weeks later, Spanish intelligence services reported to authorities in Madrid that the remnants of a Qaeda cell

in Spain, whose leaders had been imprisoned for assisting the 9/11 hijackers, were reassembling.

On December 10, 2003, a treatise titled "Jihadi Iraq, Hopes, and Dangers" was posted on the *Global Islamic Media Front* Web site, one of nearly 5,000 jihadi sites that have sprung up on the Internet since 9/11 and now constitute a cyberspace sanctuary for the Islamic terrorist movement. "Jihadi Iraq" laid out a cogent and detailed strategy for shifting the entire burden of the Iraq war onto the shoulders of the United States by pressuring European forces to withdraw from the coalition. Given that 90 percent of Spaniards opposed the decision by Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar to send troops to Iraq, the tract fingered Spain as the weakest link in the Iraqi coalition. In rallying the faithful, "Jihadi Iraq" invoked in closing the name of Abu Du-jana, a legendary warrior who fought alongside the prophet Mohammed.

On March 11, 2004—or 3/11—Islamic extremists planted 13 backpack bombs on Madrid's commuter rail system in a nearly simultaneous attack that bore all the hallmarks of a Qaeda operation. The bombs were carefully timed to explode as the trains pulled into crowded stations, to maximize the carnage. The attack killed 191 people and wounded 1,741. With the exception of the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland in 1988, it was the most devastating terrorist attack in Europe since World War II.

The Madrid bombings were also spectacularly successful on a political level. Just days later, Spanish voters went to the polls and defeated the Aznar government; new Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero quickly announced the withdrawal of all Spanish troops from Iraq. Such successes never go unnoticed in the surprisingly close-knit community of Islamic extremists.

"There is a tremendous discourse in the jihadist community, as they talk about what attacks worked and which did not,

and they definitely believe the Madrid bombing was significant for leading to the change of government in Spain," said Daniel By-man, a counter-terrorism expert at Georgetown University and a former staff member of the 9/11 commission. Madrid also showed, he said, that even as the U.S. coalition continued to chase Al Qaeda from its safe haven in Afghanistan, increased agitation and radicalization in the Muslim world were strengthening local and regional networks.

"Wherever there is a broad Muslim community such as in

Europe, we've seen these pockets of angry young men arise," By-man said. "The good



news is, they may not be sophisticated enough to carry off a 9/11 attack. The bad news is, they are eager to die and certainly capable of mounting the types of bombings we've seen in Madrid, London, or Istanbul."

AN UNSEEN HAND

Were the Madrid bombings really the work of a homegrown "self-starter" cell of Muslim immigrants, as many newspapers initially reported? The answer to that question goes a long way toward explaining the evolving nature of Islamic terrorism. And it is critical for assessing just how successful the United States, now marking the fifth anniversary of its "global war on terror," has been in destroying its chief enemy.

A few days after the Madrid bombing, for instance, a Spanish television station aired a video-tape in which a man wearing Muslim burial robes and holding a submachine gun called himself "Abu Dujana al-

Al Qaeda has mutated into a global insurgency run by Islamic extremists. A case study of the 2004 Madrid bombings shows how the conflict has escalated and what that portends for the future of terrorism.

Afghani." His words and nom de guerre suggested that he was familiar with the "Jihadi Iraq" tract and had ties to the Afghan mujahedeen. Acting as the military spokesman for Al Qaeda in Europe, Abu Dujana claimed full responsibility for the bombings, calling them a response to the killing of women and children in Iraq and Afghanistan by "Bush and his allies."

Spanish authorities believe that the man on the tape is none odier than Youssef Belhadj, the Moroccan they now have in custody.

"The fact that Belhadj wrote '3/11' as his birth date the very day after bin Laden first targeted Spain strongly suggests that the date of the Madrid attacks on

March 11 was fixed back in October 2003, and that he was following Qaeda orders to initiate operations," said Fernando Reinares, a senior analyst on international terrorism at the Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies in Madrid. Similarly, the terrorist attacks in

London in 2005 and Mumbai in 2006, as well as the recently foiled plot in Britain to bomb as many as 10 U.S.-bound airliners over the Atlantic, all had major threads leading back to Pakistan and almost certainly to Al Qaeda.

"I disagree with this myth depicting Al Qaeda as just an ideology or political movement at this point," Reinares said. "Yes, it has become far more decentralized as the global jihadi movement has adapted itself to an increasingly hostile environment following 9/11, but in many ways Al Qaeda today is what bin Laden and Zawahiri originally envisioned: a base from which terrorist operations are still planned and initiated but carried out by far-flung jihadi groups and cells around the world."

MADRID AS MICROCOSM

The Madrid attack serves as a microcosm of the global Islamic jihad life-cycle, including its organic reliance on cells that are

formed, linked, split, destroyed, and then re-formed in a process of perpetual reinvention and mutation.

Tracing just a few threads of connective tissue, for instance, investigators have tied the individuals at the center of the Madrid bombings to a plot to bomb a hotel in Jordan during millennium celebrations in 2000; to multiple suicide car bombings in Casablanca in 2003; to the suicide attacks in London in 2005; to a foiled plot to bomb Spain's National High Court; to a European network formed to funnel jihadists to Iraq to fight the U.S.-led coalition; and, of course, to the 9/11 plot.

Madrid cell members have been connected not only to Qaeda central but to concentric and interconnected circles of affiliates, such as Ansar al-Islam, Salafia Jihadia, Algerian and Moroccan Salafist groups, and "Al Qaeda in Iraq" (formerly led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi). Salafists follow a very fundamentalist form of Islam.

The Madrid plot highlights the global jihadi movement's increased reliance on cyberspace for propaganda, communications, and strategy, and it indicates the continued centrality of radical *imams* and mosques to the extremist Islamist movement. The intersection of terror and criminal networks that increasingly defines the terrorist threat was also evident in Madrid, as was the ascendance of homegrown cells that arise to embrace bin Laden's ideology and do Al Qaeda's bidding.

Madrid goes a long way toward explaining why many counter-terrorism experts believe that the greatest threat from Islamic terrorism emanates not from the battlefields of the Middle East or the ungoverned spaces in Africa, but from the restive Muslim diaspora in Europe.

"When you realize that a female baker's assistant from Belgium conducted a suicide operation in Iraq, and recall that Mohamed Atta and that Hamburg cell were educated in

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Al Qaeda's Pandemic

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Germany, and note that the number of Muslims in Europe has grown from just 1 million in 1945 to 20 million in 2006, then you start to understand why the future of Al Qaeda is not going to be decided in Pakistan but in Europe,” said terrorism expert Peter Bergen, speaking recently at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies in Washington on his new book, *The Osama Bin Laden I Know*. Europe has done a poor job of integrating its Muslim populations, Bergen said, and “because Europeans can come to the United States without a visa, that represents a potentially devastating vulnerability for us.”

THE STRATEGIST

When Mustafa Setmariam Nasar returned to his adopted home in Spain in 1992 after fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan, he was a dangerous combination of seasoned jihadist, religious ideologue, and visionary with a plan. Along his journey of jihad, he had met and befriended Osama bin Laden. For a time, Nasar was an instructor at a Qaeda training camp. He had also been named to Al Qaeda’s ruling council.

Much like bin Laden and other Afghan mujahedeen who were returning to their homes in the Middle East and Asia in the early 1990s, Nasar was determined to expand the jihadist franchise. What set him apart was that he planted his jihadi seeds in the surprisingly receptive soil of Europe, which had displayed a lax attitude toward the Islamic extremist threat during the 1980s and 1990s. An August 2004 article in *The New Yorker* on the Madrid bombings quotes Spanish police officials confirming that at the time of the attack, the country had not a single Arabic-speaking intelligence agent.

Nasar, a Syrian and a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood, had originally immigrated to Spain in the mid-1980s to escape Syria’s brutal crackdown on the fundamentalist Islamist movement. With his pale skin, red hair, and close-cropped beard, Nasar blended in easily in Europe, and he quickly gained citizenship by marrying a Spanish woman, who was a convert to Islam.

Putting into practice what he had learned in Afghanistan,

Nasar began building an infrastructure by organizing the extremist fringe of Europe’s restless Muslim population into autonomous cells. He operated from a home in the Spanish city of Grenada, the jewel in the crown of “Al Andalus” (the Arab term for Spain under Moorish rule). The Islamic Moors ruled this area of the Iberian Peninsula from the eighth century to the 15th century, until the Catholic Spaniards drove them out—a parable for paradise lost that bin Laden has repeatedly cited.

Working with a Qaeda associate who went by the name Cheij Salah, Nasar established the organization’s first Spanish sleeper cell. To lead the enterprise, he chose a fellow Syrian and former member of the Muslim Brotherhood, a burly man named Imad Eddin Barakat Yarkas, also known as Abu Dahdah. Dahdah and Salah began their recruiting drive by proselytizing young Muslims and distributing extremist pamphlets outside the Abu Bakr mosque in Madrid. They eventually formed a cell of roughly 20 men, mostly of Syrian and Moroccan origin. The recruits called themselves the “Soldiers of Allah,” and in many respects they would become the mother of all Qaeda cells in Europe.

Using money acquired from a variety of petty criminal activities that included auto theft and credit card and bank fraud, Dahdah seasoned his young adherents by sending them to train in Qaeda terrorist camps in Afghanistan or to wage holy war on behalf of Muslims in Bosnia and Chechnya. According to Spanish authorities, Nasar expanded the franchise by traveling widely to set up cells in Belgium, France, Italy, and elsewhere, before moving to London in the mid-1990s.

In England, Nasar blossomed into a chief strategist of the jihad, joining forces with the radical imam Abu Qatada. Qatada was a leading intellectual light of London’s Islamic extremist movement that earned that city the sobriquet “Londonistan.” Together, Qatada and Nasar edited the ultra-radical *Al Ansar* magazine, a broadsheet for Islamic terrorist groups. Under their editorial leadership, *Al Ansar* notably issued a “fatwa,” or religious edict, justifying the killing of women and children in

Algeria by the Algerian Islamic terrorist group GIA; the jihadis put the policy into practice by slaughtering whole villages in their fight to establish Islamic rule in that country. Thus did Nasar reveal an early penchant for bloodletting, even against “apostate” Muslims of rival sects. His murderous practices would eventually be embraced by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Sunni who justified slaughtering Shiite Muslims in an attempt to foment civil war in Iraq and who was killed by U.S. forces in June.

THE PREACHER

Described by a Spanish judge as Al Qaeda’s spiritual leader in Europe, and by British authorities as the most significant Islamic extremist preacher in Europe, Abu Qatada is representative of the central role that radical imams continue to play in spreading Islamic extremism. Authorities found 18 tapes of Qatada sermons in the Hamburg apartment of 9/11 ringleader Mohamed Atta. Failed shoe bomber Richard Reid and potential hijacker Zacarias Moussaoui reportedly sought advice from Qatada.

According to the 2004 *New Yorker* article, written by Lawrence Wright, when police eventually surrounded the Madrid bombers several weeks after the attack, the terrorists attempted to call Abu Qatada in London’s Belmarsh prison, seeking a fatwa that would justify their committing suicide.

Qatada spent time in British prisons after 9/11, and he was again arrested in August 2005. He awaits extradition to Jordan, where he has been sentenced in absentia to life in prison for his role in a terrorist bombing plot there.

The symbiotic relationship between radical imams and the solar system of terrorist cells that revolve around them was revealed at the trial of Abu Dahdah. Evidence indicated that he made as many as 20 trips to London to pass along to Abu Qatada money that had been raised from Arab business owners in Spain. Upon one of Qatada’s arrests, British police found him with the equivalent of more than \$300,000 in cash, including an envelope labelled “For the Mujahedeen in Chechnya.” Another member of the Dahdah cell in Spain had visited Morocco and offered to help raise money for Mohammed Fazazi, a Moroccan imam and spiritual leader of the Salafia

Jihadia terror group, who was later imprisoned for his role in the 2003 terrorist bombings in Casablanca.

“The common theme we continue to see in the radicalization of these homegrown terrorist cells is a radical preacher that somehow gains influence over them,” said Grant Ward-law, national manager of intelligence for the Australian Federal Police. Wardlaw said that Australian authorities recently broke up two such start-up cells of second-generation Muslim immigrants in Melbourne and Sydney that were connected only by their association with a single radical imam.

“Mirroring the trend in Britain, Canada, and elsewhere, we also increasingly see these imams moving from radical mosques to prayer halls, social groups, and informal meetings in homes in order to escape detection,” he said. “More broadly, we’re worried about what is happening in the broader environment that is making second-generation Muslim immigrants quickly turn from being not particularly interested in Islam to suddenly being quite radical and willing to blow people up.”

MOTHER OF CELLS

Phoning the month before the 9/11 attacks, the caller had a cryptic message for Abu Dahdah, whose phone was being monitored by Spanish intelligence authorities.

“Everything is going to be fine. I have entered into the aviation sector,” said the caller, a suspected Qaeda operative named Farid Hilali. “I slit the throat of the bird.”

After Western intelligence agencies began closely conferring in the weeks after September 11, Spanish authorities noted other disturbing connections between Abu Dahdah’s Spanish cell and the Qaeda cell in Hamburg that carried out the hijackings. On June 21, 2001, for instance, an Algerian with suspected ties to Al Qaeda phoned Abu Dahdah with another pointed message.

“You should obtain the things soon,” he said. “The brothers are in a hurry.”

Less than a month later, in July 2001, 9/11 ringleader Mohamed Atta and his chief Qaeda go-between, Ramzi Binalshibh, arrived in Tarragona on their second trip to Spain that year. Spanish intelligence officials are convinced that they were the “brothers” referred to in the in-

tercepted call, and that they met in the resort town of Salou with Abu Dahdah and one of his right-hand lieutenants, a Moroccan named Amer Azizi, to finalize details of the 9/11 attacks. Officials found Abu Dahdah’s phone number in the apartment of one of the Hamburg cell members, and Zacarias Moussaoui had Azizi’s phone number in his address book.

On November 13, 2001, Spanish authorities moved in to destroy the cell, arresting Abu Dahdah and 10 other senior members of the “Soldiers of Allah” for complicity in the 9/11 attacks. In September 2005, Imad Eddin Barakat Yarkas—aka Abu Dahdah—was sentenced to 27 years by Spain’s National Court for his part in the plot. On appeal, the Spanish Supreme Court reduced his sentence to 12 years.

Many of the details of the arrests and of the Madrid bombing plot in general were first reported by Jose Maria Irujo, a writer for the Spanish newspaper *El Pais* and the author of *The Black Hole: Spain Invaded by Jihad*.

TERROR REGENERATES

Scarcely reported at the time was the story of a “Soldier of Allah” who was not arrested: Amer Azizi, a Moroccan immigrant and, like Yarkas, a jihadist globetrotter who had fought in Bosnia and had gained Spanish citizenship by marriage. A step ahead of a police raid on his apartment, Azizi escaped to Iran through Milan, and he eventually resurfaced in his native Morocco. Exploiting Azizi’s computer hard drive, police reportedly learned that he had spent many hours on the Internet downloading Islamic jihadi tracts and pamphlets from various terror groups, as well as videos of bin Laden.

In Morocco, Azizi reportedly reconnected with the Moroccan Islamic Combat Group, a Qaeda-affiliated terror group whose core members trained together in the same Afghanistan camp in the 1990s. Almost immediately, the neural networks of Islamic extremism began repairing the damage from the crackdown in Spain, reconstituting the cell that was destroyed.

Azizi made contact with Mustafa Maymouni, a fellow Moroccan and a former close associate of Abu Dahdah who headed the radical group Salafia Jihadia in Madrid. According to a 2005 Spanish indictment, Azizi instructed Maymouni

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to reconstitute Dahdah's cell in Spain by reaching out to the young members who had escaped the 2001 dragnet. They included Sarhane Ben Abdelmajid Fakhet, Maymouni's brother-in-law.

Fakhet stepped up to lead the new cell. Following in his mentor's footsteps, he recruited members among his circle of radicalized acquaintances at Madrid's M-30 mosque (named for a nearby motorway). Maymouni was later arrested and imprisoned in Morocco for his role in the May 16, 2003, Casablanca attacks in which 12 suicide bombers killed 45 people.

At a rented farmhouse, the reconstituted Madrid cell met repeatedly with bomb maker Rabei Osman Sayed Ahmed, a former member of the Dahdah cell who was once an explosives expert in the Egyptian army and a member of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. Another cell member had met a small-town crook in jail whose brother-in-law worked in the mining business. In exchange for 25 kilograms of hashish, the brother-in-law handed over the explosives used in the devastating Madrid bombings.

The role of prisons as hotbeds of radicalization and as convenient crossroads for the intersection of Islamic extremist terror and organized crime is still another aspect of the Madrid bombing plot that worries counter-terrorism experts.

"In some ways, the problem of Salah" extremists converting fellow inmates to radical Islam in prison is worse than the issue of radical mosques, because they literally have a captive audience of men already predisposed to illegal behavior," said Xavier Raufer, a counter-terrorism specialist at the Paris Institute of Criminology. "In France, we're already seeing the Islamic equivalent of prison gangs—and more and more hybrids that are a combination of terrorist and criminal organizations."

When Spanish police surrounded a safe house in a Madrid suburb on April 3, 2004, where seven of the train bombers—including the cell leader Fakhet—had taken refuge, the authorities recorded the jihadis' calls to their mothers to say goodbye. The terrorists then strapped on explosive belts and died in a suicide detonation that also killed a police officer. Thus, even in their last act, the Madrid terrorists presaged the trend toward "martyrdom" operations, including the London bombings of July 2005, which were the first

organized suicide attacks in Europe, and the planned suicide attack on trans-Atlantic jetliners foiled this summer.

No wonder the Madrid model continues to haunt counter-terrorism experts, who see a self-perpetuating virus, with no apparent antidote on the horizon.

"The Madrid cell shows how Islamic jihadist networks continue to replenish themselves—not by horizontal recruiting of strangers that might make them easier to penetrate but rather by recruitment within vertical clusters of family, friends, clan, and acquaintances that in many cases stretch beyond Western countries," said Reinares of the Elcano Royal Institute. "The London bombers formed the same way. That suggests to me an increased level of radicalization among new generations of Muslims in Europe, meaning that this phenomenon of Islamic extremist terrorism is likely to threaten us for decades. It's not a pretty picture."

A GLOBAL INSURGENCY

After the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, Mustafa Setmariam Nasar went into hiding with a \$5 million reward on his head. He resurfaced in cyberspace in 2004 as the author, under the pen name Abu Musab al-Suri, of a 1,600-page treatise titled "The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance." As noted in *The Washington Post* earlier this year, some counter-terrorism analysts consider Nasar's "masterwork" the closest thing to a strategic manifesto for the global Islamic insurgency.

Drawing on his own expertise and critiquing the lessons of failed insurgencies in Afghanistan, Egypt, and Syria, Nasar outlined the shift toward more-autonomous, homegrown terrorist cells. For security's sake, these cells maintain few formal organizational links with each other or with Qaeda central. They are nevertheless willing to act under guidance from roving operatives on behalf of bin Laden and other senior leaders.

Pakistani agents captured Nasar in the border city of Quetta in November 2005, but experts say that the strategic vision he painstakingly laid out has helped to shape the evolution of a sustainable Islamic terrorist movement.

Gijs De Vries is the counter-terrorism coordinator for the European Union. "There's a consensus in Europe at least that, having lost its physical home in Afghanistan, Al Qaeda successfully moved into cyberspace and focused on ideologically tapping

into these loose groups and individuals who are willing to act on bin Laden's messages," he told *National Journal*. "In some ways, that makes Al Qaeda today even more diffuse and complicated than the original organization."

Al Qaeda's evolution has forced European authorities to focus not just on Afghanistan or on their own borders, he said, but also on the threat from within. "Moderate Muslims now hold the key to this conflict, because only if we can persuade the majority of Muslims to disassociate themselves from the radicals who claim to act in the name of Islam can we face down this threat," De Vries said. "Unfortunately, it remains an open question whether we can win the hearts and minds of the moderate Muslims, and in that regard the Iraq war and other conflicts in the Middle East continue to complicate our fight against terrorism. There is no doubt that in the Madrid and London bombings, and in the murder of Theo Van Gogh in Holland, terrorists in each case claimed that Iraq and the humiliation caused by conflicts in the Middle East were a major part of their motivation." Van Gogh was a Dutch filmmaker who made a movie critical of Muslims' treatment of women.

IRAQ AS CENTREPIECE

A close examination of the Madrid bombing plot reveals how central the Iraq war has become to the schemes of the Islamic jihadi movement. The use of the war as an organizing magnet in Islamic extremist propaganda explains how a conflict that began as a U.S. fight against a specific terrorist organization and its affiliates with "global reach" has now morphed into a global counterinsurgency in which the terrorists swim in a sea of an estimated 138 million Muslims around the world who are sympathetic to bin Laden.

"I've seen some pretty good research that suggests that only about 0.02 percent of Muslims could be considered Islamic extremists or Salafists, but given that there are 1.8 billion Muslims, that means I potentially have to worry about 250,000 people scattered around the world," Wade Ishimoto, the senior adviser to the Office of the Secretary of Defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict, told *National Journal*. "People have to realize that one of the really brilliant moves that Al Qaeda made was to train thousands of operatives and then release them around the world to tap into that extremism."

AlQaeda's Pandemic

Meanwhile, as clearly shown by the Madrid plot, bin Laden and his followers continue to believe that a U.S. defeat in Iraq will define this latest epoch in the long struggle between Islam and the West, a war that they perceive in terms of centuries and generations yet unborn.

"In its Power Point presentations, the Pentagon likes to note that it has killed or captured three-quarters of the pre-9/11 Qaeda leadership and denied it critical sanctuary in Afghanistan. That befits our tendency to look for markers of progress on a map and to regard warfare as a finite undertaking with a clear beginning, middle, and end," said Brian Jenkins, the longtime counter-terrorism analyst at the Rand think tank. "Our enemy looks at jihad as a process that is its own reward, however, and as something that gives them an identity, a sense of worth—and, ultimately, a ticket to paradise."

Like Reinares, Grant Wardlaw, and Xavier Raufer, Jenkins is a member of the Council on Global Terrorism, an independent group of experts from around the world whose upcoming report traces the spread of the global jihadist insurgency over the past five years. [The council is supported by the Atlantic Monthly Foundation, an affiliate of Atlantic Media, which publishes *National Journal*. James Kitfield worked on the group's report, but his conclusions here are his own. Members of the council argue that, from the unique view of the Islamic extremists, America may appear to be losing the "global war on terror."

"From their perspective, the Islamic extremists would say that they have survived the infidel superpower's mightiest blows with their top leadership intact and still able to communicate over the thousands of Web sites devoted to jihadi issues that have sprung up on the Internet since 9/11," Jenkins said.

"Certainly there is no question that, within the Muslim world, bin Laden's ideology is more discussed today than at the time of the 9/11 attacks or that it continues to attract recruits."

Partly as a result of that recruiting success, Jenkins said, the pace of terrorist operations and attacks—the essential coin of the jihadist realm—continues at roughly one a month. That exceeds the pre-9/11 frequency of plots and attacks, even discounting near-daily suicide bombings and violence in Af-

ghanistan and Iraq.

"Bin Laden and his affiliates also see our position in Iraq as untenable and view talk in the United States of an early withdrawal as sign of a looming victory," said Jenkins, the author of the recent book *Unconquerable Nation*. "In public comments, bin Laden has made clear that he considers Iraq today analogous to what happened to the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980s—namely, a defeat that moves the United States another step toward its ultimate collapse."

WIDER IMPLICATIONS

U.S. and international experts will tell you that although individual terrorist organizations have been destroyed in the past, broad counterinsurgencies are almost never won on the battlefield. Victory will have to come in the political arena. Until the world can break the cycle of Islamic radicalization and recruitment, America and its allies are condemned to an endless series of tactical rearguard actions against successive waves of terror plots and attacks that U.S. counter-terrorism figures show to be at a record level.

Certainly we can mark signature successes in that tactical struggle since 9/11. Because of good international cooperation and police work, for instance, thousands of travellers did not die this summer in airliners blasted over the Atlantic. The Canadian Parliament was not held hostage, Ontario power plants were not bombed, and the Canadian prime minister kept his head. New York City's Brooklyn Bridge still connects the borough to Manhattan, and the Holland Tunnel is flooded with cars rather than water. The Sears Tower stands in Chicago, and the U.S. Bank Tower in Los Angeles remains the tallest building west of the Mississippi.

Counter-terrorism successes against each of those terrorist plots have to be measured against a backdrop of tragic failures, however—failures that didn't begin with New York City and Washington, and certainly will not end with Mumbai, London, and Madrid. Until the fires that stoke bin Laden's fevered dreams of war between Islam and the rest of civilization are finally quelled, the only thing separating the next American city from that sorrowful list is a spoken word and the right sequence of impulses in the global Islamic jihad.



Related Stories: Are we any better off than Pakistan? Make believe in gloomy times Hinduva doublespeak All in the name of Hindu culture Time for administrative reforms

As a huge fan of Barack Obama and a dedicated enemy of radical Islam it worried me to hear the American President talk of 'moderate' Taliban. I found myself wondering how they would be graded. Would those who burned girls' schools but did not participate in the global jihad be considered moderate? What about those who believe in stoning women to death and marrying nine-year-old girls but not in suicide bombing—would they be considered moderate? By this measure the men who blew the Bamian Buddhas to smithereens would be considered mere pranksters trying to amuse Allah with a spectacular display of idol smashing.

After the American President made his comment about moderate Taliban he got a response from the Taliban themselves. There is no such

thing as moderate Taliban, a Taliban spokesman retorted angrily, unless the President meant the lazy old Muslims who sit idly at home instead of joining the jihad against Jews, Hindus and Americans.

Instead of listening to the 'thinkers' and think tanks in Washington Mr. Obama would do better to listen carefully to what the Islamists themselves say loudly and clearly. He would discover that the objective of the worldwide jihad is to convert the whole world to radical Islam. They believe this is what Allah wants and are ready to die fighting to make Allah's wishes come true so that they can spend Eternity frolicking with those seventy-two virgins in Paradise. Odd, isn't it, that it's alright to get up to all sorts of mischief in heaven but a sin to do the same things on Earth?

Radical Islam is an ugly, dangerous ideology. There is nothing in it that would help solve the world's problems or lighten its shadows. Its fundamental principle is that everything we need to know about life, laws and faith is revealed in the Koran and that we must abide by the interpretation given to us by semi-literate, fanatical mullahs. If not we will be punished horribly by bearded mujahideen. Radical Islamists believe they have the right to impose their diktat well beyond faith to politics, culture and every aspect of life. This is where the problem begins.

For us in India it is an

especially serious problem. Not only do we have more Muslims than almost any other country but we are also the ultimate idol-worshipping country, bursting at the seams with heathens who indulge happily in such pagan festivals as Holi. We like being heathens and we want India to stay the way it is—full of loose, pub-going women who disdain being told how to behave by priests and other fanatics. The Islamists would like these things to change and for India to become more Islamic. In interviews to magazines and newspapers they have no hesitation in admitting that they think India would benefit from becoming fully Islamic. We must fight them because our way is better and worth fighting for. **Freedom of worship is a superior idea to the totalitarian faith that radical Islam preaches.**

The religions of India are in their essence atheistic and the opposite in almost every way to the theistic religions that came to us from the neighbourhood in which Islam was revealed to the Prophet. For centuries we have

Do not tolerate radical Islam

Freedom of worship is a superior idea to the totalitarian faith that radical Islam preaches.

lived peacefully with Islam because of our fundamental belief that everyone has a right to their own faith. But, with the visible radicalisation of Muslims across India under the malevolent influence of radical Islamists, tensions between the communities have grown in recent years. These tensions are compounded by the sad reality that a very large number of India's Muslims live in desperate poverty. They are mostly illiterate and those who are not are often schooled in madrassas that make them unemployable and deprive them of all access to modern ideas. They become easy recruits for the jihad, easy to convince that killing innocent people by killing themselves will get them an extra virgin or two in Paradise.

Even by the standards of radical Islam the Taliban are unspeakable monsters as can be

seen from a casual examination of what they did when they ruled Afghanistan and what they are now doing to Swat and Bajaur. In Swat more than 200 girls' schools have been burned in recent months, schoolgirls have been attacked for daring to go to school, journalists have been beheaded for telling the truth and Sufi Mohammad has given interviews saying that democracy is an infidel idea. To accept any of these things as acceptable because Islam has a different set of values to ours would amount to tolerating intolerance. In many European countries this has already happened with dangerous consequences. If Barack Obama continues to search for moderate Taliban to negotiate peace with, the consequences for the world are likely to be even more dangerous.

(Source: The Indian Express)

Bombay Attack: The After Shock Still Asleep After Mumbai

(From Page 4)

heralded with the war cry of Azadi liberation of Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian hold and its unification with Pakistan. As the terrorist regimes extended their operations to the other parts of India they made no secret of the initiations they harboured. The Jehadi war groups and their supporters world over, claim an extra-territorial right to protect the interests of the Muslims in India and secure them their right to reorganise their society according to the law and precept of Islam. They sought to enforce their right to intervene in Jammu and Kashmir in 1990 after the Jihad triumphed in Afghanistan. The terrorist attack on Bombay signals their intention to enforce their right to ensure the Muslims of India their right to realise their Islamic destiny.

The terrorist attack on Bombay should serve as a signal for

the Indian people to recognise the import of the religious war, the Jehadi war groups are waging against India for the last two decades. The territorial aims Pakistan followed in Jammu and Kashmir and the ideological objectives the Jehadi war groups, are to achieve, emanate from the Muslim commitment to use the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir to foist a second partition on India and open the way for the eastward expansion of the Muslim power of Pakistan into the north of India and after that is accomplished, use the Muslim population of India break up the unity of the country.

The danger posed by the war of subversion Pakistan and the Jehadi war groups, including the Muslim terrorist regimes in India, are waging against India, poses a serious danger to the unity and security of India. The Indian people must shake them-

selves out of their complacency. Pakistan backs the Jihad with its nuclear power and that country has used nuclear blackmail as a potent instrument to contain the Indian military capability to fight the Jihad.

CONTINUATION

Pakistan is militarily aligned with the Anglo-American power block. It is also a part of the Sino-Pakistan military axis. The containment of the military capability of India suits both the Anglo-American power-Block as well as China. In a way, their insistence on a settlement of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan motivated by a desire to prolong the Containment of India. A breach in the northern frontier of India will close all options for India to break-out of its containment.

(From Page 4)

imagine this linguistic gambit will win over Muslim hearts and minds.

Post-Mumbai, analysts such as Steven Emerson, Don Feder, Lela Gilbert, Caroline Glick, Tom Gross, William Kristol, Dorothy Rabinowitz, and Mark Steyn again noted various aspects of this futile linguistic behavior, with Emerson bitterly concluding that "After more than 7 years since 9/11, we can now issue a verdict: Islamic terrorists have won our hearts and minds."

What finally will rouse Westerners from their stupor, to name the enemy and fight the war to victory? Only one thing seems likely: massive deaths, say 100,000 casualties in a single WMD attack. Short of that, it appears, much of the West, contently deploying defensive measures against fancifully-described "activists," will gently slumber on.

FamilySecurityMatters.org Contributor Daniel Pipes is director of the Middle East Forum, Taube distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University.

JKENG 00333/26/AL/TC/94
JK No: 1213/18
Regd. JK-219/2009-2011
Printer Publisher B.N. Kaul for and on behalf of
Panun Kashmir Foundation.
Editor: SHAILENDRA AIMA
Computer Graphic:
S.K. Babbu
Printed at : The Kashmir Times Press, Gangyal, Jammu
Owned by:
PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION
Published from PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION, 172, Sector-3, E.W.S Colony, Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu-180013 (INDIA)
Tele/Fax: 0191-2593166
email: kashmirsentineljk@yahoo.co.in
website: panunkashmir.in

PANUN KASHMIR ORGANISES FREE MEDICAL CAMP

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Mar 15: A free medical camp was organised by Panun Kashmir at Laxmi Niwas near Fakad Baba Mandir, Vipin Garden West Delhi on 15th March 2009. The camp was dedicated to Late Aman Kachroo, a first year medical student at Rajinder Prasad Medical College Tanda, Himachal Pradesh. The facility was made available for the community members of Rohini, Dwarika, Palam Vihar, New Palam Vihar, Najaf Garh, Nabard, Kakarola, Jain Nagar, Uttam Nagar, Pitam Pura and Vipin Garden.

A team of doctors stately led by Dr. Shakti Bhan spend the full day to perform this noble cause. Around 500 patients were attended to by the medical team. Ultrasound and Cat Smear facilities besides free medicine distribution was made available during the camp.

Following doctors participated in the camp Dr Shakti Bhan, Dr. Girija Tickoo, Dr. Pushpa Kaul & Dr. Vijay Wali (Gynaecologists); Dr. Sunil Koul & Dr. Surinder Pandita (Surgeons); Dr. Usha Koul (Radiologist); Dr. Narinder

Mohan Tickoo (Gastro-Entologist); Dr. Jawahar Wali, Dr. Anupam Zutshi & Dr. Varun Raina (Physicians); Dr. Sushma Koul & Dr. S. Shakder (Pediatrician); Dr. Raj Ganjoo (Psychiatrist) & Dr. B.L. Bhan (Urologist-Surgeon).

The dedicated team of Panun Kashmir activist Sh. Ramesh Pandita, Sh. Ashok Raina, Sh. Satish Dhar, Sh. Vijay Bhat, Sh. Chand Ji Pandita, Sh. Kuldeep Raina, Sh. Abhinav Pandita, Sh. Sanjay Langoo aptly led by Sh. Vijay Tickoo Vice-Chairman Panun Kashmir and Sh. Kamal Wangoo Secretary Panun Kashmir NCR Delhi made the whole arrangements to the best ability and dedication.

Commenting on the camp one of the participating doctor said that I have attended so many camps so far but this one was unique and I have promised organisers of my continued participation in future endeavours as well.

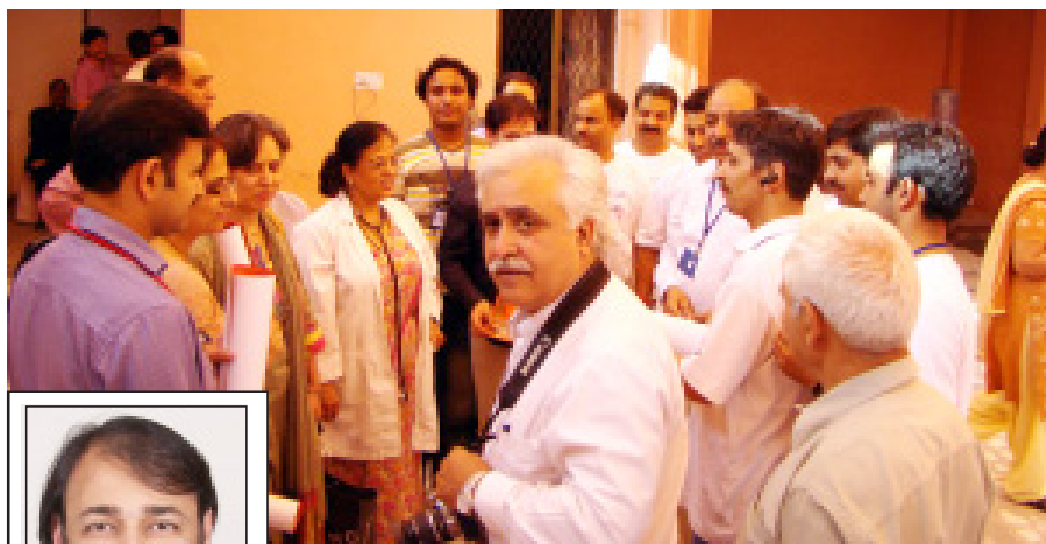
The presence of cheerful and ever-fresh 'man with the camera' Sh. Raj Raina was a booster to the enthusiasm of the all activists and participants.

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Photos by Raj Raina

Panun Kashmir and KashmirSentinel Pay Homage Late Aman Kachroo who met an untimely death at Rajinder Prasad Medical College, Tanda Himachal Pradesh. Late Aman Kachroo who was a brilliant medical student died during ragging by the seniors of the College.



Raj Raina





Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants-II



By Upendar Ambardar

UNDENIABLY the festival of Maha Shivratri has a local essence, indigenous character, ethnic attribute and native flavour. It has acquired diverse hues and colours in the form of various symbolical and allegorical strains over the years. The symbolic dimensions of our rituals and customs have given a near heritage status to our socio-cultural history. The various rituals which run through our social fabric give a continuity to our exemplary culture, opined Sh. A.N. Koul, an original inhabitant of Narpirastan, Fatehkadal Srinagar and now a resident of Vijay Nagar, Talab Tillo Jammu. Reminiscing about the festival of old times, Sh Koul revealed that ritualistic dish of '*rajmah*' cooked with turnips was a must on '*hur oakdoh*', while as the mixed dish of meat and nadru (lotus stem), fish cooked with reddish and indigenous vegetable of '*hakh saag*' were the mouth watering culinary delights, which were offered to the 'Bhairav DouL'.

Elaborating further, he recounted that in addition to ensuring of continuous burning of oil lit earthen lamp (*choang*) through out the festival night in the '*vatakuth*', an elderly male member of the family would also sleep there on the Shivratri night to ensure symbolic family hospitality to the 'divine *baraatis*'. Sh A.N.Koul also added that on the occasion of '*Vatak Parmuzan*' done on '*Doon Mavas*' i.e. Phagun Krishna Paksh Amavasya, the cutting of river water seven times with a knife while performing the pooja on Vitasta (Jehlum) river bank ghat was an integral part of '*Doon Mavas*' pooja. He has not abandoned this ritual even at Jammu as it's continuity is ensured by symbolic cutting of the tap water flow seven times with a knife during the '*Doon Mavas*' pooja now performed at home instead of the river bank. The time honoured Shivratri rituals carry the resonance of the mystic tradition handed down to the posterity by our ancestors, articulated Smt. Renu Koul (Misri) of Zainadar mohalla Srinagar and now a resident of Talab Tillo, Jammu.

She recollected that Shivratri festival was collectively celebrated by all the five Misri families of Zaindar mohalla Srinagar and mixed preparations of meat and nadru, fish cooked with reddish (*mujje*) were the ritualistic ethnic cuisine offerings during the pooja. Smt. Renu Koul also informed that in addition to the ritualistic ordination of two earthen pitchers (*Nout*) designated as '*Ramgoud*', nine big size narrow mouthed earthen pitchers, nine wide mouthed smaller dimension pitchers called in vernacular parlance as '*doulji*', two clay utensils called '*vagurs*' in addition to the usual '*Resh DouL*', two '*Saniwaris*' and one '*Sonipatul*' formed an essential part of '*Vatuk*' of Misri clan pooja.

Our commitment to the observance of ancient rituals should be firm and steadfast, observed Sh Raj Nath Koul, an erstwhile resident of Rawalpora Srinagar and now living at Vijay Nagar, Talab Tillo Jammu as according to him the rituals chronicle our centuries old cultural and religious history.

Supplementing his assertion, he recollected that he made it a point to procure the fish needed as a ritualistic dish from the distant Telbal area, when fish were in short supply due to freezing of Dal Lake and other water bodies in the year 1984. Rituals are beliefs in the symbols, which give a sort of spiritual and religious fortification to a festival, stated Sh.Makhan Lal Bhan, earlier a resident of Khardori Habbakadal, Srinagar and now settled at Jaipur. Sharing his fond memories about Shivratri, he recollected that after Phagun Krishan Paksh Panchmi, the house inmates would refrain from taking tea or meals outside and outsiders excepting 'Gurtoo' families were disallowed from entering the home. Adding to it, Sh. Bhan also recounted that it was customary to fill-up the '*Vatuk*' earthen wares with the water from the river Vitasta and the exercise was usually undertaken by the ladies. Rituals are inextricably linked to our ethno-religious identity and should be celebrated with unbroken tradition as they remind us of our native geography and original locale, affirmed Sh. P.N. Bhat of Zainapora Shopian. Recapping the Shivratri tradition of earlier times, he fondly reminisced that a small fish variety locally called '*gurun*' fried without oil on a frying pan was a traditional offering to the designated clay utensil of 'Bhairav DouL'. He also informed that snow and icicles locally known as '*Shishirghant*' also formed a part of ritualistic offering to both '*Nout*' and '*Doul*', the earthen pitchers as the supreme God Shiva is regarded as the Lord of snow.

The festival rituals having religious essence and spiritual connotations should not get diluted in the time wrap of the present, declared Sh. Jagan Nath Koul Sagar of Manzgam, Kulgam (Kashmir) and now putting-up at Lakshmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. According to him '*Vatak Raaza*' is a local honorific given to the great God Shiv Nath as Kashmir is Lord Shiva's and Goddess Parvati nee Satis' own land and mystic paradise. He also added that every past memory of the festival and the native landscape gives a sense of area specific belonging to the community.

Speaking on a nostalgic note, Sh. J.N. Koul Sagar recollected that thirty three earthen utensils comprising of three '*Bhairav Douls*', seven Resh pyala's, three wide mouthed pitchers of '*Doulji*', apart from the customary utensils of '*Nout*' and '*Choud*', two Saniwari, one '*Sanipatul*' and a '*duphjoor*' were a part and parcel of Shivratri pooja utensils, collectively known as '*Vatuk*'. Adding to it, he further remarked that Shivratri for Kashmiri Hindus is a festival of rejoicing as it marks the celebration of the divine marriage of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati nee Sati. As such all the necessary functions and rites before and in the aftermath of marriage function are performed by us as Goddess Parvati is regarded as the daughter of Kashmir and Lord Shiva as the divine son-in-law. It is due to this reason that all the auspicious marriage rites and symbols are strictly adored to during the observance of the festival. Accordingly in tune with the requirement of the ceremony, the earthen utensil of 'DouL', a symbolic representation of Goddess Parvati is kept on the left side of the designated utensil of '*Nout*', taken as a representation of Lord Shiva as during a mar-

riage ceremony also, a bride is always seated on the left side of the bridegroom. Sh Koul also recounted that as per his clan tradition the ritualistic immersion known as '*Vatuk Purmoojan*' was done on Phagun Shukla Paksh Pratipadhav i.e. 'Oakdoh' instead of the usual Phagun Krishna Paksh Amavasya as planetary configuration on '*Amavasya*' is as pre a belief regarded as ominous. It is testified by a Kashmiri maxim '*Maghi Gach, Mavsi Na*' i.e. never on Amavasya but reluctantly on Maghi.

Rituals are repositories of ancient wisdom and traditional beliefs and have imprints of bygone eras, opined Sh Prem Nath Bhat Shad, an original resident of Qazibagh, Budgam Kashmir and now putting up at Barnai, Jammu. He went nostalgic while recalling the festival of yester years and recapped that use of brass utensils in the Shivratri pooja was disapproved and instead the utilisation of clay utensils was a common practice. The procurement of a live fish (guran) even from the frozen village stream and kept alive in a water container for the eventual offering to the 'Bhairav DouL' on Shivratri was a customary ritual for his family. In addition to it, the cooked fish with separate pieces of head, middle and tail portions was also a ritualistic offering to the 'Bhairav DouL'. Sh. Shad also revealed that it was obligatory for the head of the family to sleep in the '*Vatuk Kuth*' on Shivratri night and also to keep an oil lit earthen lamp burning day and night upto '*Amavasya*' in the '*Vatuk Kuth*'.

According to him, apart from the relatives, neighbours, friends, the village carpenter, ironsmith, potter and barber would invariably drop in to extend festival greetings on the day following Shivratri, locally known as 'Salam'. It was also binding for the family head to see his face in the mirror brought by the village barber as mirror is said to double the festive mood of the auspicious occasion. Rituals are summation of past experiences and ancient knowledge, which have percolated down to our lives from prehistoric times, commented Sh Avtar Krishan Ganjoo of Ganderbal town, Kashmir and now putting up at Govt. Quarters, Jewel Jammu.

According to him, a few families having the surnames of Tufchis', Thaploos' and Naqaibs' of Srinagar city and the village Vanpoh of district Anantnag had an unique and peculiar Shivratri ritual. An elderly male member of the family would remain awake the whole night on Shivratri in the '*Vatuk Kuth*'. During his night long vigil, he would strike the bronze thali with a stick tied with peacock plumes and coloured cloth strips upto the wee hours of the day following it. He also revealed that a few families of Srinagar had an unusual tradition of giving a customary ritualistic bath with liquor to 'Sanipatul', the representative linga form of Lord Shiva during Shivratri Pooja. Our cultural history rests on an ancient edifice and rituals constitute the sentinels that fortify our ties with the splendour of the past, emphasised Sh.Vijay Wali of Narpirastan, Fateh Kadal Srinagar and now a resident of Subash Nagar Jammu. He also revealed that reverential instalation of a clay utensil known as 'Vagur' in the '*Vatuk Kuth*' on the day prior to Shivratri amounts to the creation of festive atmosphere before the symbolic

arrival and reception of the divine baraat' on Shivratri. Like a delectable marriage feast, ethnic mutton delights of '*roagan josh*', '*Kalya*', minced meat dish of '*masch*' and fish and '*nadru*' preparations are cooked to be offered amidst elaborate pooja to the '*Bhairav DouL*' and other clay pitchers regarded as the 'divine baraat'. In contrast to it, meat offering to the designated utensil of 'Resh dul' is strictly forbidden and in its place offering of milk, sugar candy locally called '*Kand*' and Kishmish are made to it. Many families had the tradition of putting '*saderkaanj*' (a fermented cooked left over vegetable and rice starch preparation), sour liver dish known as '*chok charvan*', liver pieces roasted on charcoal and a local preparation of goat legs soup known by the name of '*Pachi Rus*' or '*Pakmond Rus*' in the '*Bhairav DouL*' in accordance with the individual family '*reeth*'. A few families as per the family ritual desist from cooking meat on Phagun Krishan Paksh Amavasya but instead prepare methi mixed with '*nadru*', '*nadir yakhni*', '*moong daal*' mixed with turnip yellow cheese dish and fried sliced '*nadru*' called '*nadir churma*'. A considerable number of families both in rural and urban areas carve-out different figurative images out of kneaded rice flour, which are known by the local names of '*ShaiV*' (mutilated pronunciation of Shiv), '*Shavin*' (Lord Shivas' Shakti), '*Kraej*' (potters), 'Hond' (goat) and '*Hangul*' (Kashmiri variety of stag). They are subsequently cooked without oil on the frying pan. Amidst incantation of religious mantras tilak is applied and red coloured religious wrist band called '*Naervan*' is tied to the fried figurative rice flour carvings of Shiv' and 'Shavin' during Shivratri pooja. Afterwards, they are reverently placed in a thali and on 'Amavasya' evening they are also taken-out to the river bank ghat for the traditional '*Doon Mavas*' pooja. The rituals woven with varying strands of centuries old faith evoke blissful memories of the past, nostalgically recalled Sh. Moti Lal Mattoo, an erstwhile resident of the village (Deegam) Kapalmochan, Shopian Kashmir and presently putting up at Barnai, Jammu. According to him, the festival for Kashmiri Hindus is akin to a marriage function and accordingly many rituals which enliven the elated mood of the joyous occasion form a part of the festival. The devotees of his area would use the fragrant wild foliage locally known by the name of '*Ganpatar*' in place of the usual '*Baelpatar*' (Bilva leaves), which grew luxuriantly in Kushalder forest area of his village. According to him, the ritual of '*Doon Mavas*' performed on the river bank represents the ceremonial send-off of the divine bride, divine bridegroom and the 'divine baraat'. Further, water a metaphor for the power of nature and remover of all sins is an essential requirement for social, cultural, religious and spiritual growth and sustenance. Recapitulating further, Sh Mattoo recalled that during '*Doon Mavas*' pooja, the filled-up water contained in '*Nout*' and '*Choud*' are mixed together before emptying them in the flowing river water symbolizing the divine union of Lord Shiva and His spouse Goddess Parvati. Afterwards, a portion of water collected from the river is sprinkled on the front door of the house as a token of auspiciousness. --(To be continued)

The Concept of Sunya

From Buddhism to Kashmir Shaivism to Lalla Ded



By Prof. M.L. Koul

ALL credible evidences from the annals of Kashmir history establish that Kashmir was a pivotal centre of Buddhist thought and learning. To counter the narrow philosophical positions of Hinyana Buddhism it was in Kashmir that the doctrinal positions and theoretical mould of the Mahayana Buddhism were formulated and shaped out. A galaxy of Buddhist scholars of great eminence who were Kashmiri in their origins or had settled in Kashmir from other parts of India contributed their speculative faculties to the enunciation of the contours of Mahayana Buddhism and enriched its thought-content by shaping out its structures. All concerted efforts were made to disseminate the thought to a number of countries beyond the margins of the native country. The Mahayana thought in its debate of Reality, Soul and Human destiny had marked features of synonymity with the mainstream thought of India.

Mahayana thought over a period of time branched off into two thought divisions of Madhyamik and Vijnanvad. In the pages of Buddhist thought Madhyamik is also designated as Sunyavad because of its core philosophy about sunya. Nagarjun, a great celebrity in the realms of Buddhist thought, founded the Madhyamik school through his work named as 'Madhyamik-Karika'. In his seminal work Nagarjun rejects the idea of an object existing or not-existing permanently or temporarily. He as a way out sought for a mean or middle-path. Being an expert dialectician he searched for causes for things that were existing. His postulations were star-

ting as the world for him did not exist and was nothing but void, and emptiness. Things that exist are inherently lacking in substance. Anything that depends on a cause to exist has no existence and reality of its own.

In the words of stcherbabsky, "A dependent existence has no existence, just as borrowed money is no real wealth."

The mainstream Indian philosophical thought was wary to accept the stipulations of Nagarjun and characterised it as a philosophy of voidism or nihilism. All affirmative schools of thought put the thesis of Nagarjun to a scathing criticism and dismissed it as destructive.

It was Dr. T.R.V. Murti who in his highly acclaimed work, Buddhism, gave a new orientation to the very concept of Sunya as propounded by Nagarjun. He forcefully argued against those scholars who had interpreted sunya as voidism, emptiness or sheer nihilism. As per Dr. Murti, Nagarjun never thought of sunya as voidism, emptiness or nihilism. He places Nagarjun's sunya atpar with Brahman in Vedanta, or Vijnan in Vijnanvad. Sunya, to him, is a metaphysical reality or a metaphysical concept. As Madhyamik is an absolutism, Dr. Murti calls sunya its metaphysical reality.

Dr. Murti maintains that sunya is a being that lies behind the world of relativity and conditioned existence. As a metaphysical being it is neither relative nor conditioned. He further states that world is sunya because it is relative and has no independent existence of its own.

'Sunyata' is another concept that is popular with the voidists. The critics of voidism understand it in the sense of negation. But, it, in fact, means negation of all views and even its own view.

Despite the wide-spread range of Buddhism in Kashmir, the popularity of Shiva's worship and many broad conceptualisations about popular religion never ceased to be. Being the most tolerant religion of the world religions, Buddhism was never in conflict with other forms of religions and their variegated methodologies of wor-

ship. Though a popular creed in Kashmir, Buddhism with its non-soul doctrine and sunya-like nihilistic conceptions failed to appeal to the spiritual impulse of Kashmir. The result was the churning of an affirmative strand of thought that evolved as a reaction to the formulations of the Buddhist thinkers. With Shiva as its core concept the new thought drew upon the philosophies of Sankya, Vaishnavism and Buddhism to weave its own harmonised pattern planked on non-dual structures. As a monistic absolutism it re-cycled old metaphysical and epistemological issues and evolved new approach and premis to yarn its world-view logically and coherently. Sunya as a vital Buddhist concept was appropriated, and was oriented in a manner that appeared absolutely at variance with its original Buddhist trappings and semantics.

The non-dual thinkers wedded to Shaivism put the Buddhist thesis of sunya to a thorough and incisive debate in all its ramifications. What emerges from the contours of their debate is that sunya as a metaphysical concept can be acceptable and accorded the same position that Brahman in Vedanta has. They appear to have no serious objections to place sunya even at par with Vijnan in Vijnanvad. But, they have far-reaching reservations to treat sunya at par with the metaphysical Reality of Shiva who has the pre-eminent attribute of 'Swatantrya', which is perfect freedom to act and know. Because of the attribute of 'Swatantrya', Shiva is 'Chaitanya' and sunya is lacking in this essential attribute. So, they evaluate sunya as a lower level of reality which they are unable to accept as the absolute Reality that Shiva encompasses.

The Shaiva thinkers seriously object to the voidist position of rejecting the world as emptiness or void. The world, to them, is neither insubstantial nor momentary. In their thought-model Shiva pre-exists as a being and Shakti is His becoming and their unicity is the absolute reality. If Shiva is real, so is His Shakti. As per logic, that what is real will generate or emanate real. Real

generating or emanating unreal is logically preposterous. The Shaiva thinkers are loud in their assertion that world and objects in the world are real as they are one with the light of consciousness. If they were not to appear or illumine in the light of consciousness, they would not exist at all.

The non-dual shaivites are unanimous in rejecting the Buddhist thesis of monetrariness as it reduces all manner of experiences, fleeting and abiding, to mere nothingness. As emphasised by them, the concept of momentariness dismisses all possibilities of making judgments and establishing contact through expression and communication.

In the annals of philosophy it is well-known that no new thought is totally new. What appears as new has ideas, concepts and stipulations from that what is dismissed as old and jaded. The non-dual thesis of Kashmir Shaivism as already mentioned has strands from Shaiva Siddhant of South of India, Sahajyani Buddhism, Sankhya and varied philosophies of Vaihnavism. Sunya as a concept has been incorporated from Buddhism, especially its variant called Madhyamik. The Shaivite thinkers have modified sunya to reinforce and strengthen their own philosophical positions and fundamental thesis of monism. The Buddhist meanings and trappings of sunya have been totally discarded and given a new orientation in sync with the core philosophy of non-dual Shaivims. The very definition of sunya has been altered as '*shunyam ashunaym iti ukhtam*' which in translation means 'shunya is said to be ashunya'. It is not an inexplicable riddle. The definition makes it clear that sunya is not void or emptiness. What we call sunya does contain something lying in a state of total mergence.

The Shaivites translate sunya as 'abhava', which when broken up becomes 'a + bhava' meaning Shiva and world or objects lying in His consciousness. Sunya, to them, is in no case or condition as what the Buddhists call void or emptiness. Sunya is

what the Shaivites call 'sad-bhava' which marks the presence of world or objects, but in a state of total mergence.

The following verse explains the Shaivite position on sunya:-

ashunaym shunyam iti ukhtam, shunyat abhava uchyate,

abhava satu vigyeyo yatra bhava layam gata

It conveys that sunya is asunya, not the condition of sunya, void or emptiness. Sunya means abhava (in translation), which again means a state in which objects (bhavas) lie in a condition of absolute mergence (in Shiva's consciousness supreme, the objects are there, but not in their name and form, but in a state of absolute dilution indistinguishable from Shiva's consciousness supreme also called 'maha-vyom').

Sunya in the vakhs of Lalla Ded

Lalla Ded had a strong theoretical knowledge of the tenets of non-dual Shaiva philosophy of Kashmir. She was fortunate enough to have a preceptor (guru) like Sidda Srikanth, popularly known as Syada mol, who happened to be in the line of the tradition of Shaiva acharyas. Besides theoretical studies Lalla Ded as demanded by the thought itself was initiated in the Shaiva praxis by the same preceptor. As her mystical experiences reveal she was put on the path of higher ascension and had to achieve Sivahood through the Shaiva-yoga which her venerated preceptor had introduced to her dose by dose, step by step.

As Lalla Ded was a Shaiva practitioner she happened to experience some such states where she felt that she neither belonged to the world of objects nor had the spiritual flashes that would have satiated her yearnings of attaining identity with Shiva. Such of her conditions are termed as sunya which every initiate has to experience while working out Shaiva praxis under the guidance of a Shiva-guru, a realised soul.

After rummaging all the available versions of Lalla Ded's vaakhs I was able to find out seven vaakhs in which Lalla Ded has made an explicit mention of

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KASHMIR ACCORD

We below reproduce the conclusions of the Kashmir Accord reached between the then Prime Minister of India Lt. Smt. Indira Gandhi and Late Sh. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah on Nov. 13th 1974 at New Delhi. --Editor

Agreed conclusions which led to Sheikh M o h a m m a d Abdullah's accord with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, and his subsequent assumption of office as Chief Minister in February 1975:

1. The State of Jammu and Kashmir which is a constituent unit of the Union of India, shall, in its relation with the Union, continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Constitution of India.
2. The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the State; however, Parliament will continue to have power to make laws relating to the prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and the Constitution.

3. Where any provision of the Constitution of India had been applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir with adaptations and modifications, such adaptations and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the President under Article 370, each individual proposal in this behalf being considered on its merits; but provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir without adaptation or modification are unalterable.
4. With a view to assuring freedom to the State of Jammu and Kashmir to have its own legislation on matters like welfare measures cultural

matters, social security, personal law and procedural laws, in a manner suited to the special conditions in the State, it is agreed that the State Government can review the laws made by Parliament or extended to the State after 1953 on any matter relatable to the Concurrent List and may decide which of them, in its opinion, needs amendment or repeal. Thereafter, appropriate steps may be taken under Article 254 of the Constitution of India. The grant of President's assent to such legislation would be sympathetically considered. The same approach would be adopted in regard to laws to be made by Parliament in

future under the Proviso to clause 2 of the Article. The State Government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the State and the views of the State Government shall receive the fullest consideration

5. As an arrangement reciprocal to what has been provided under Article 368, a suitable modification of that Article as applied to the State should be made by Presidential order to the effect that no law made by the Legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, seeking to make any change in or in the effect of any provision of Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir relating

to any of the under mentioned matters, shall take effect unless the Bill, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, receives his assent; the matters are:

- (a) the appointment, powers, functions, duties, privileges and immunities of the Governor, and
 - (b) the following matters relating to Elections namely, the superintendence, direction and control of Elections by the Election Commission of India, eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult suffrage and composition of the legislative Council, being matters specified in sections 138, 139 140 and 50 of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.
6. No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore, remitted to the Principals.

**Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg
G. Parthasarathi
New Delhi, November 13, 1974**

The Concept of Sunya

(From Page 13)

sunya, a state she had to experience before achieving the state of self-recognition. She was an ardent follower of the Shaiva precept of 'Shivo Bhutwa Shivam Yajet'.

Lalla Ded ardently worked out the Shaiva Yoga, the practices prescribed in it. A situation emerged when the external world appeared to get absorbed in her own self and the imbalance between subject and object appeared to disappear and all got merged into sunya (void). It is a stage in her spiritual evolution and not the situation in which she finally attained Sivahood. She even ascended the state of sunya when she had felt that the world of name and form had risen to absorption. What was left was the state of anamaya which in Shaiva parlance means the condition of supremacy of the luminosity of consciousness supreme carrying the stir (spand) to create and absorb. The experience intensely felt by Lalla Ded has been grippingly conveyed in the vaakh:

**'abhyas savikas layi wothu
gaganas saghun myul
samistrata!**

**Sunya gol ta anamaya motu
yuhuy wopadesh chuy bata !!**

Being aware of the entire upanishadic oeuvre of literature Lalla Ded has woven a superb allegory to explain the three func-

tions of Param Shiva who creates, maintains and assimilates the universe. For the purpose she mentions Shiva who is the horse, Keshav who is the saddle and Brahma who is the stirrups. The horse in the allegory is the 'trigunatmac horse' and Param Shiva alone having the attributes of 'anahat, kha swaroop, shunyalai' is capable of riding it.

Anahat, Kha-Swaroop, Shunyalai, aham-vimarsa and nada-binda have philosophical meanings and need be studied in the light of the thought Lalla Ded was thoroughly cultivated by her preceptor.

As per the Shaiva texts Bindu is the undifferentiated, luminous and eternal consciousness supreme. Nada is the Shakti, the potency to manifest what lies in the Bindu. Bindu expands from Chitta-kala to anand-shakti, Iccha Shakti, Jnan Shakti and Kriya Shakti.

Many unrelated meanings have been attributed to anahat. What Lalla Ded means by anahat is related to Bindu and Nada. Anahat is 'pranav', Om, an unhindered and eternal sound, which is Bindu when in a state of unity with Param Shiva and Nada when in outward expansion.

Kha-swaroop and shunyalai are the attributes of Param Shiva who is beyond time and space and is the abode of sunya which

means that in the consciousness of Shiva the world of objects lies in a state of total mergence.

Lalla Ded conveys:

**Anahat Kha-Swaroop,
Shunyalai**

**Aham-Vimarsa Nada Byand
Yas Von**

As a Shaiva practitioner Lalla Ded merged her two breaths, pran and apan, into the Sushmana-nadi, also known as madhyani, which is considered as having a sunya like condition. She realised that the outward world had ceased to be for her and the state of duality was not a reality. In this psychic condition of having broken with the outward world she experienced

CONTINUATION

a new state of having lost her not-self, which till then was under the delusion of taking it as her real self. With his experience as her sheet anchor she felt that the lotus of self-luminosity was about to enfold and bloom.

The following vaakh conveys the same felt-experience:-

**Sunyuk madan kodum panas
mea Lalli roozam na bodh na
hosh**

**Vazay sapis panai panas
ada kami hili phol Lalli
pamposh !!**

Kashmir thought of Shaiva non-dual is a philosophy of positive affirmation and has in no uncertain terms rejected all forms

of asceticism. Lalla as evidenced by her vaakhs has lived a life of high moral values in which avaricious greed, lust and insatiable eating have no place. Greed, lust and indiscriminate indulgence in pleasures of eating signify attachment of an individual to the things that he takes for his real self. That is why Lalla says that vain imaginings are to be abandoned and petty desires are to be slain. It never means that she is preaching for any form of asceticism. Her emphasis is to abandon any form of attachment that encases the real self of an aspirant. Lalla exhorts to concentrate on Shiva, which will pave his way to the attainment of a state where he will get merged in Sunya, a name for transcendental Shiva in which the world and its objects lie in a condition of absolute dilution. The following verse is meaningful in this context:-

**Loob marun sahas vetsarun
drogu zanun kalpan trav !**

**Nishe chuy ta duru mo garun
sunes sunyah milith gauv !!**

Before Lalla Ded achieved her spiritual state of self-recognition she had followed many a course to act out their efficacy and usefulness in achieving her destination. She had studied Tantras, especially Bhairav Tantras and the practices prescribed in them. She utilised all her learning from them and took to mantras, worked them out and marched ahead. She felt that

what she had achieved through Tantras and Mantras was that she had purified her chitta, limited form of chitti, consciousness supreme. After purification of her chitta, which was there but was free from the disturbance brought about by subject-object relationship, Lalla Ded attained the state of an aspirant, who has attained a loftiness of spiritual hue and is in ecstasy where nothing remains, but her own self stripped of all malas of attachment and duality. She in this lofty state merged into sunya, transcendental Shiva in whom the world of objects remains submerged in an undifferentiated form.

Lalla Ded sings:

**Tanthar gali tai manthar motse
manthar gol tai motseyi chyath !**

**Tseth gol tai kenh ti na kune
sunes sunyah milith gauv !!**

Sunya to Lalla Ded has come from non-dual thought of Kashmir, Shaivism which in turn had appropriated it from Buddhist thought. As a superb poet she sang it in vaakhs couching her intensely-felt experiences. Being a philosophical concept, Lalla Ded communicates the states of sunya that she had experienced during the course of her spiritual evolution. She is a great poet because she makes her felt experiences the stuff of her verse-sayings. Her poetry is great because she is philosophical in what she conveys and pours out.



By Sanjay Godbole

MR. Anant Joshi, from Pune Maharashtra India resides in Sadashiv Peth, (Peth a residential sector in the city) and is the lawful owner of the temple of Lord “Narsinha” (a Hindu deity in the form of half human and half lion body e.g. incarnation of lord Vishnu).

In the March 2004, he successfully obtained a Visa permit from Pakistan and with a view to visit the original location of the incarnation of Lord Narsinha, as detailed in Hindu Mythological scriptures & visited Multan in Pakistan. He photographed some of the ancient remains and ruins of the Hindu culture. During his stay at Multan, he was presented a book in Urdu named “Tarikh-e-Multan” written by Munshi Abdul Rehman Khan and published by “Ulum-Islamia-Chahalak”. Some vital information of the ancient remains and ruins of the Hindu Culture is detailed on Page No. 480 of this book. The translation of the related Urdu matter is as follows :-

Hindu Asar-Bot-E-Multan (Hindu Idols-antiquities of Multan).

In the history of the city of Multan, during the diluvian period, the deity called “Aditya” played a substantially vital role. That is exactly why, Multan was, in Arabia addressed as Betul-Juhet, literally means a house full of Gold. The reason is, as stated by Abdul Qassim an Arab Author, “Mohammad Bin-Quasim-got 40 Bhars of Gold (1 Bhar equals 380 Maunds and 1 maund equals 40 seers or 20 Kilograms approximately) from a house in Multan.

Ester, a contemporary historian, too, has made a statement about Multan that the name of the deity called Aditya, was also “Multan” and that the deity was mounted in a Glorious palace. The location was a big market place near Thatheri Bazar and Ivory Bazar. The spot was in the vicinity of the “Pralhad” Temple. Abu Zahid Safi writes about Multan that many pilgrims, after undertaking a tedious journey, lasting many months, visited Multan to obtain glimpses of this deity “Aditya” and brought with them, an incense called Chandan (Sandlewood) the famous Kamrani Dhoop, which was burnt in front of the deity. The then, price of this sandalwood incense was 200 Dinars for 1 maund (40 seers or 20 Kgs.) in 886 AD. Ibn-e-Rasta in the year 906 A.D. Writes that in Multan, there is an idol which is 2000 years old. It is here only, the descendents of “Ibn-e-Manba” dynasty rule the

Ancient Remains At Multan

province (Ibn-e-Manba is a branch of Sama bin Louie) on such occasions when Indian rulers, waged war and arrived near Multan, the local and native rulers became alert and kept their Military forces ready for action and showed their valour on the battle field.

Masudi, in 905 A.D. writes that the Sultan of Islamic rule, had both the riches and military. The Sultan was having a direct control of one lac twenty thousand towns in the near vicinity of Multan, spread around on all four sides. The famous Hindu temple is here only and the sultan gets a substantial income by the sale of sandalwood, required at the temple for performing religious rituals. The sandalwood was brought to Multan from far off places. Whenever, the Hindu rulers waged war on Multan and had a winning edge, over the Muslims, they (the Muslims) threatened that they would destroy the idol of the God and the Hindu Military would retreat and go back. The famous city of Kanauj was also under the control of Multan.

Hindus from Sindh province held this idol of Aditya, in a very high esteem and treated it as an emblem of the Almighty and flocked this place frequently without fail, to have glimpses of the deity.

After their arrival here, the pilgrims got their heads and beards shaved off. This deity, prima facie had live anthropoid human features and therefore, Mohammed Bin Qassim had, with a view to behead the deity, taken out his sword.

This idol was made of pure gold and was inlaid with precious stones. There was a dense forest around the temple, where the pilgrims rested under the trees.

The temple of Pralhad at Multan.

This temple is within the precincts of the old fort of Multan. The popular legend states that this temple was got constructed by Bhakta Pralhad, himself. Bhakta means devotee. It is title associated with Pralhad. It is one of the ancient remains of Hindu religious centres, and faces the Shrine of Hazrat Bahul Haque-Zakeria”.

In side the temple, there was an idol of Lord Vishnu in the incarnated form of Narasinha (A half human and half lion form) A grand fete was celebrated, of Narsinha, here in every month of “Jyeshtha”. On that occasion, many fairs and pilgrimages were held. This fete was of great importance for Hindus.

Hiranyakashyapu (father of Pralhad) wished to punish Pralhad. So he got one golden pole fabricated. He heated the column from inside and tied Pralhad to it. But Lord Narasinha favoured Pralhad and got the golden pole transformed into a column made of soil and cooled it. The Lord killed Hiranyakashyapu and made Pralhad a king. Multan was earlier known as Kashyappur then. This name was subsequently changed to Pralhadpur, after Pralhad occupied the throne.

Sir Alexander Bernas” visited Multan and has mentioned that the Pralhad temple had no roof-top. In the year 1810 A.D., the Hindus collected contributions

and got an acme for the temple. This acme was erected at a higher level than that of the dome of the tomb of “Hazarat Zakaria”. This led to rift and disharmony in the two communities. This was one of the first communal riots in Multan. Hindu as a result of the riots, were compelled to reduce the height of the acme, so as to bring it lower than the height of the dome over the tomb. In the year 1848 A.D., the East India company’s English forces attacked the Multan Fort. Due to the explosives used in and from the artillery, the structure of the temple was badly damaged and the very existence of this ancient structure went into Jeopardy. In the year 1853 A.D. the Temple was conventionally put into non-use and was put out of vogue. The temple finally was reinstated and restored, by using the funds, gathered by way of public contributions. The temple was in a fairly good shape till the year 1992 A.D. This intact temple was destroyed by the Muslims of Multan as a revenge of the Babri Masjid episode on 6th of Dec. 1992. This day, only stray remains of the walls of the temple exist in a dilapidated state.

The Suraj Kund of Multan.

This Surya-kund temple is situated at a distance of 3 kms from Multan. Here is a kund (water tank) which is 10 feet deep and 132 feet long. During the Sikh regime, Shri. Savanmal, got all the four walls, surrounding the tank, constructed. As the legend from the Hindu scripture goes, Lord Narasinha, drank water from this Kunda after he relieved Pralhad from the clutches of Hirankashyapu.

The Sun God (Aditya) Surya Devata (Deity) was worshipped at this temple. This place was considered as the second important ancient place in Multan.

The temple of Totlamai.

Totlamai (Mai means mother) is the third important and sacred spot for Hindus in Multan and is situated inside of the Haram Darwaza. In olden days the cities and towns were protected from outside attacks by constructing surrounding walls from all sides and only a few entry points were provided which were called Fasil Ka Darwaza.

This temple is called the temple of Totlamai. The deity here is Goddess “Totla. The Mughal King Aurangzeb had thrown the idol of the deity in a well here. The Chief priest of the temple at that times was an expert in Ayurvedic medicines and he treated the son of Aurangzeb and got him cured completely. The priest, as a reward, requested Aurangzeb for the idol of Goddess Totlamai and by royal order, the same was returned to him. The deity was subrogated in the temple. Shri. Savanmal richly contributed for the restoration work.

The temple of Goddess Jog Maya.

This Jogmaya Mandir happens to be the fourth important and sacred religious place in Multan. It is very near from Multan Railway Station and was initially in the form of a stone pedestal. During the regime of Deewan Savanmal (Deewan-Chief Administrator) the temple was



Narsingh Stambh (Multan).

erected and Mr. Mulraj completed this construction work.

As per the Hindu Mythological Scripture in Multan i.e. Multan, when Lord Narasinha incarnated, many Gods and Goddesses arrived there on the occasion to felicitate him, and amongst them Goddess Jogmaya was one who decided to inhabit and remain present at the spot forever. Here the Navaratri festival was celebrated in the months of Chaitra and Ashwin (from Hindu calendar months) every year.

RAMTEERTH

This is the fifth important and sacred place in Multan for Hindus. This is the abode of Lord (God) Ramchandra. There is a Kund (Water tank). Which is situated near the place. This is situated on the outside of Delhi Darwaza (Gate) and near Melsi-Duniyapur highway. During the regime of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, the Kund and the temple were constructed. The festival is celebrated here on the full moon night in the month of Bhadrapada.

Narsinhapuri Mandir

Since this temple was inside the precincts of Multan Fort, the priests could not enter the temple, except for the pre-scheduled timings on account of the restrictions on visiting hours. To remove the cause of this pre-decamental inconvenience, the priest of the temple, got a new temple erected near the sabji mandi and subrogated an idol of Narsinha incarnation. Afterwards, a wealthy devotee of Multan renovated this temple into an elegant and modern one at a cost of rupees ten thousand.

The Other old remains at Multan

Apart from the above, there are a few religiously important remains at Multan. These include the Samadhi of Savanmal outside the gate of the fort. Dnyanshala at Delhi gate, a Kund for the use of Pathashala (School), the Jain temple at Chodisara market and a temple of Lord Shiva.

The Hanuman temple in the Chowk area is also very famous. This temple was utilized as a safe refuge, for Hindus during communal riots. The other defence implements and weapons needed during such periods of riots were also stored over here. These implements were mainly used for retaliatory purposes. The Dnyanshala, referred to above topped the list of such hide outs.

The Author is a noted archaeologist, based in Pune

Early Kashmiri Society & The Challenge of Islam-I



Dr. S.S. Toshkani

Prefatory

EXPLORING what kind a society existed in Kashmir before the advent of Islam is a very interesting but also a challenging task. How was it organized? What were its institutions, its belief systems and traditions, its values and ideals? To know this in full and exact detail, we have but fragmentary and scattered sources of information available to us. Buried beneath a several kilometer long embankment running across the Dal Lake in Srinagar are hundreds and thousands of ancient manuscripts that could have provided us with a wealth of evidence. But they seem to be irretrievably lost.

All is not lost though. On the basis of still extant source materials: pioneering work of treat value has been done in the recent decades by erudite scholars like Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai, Dr. S.C. Ray and Ajay Mitra Shastri to prepare a coherent and connected account of ancient Kashmir's social and cultural life. Yet the field of investigation is so vast, and the available evidence so limited, that there still remain large areas which are unexplored and unlimited. Furthermore, the studies- of these scholars seem to suffer from a certain lack of perspective and orientation, based as they are on the Western Indoologists' line of approach consisting of too literal an interpretation of myth.

The immediate necessity, therefore, is for someone to carry the work of the pioneering scholars further on, and to offer fresh perspectives and new insights into things. It is a colossal exercise. It is extremely important to trace the genesis and evolution of Kashmiri society from the earliest times in view of attempts being made by some people to present the entire pre-Islamic past of the valley as one long period of darkness. A lot of mischief has been done by those who in the garb of historiographers are using negativist and reductionist tactics to suppress what is true and suggest what is false. They have mined the whole area of historical investi-

gation with numerous falsehoods and fact distortions. These shall, therefore, have to be cleared from the path of our vision so that it will be possible for us to see and place things in a clear and correct perspective.

At the outset, we must understand that when we talk of early Kashmiri society, we do not mean thereby any particular racial or ethnic group. Several such groups - Manvas, Nagas, Pishachas and others have come together in some distant pre-historic past to give shape to this society. Their mixing and commingling is commemorated in the Nilamata Purana, a 6th or 7th century text in Sanskrit which gives Kashmir's own creation legend. According to this Purana, gods intervened to reclaim the Himalayan Valley from the waters of a primordial lake that filled it. Killing the demon who infested the lake, they drained away the water at the request of Rishi Kashyapa, preceptor and progenitor par excellence, who took the initiative in populating the land thus reclaimed. But there was a hiccup. The Nagas, resented Kashyapa's recommendation of allowing Manavas (descendents of Manu) cohabit with them. They had second thoughts as soon as an enraged Kashyapa gave them the option of having to live with the "terrible" Pishachas. In the end we find all the elements that constituted the ancient population of Kashmir living together in a spirit of harmony and cordiality, following the instructions of, the Naga king, Nila. These instructions, as we see, concern performance of certain rites and ceremonies, which for the most part are quite similar to those prescribed in other Puranas, except in case of a few rites related to Naga worship. The Nilamata Purana is a record of their coming together, a process which must have taken centuries of assimilation. On its pages we see the earliest contours of a Kashmiri society beginning to emerge.

But that is not the manner some people would like things to have been. In their eagerness to be counted among ethno-historians, they see a bloody ethnic strife to be at the root of it all. Presenting the episode of the Nagas' initial unwillingness to accommodate, let us say, Vedic Aryans, as a gory struggle for domination *a la* colonial historians' theory of Aryan invasion, they read discord into accord and accuse "alien" Aryans to have "annihilated" the original inhabitants of Kashmir. "The blood of Nagas flows on the pages of the Nilamata", shrieks one poet-turned-politician-

turned ethnologist. "Massacre most foul", cries another, forgetting that there is nothing in the Nilamata even remotely suggestive of any such conflict or tension, and that it was Vishnu who gave Nagas fleeing from the wrath of Garuda, their arch enemy, shelter on the mountains surrounding the Kashmir Valley. After all, the Nilamata does not read like a document of war but a document of compromise and reconciliation, of the birth of a unique civilization on the banks of river Vitasta against the backdrop of snow clad mountains. Besides, as we have said earlier, in that age of mass migrations of people, no geographical boundaries were fixed, and the state just did not exist. Anyway, let us not give the feverish imagination of these people more attention than it deserves. These are, we must know, tactics to draw attention.

We have, however, to study closely the implications of the archaeological explorations which suggest that the earliest inhabitants of Kashmir were the Neolithic pit-dwellers of Burzahom, a village near Srinagar. Some Neolithic sites have been discovered in several places in the southern parts of the Valley also. Neolithic culture is said to have flourished there between 2300 BC and 2nd century AD. But as data available from Burzahom has not yet been systematically studied and analyzed, the identity of its Neolithic settlers has not been identified. Nor do we know whether they have any relations with the people of the Nilamata age or the present inhabitants of Kashmir. We are also not sure whether they had any social organization worth the name. To get a clear picture of how early Kashmiris lived, thought and worked, we have to fall back upon the Nilamata Purana and other literary sources, including Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Damodargupta's Kuttanimata Kavya, Kshemendra's writings. Bilhana's Vikramankadeva Charit, Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara, Buddhist Avadana literature, Laugakshi's Grihyasutra, Shaiva and Shakta Tantric literature, and stray references in other early works. Chinese and Tibetan records including Taranatha's history of Buddhism in India and translations of old Buddhist texts are also of great value. Information gleaned from these different sources can then be checked for authenticity by relating it to archaeological evidence wherever available.

Caste in Early Kashmir:

Let us again revert to the Nilamata Purana and its refer-

ence to immigrant Brahmanas who followed Chandradeva and settled in Kashmir. It is highly possible that a bulk of them were from the Saraswati Valley who must have decided to migrate to Kashmir after the legendary river changed its course and finally dried up. There is a persistent and strong tradition among Kashmiri Pandits that they are Saraswat Brahmins, and the presence of a large number of words of Vedic origin in the Kashmiri language seems to confirm it. From accounts given in the Nilamata. Rajatarangini and other early sources, they appear to have emerged as the dominant and highly respected social group in Kashmir, not just because they were associated with religious rites and ceremonies, but because of their intellectual proclivities, their natural gravitation towards cultivation of cerebral graces. They were intellectual people who prized learning above everything else. And indeed it is because of their contributions that Kashmir came to be known all over the world as a great seat of Sanskrit learning. In the ancient texts referred to above, we see them as people "engaged in self-study, contemplation, performance of sacrifice, penance and the study of the Vedas and Vedangas" Respect was shown to them because they were supposed to be *brahmin* and *"kalavidah"*, that is "knowers of history and the connoisseurs of art. And who can provide a better proof of this than Kalhana, the great author of Rajatarangini, and the whole host of chroniclers of Kashmir who followed him — Jonaraja and Shrivara, Pragyabhatta and Shuka? Brahmins were also required to have a thorough grounding in the six schools of philosophy, astrology and astronomy, grammar, logic, prosody and medicine, besides religious texts. They had to live an austere life and adhere to a high moral code. Nowhere has it been suggested that they should be worshipped "as gods on the earth" even if they are illiterate and ignorant. And yet all Brahmins have been equated with priests and shown as representatives of an exploitative and oppressive social order by historians whose only pastime is Brahmin bashing. They are accused of appropriating the surplus in agriculture and growing rich on the gifts given to them by others.

There is no doubt that Brahmins did hold a high position in the society, but mainly as an intellectual and scholarly class, and not all of them adopted priesthood as their profession.

And those who did were not much respected as they were recipients of donations and sacrificial fees and not donors. The donor was the patron, the *yajamana* who hired a priest to have a religious sacrifice or ritual performed. And anybody could be the patron under the *yajmani* system - including a Brahmana.

But this we shall take up later. Suffice it to say here that the Brahmins took up several occupations during the period under review, besides serving as priests. They were *kathavachakas* or narrators of Puranic stories, astrologers, *vaidyas* or physicians, teachers, and even agriculturists. Some of them joined the administrative service also and became councillors and ministers. Some, like Kaihana's own father Champaka, adopted the military career.

What about the other castes? If Dr. S.C. Ray is to be believed, there were no intermediate castes in Kashmir, not even Shudras. "Though the conception of the population as consisting of the four traditional castes was not altogether unknown", he writes, "there was no such caste as Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra in early Kashmir". While he describes Brahmanas as "definitely the more privileged and honoured caste", he mentions Nishadas, Kiratas, Dombas, Shvapakas and Chandalas as the lower castes. Dr. Ray's view appears to be only partiality true. The Nishadas the Kiratas, the Dombas etc. were no doubt there, but the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas were not altogether absent, though they have not been mentioned in that detail. The Nilamata describes the functions of all the four traditional castes and says that representatives of all the four participated in the king's coronation. The Rajatarangini too makes specific references to Kshatriyas as well as Vaishyas in the context of Kashmir's ancient history. There is no reference in it of any tension between the castes, nor anything like the priest - king collusion to maintain hegemony over others. The Brahmanas, however, are often shown as resorting to *prayopavesha* or hunger-strike to get their demands accepted by the king. The confrontation between King Jayapida and the Brahmanas of Tulamula is a well known example.

There may not be many direct references to Vaishyas as such in Rajatarangini and other early works, but Kalhana does mention the emergence of a rich and prosperous merchant class. With the opening of overland trade routes during Kanishka's

(Contd. on Page 17)

Early Kashmiri Society & The Challenge of Islam-I

(From Page 16)

rule, and perhaps, earlier, trade and commerce with foreign countries appears to have received a boost. Commercial activity must have been particularly brisk during the rule of the Karkotas. Extensive conquests by kings like Lalitaditya must have opened vast markets for Kashmiri goods in neighbouring territories. The Valley was full of wealthy merchants, says Kalahana, with some of them living in palatial buildings excelling the king's palace. Damodargupta's reference to *shreshthin* and *vanikas* also indicates the existence of a rich and prosperous trading community during his time, belonging probably to the Vaishya caste. Many among the upward mobile artisan classes in the Valley too must have belonged to this community.

As for the Shudras, Nilamata counts the *karmajivin* (workers) and *shilpis* (artisans) as Shudras - that is, the weavers, carpenters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, leather-tanners and potters. They were treated with respect in the society and were among those who exchanged gifts with the "higher *varnas*" during the Mahimana celebrations, says Dr. Ved Kumari. The servants serving in the houses of the higher castes too belonged to the caste. They were treated with sympathy and were included in the list of the persons "in whose company the householder feasted and enjoyed". The very fact, writes Dr. Ved Kumari, that the Nilamata describes the Shudras as taking part in the coronation ceremony of the king, shows that they were not debased.

There were people belonging to mixed castes also like Suta, Magadha and Vandi who lived by singing the paeans of heroes and other famous persons.

Dr. S.C.Ray counts the Nishadas, Kiratas, Dombas etc. among the low caste people but stops short of calling them Shudras. The Nishadas, who lived by hunting and fishing, are also described as boatmen in the Rajatarangim. The Kiratas, who were hunters and animal trappers, were a forest dwelling tribe belonging to the Tibeto-Burman racial stock. The Dombas have been described in the Rajatarangim in association with the Chandalas as huntsmen belonging to the menial class. Kalahana calls them "Shvapakas" or "dog-eating people". But they have also been shown as good musicians who made quite a profession of their singing and dancing. Kalahana mentions the story of a Domba singer Ranga whose daughters gave a performance in

the glittering royal assembly hall of Chakravarman and were included in the king's seraglio, one of them becoming the chief queen much to the chagrin of others. Consequently, Dombas became the favourites of the king and wielded much influence at his court as councillors. Chandalas, - were bravos and fierce fighters. They worked as executioners and were also employed as the king's watchmen.

The division of early Kashmiri society into four castes and their sub-castes was only notional. In actual fact, the caste-system was never rigid in Kashmir, or of a tyrannical character. Inter-marriages between various castes were not uncommon, as we learn from works like the Katha-sarit-sagara. It is not, therefore relevant to talk of social-organization in terms of caste so far as at least Kashmir is concerned. The society in Kashmir was actually divided along occupational or socio-economic lines. Writes Dr. S.C.Ray: "Three distinct classes of people evolved, along with their several sub-divisions, on the basis of three principle methods of production (agriculture, industry and trade)". While agriculturists constituted the bulk of these occupational classes, artisans and merchants too had important roles to play in the society.

Though agriculture formed the mainstay of the economy, it is not known whether the cultivators in ancient Kashmir were the owners of the lands they tilled or mere tenants of the actual landlords. In all probability, they had a certain share in the crop harvested by them, but its distribution lay mainly in the lands of the king and the feudal lords. The fact that cultivators participated in the joyful festivals related to agriculture during the Nilamata age shows that they were by and large owners of the lands tilled by them.

But around the 8th century, a new class of feudal landlords known as the Damaras appeared on the scene and started gaining control of agriculturist economy. We do not hear of them in the Nilamata, nor in the first three books of the Rajatarangini till we find Lalitaditya, Kashmir's most powerful king, warning his successors not to leave cultivators of the land with more than what they require "for their bare sustenance and the tillage of the land". Otherwise, he says 'they would become in a single year very formidable Damaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the commands of the kings'. And then we learn that they -were agriculturists who, owned large chunks of

land. Lalitaditya's warning appears to have had no effect, for we see the Damaras becoming more and more wealthy and gaining more and more strength. By the time" the Lohara dynasty ascended the throne,, they had become so rich and powerful that they began to interfere in the affairs of the State. Living in fortified residences, they raised large private armies and established their strongholds all over Kashmir. Such was their power and influence that they were able to extend their stranglehold over the administration, becoming virtual king-makers, enthroning or dethroning anyone according to their wish. In the wars of succession that became endemic after the 10th century, we find them supporting one claimant to the throne or the other, their support often proving to be the deciding factor. This is what happened in the internecine conflicts between Ananta and Kalasha and Kalasha and Marsha, each of them vying for their help. Powerful rulers like Didda, Ananta, Kalasha and Jayasimha used every stratagem to curb them, including the use of military force, but the Damaras continued to retain their nuisance value. Dr. S.C.Ray attributes the rise and growth of the Damaras not only to the "weakness of the royal authority" and "the constant wars of succession", but also to "the economic structure of the society", which because of increasing dependence on agricultural lands for revenue proved helpful to the rise of the landed aristocracy. As their wealth and influence increased, the Damaras came to be looked upon with respect in the society, with royal families establishing even matrimonial relations with them.

Merchants formed another important and influential section of the society. We have already referred to their rise while talking of the Vaishyas. Kalahana shows them living in great affluence in palatial residences more magnificent than even the king's palace. Kashmir's trade and commercial ties with the neighbouring regions appear to have been very strong right from the Kushana period or even earlier and by the time the Karkotas rose to power, an extensive export market became available for Kashmiri goods, which presumably included raw wool and woolen fabrics, hides and skins and leather articles, fruits, and most important of all, saffron. Among the articles of imports salt seemed to be the most important. Silk, which seems to have been imported from the neighbouring China, vermilion, asfoetida and several other spices, and coral, imported possibly from the west-

ern regions, were possibly the other-important items. With this the wealthy merchant class gained ascendancy in the society. We can see in Damodargupta's *kuttanimata* Kavya. *shresihm* and *vanikus* living in great luxury and patronising theatre-houses. However their importance began to decline when the overland trade routes were closed and trade became more of an internalized affair. They even began to resort to deceitful means for making quick money, as Kalahana and Kshemendra seem to suggest.

While agricultural and trading communities were very important elements in the society from the socio-economic point of view, the artisan classes also witnessed a significant growth in early Kashmir. These included the weavers and the jewellers, metal casters and image-makers, potters and carpenters, blacksmiths and leather tanners etc. Although their sphere of activity was quite wide, there were no corporate or traders guilds in Kashmir as in other parts of India.

There were also occupational communities who served the society in various other ways. Among these could be counted the wrestlers, the actors, the dancers, the physicians, the shepherds, the gardeners and also the courtesans who plied the world's oldest trade. These people were not directly connected with the production of wealth, but nonetheless had their own place in the society.

Yet another class, which distinguished itself from all the classes mentioned above was that of the administrators. It consisted of the nobility and the bureaucracy. As Dr. S.C. Ray has pointed out, the highest civil and military officials were drawn from the nobility, and these included the *sarvadiikara* (also called *dhi-sachiva*) or prime minister, *stiehiva* or minister, the *mandalesha* or governor and the *kantpanes ha* or commander-in-chief. Being important officers of the State, the nobility drew large salaries from the royal treasury.

The bureaucracy assisted them in running the general administration of the State. It consisted of all kinds of officials, both high and low, all of them being known by the general coveivterm "Kayastha", which did not denote any particular caste. Members of and caste or class could be recruited as Kayasthas, including the Brahmanas. Both Kalahana and Kshemendra have Hayed them for their greed and for their cruel methods of exacting revenue and taxes from the people. Kshemendra gives a long list of their designations in his works Narmamala and Samaya Matrika. Describing them as an exploita-

tive and oppressive class, he exposes their fraudulent ways and bungling, and accuses them of forgery, misappropriation and embezzlement. Kalahana too speaks about them in the same vein. The common man appears to have been squeezed between the tyrannical Damaras and the oppressive and greedy Kayasthas, though not all Kayasthas could have been like that.

One of the most significant, and surprising, features of the early Kashmiri society was the freedom that women enjoyed. The picture one gets of their life from various literary sources is not that of servitude or deprivation but of happy participation in different spheres of human activity. There was no attempt to marginalise them or decultunse their personality, as was being done in other contemporary societies elsewhere in the world. Though under the protective umbrella of the family, they occupied a pivotal place in social life and moved about with unfettered freedom. Undoubtedly, the society was patriarchal, but there was no restriction on the movement of women, nor were any irrational curbs imposed on their activity. In the age of Nilamata and the centuries that followed, female seclusion was something unknown in Kashmir till Islam made its advent. Participating joyfully in the numerous festivals prescribed in the Nilamata, they would go to the gardens in the company of their menfolk without any inhibition or fear of approbation. For instance, during the hamanjan utsava, (the would free) sport with men under the flower-laden boughs of the Iramanjari shrubs, exchanging garlands of flowers with men in a spirit of gay abandon ' Or go to the fruit gardens on the Ashokikash.ta.ini clay to worship fruit-beanng trees". Such was the spirit of the times that during the Shravani Utsava. young maidens were enjoined to go and enjoy water sports. Yet another seasonal-festival was Knshyarambha when peasant women would accompany their menfolk to the "open fields of nature for ceremonial ploughing of the soil and sowing of seeds". It was a month long festival celebrated amidst much singing and dancing. While these outdoor festivals showed that women in these times were in no way confined to the four walls of their homes, there were numerous indoor festivals too. For instance, during the Kaumudi Mahotsava or the festival of the Full Moon, women would sit beside the sacred fire with their husbands and children, watching the beauty of the moonlit night". Even servants were allowed to participate in such festivals.

(From Page 2)

61. Smt. Mohini Bali W/o Sh. M.N. Bali of Mirgund Pattan Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 47, Lane 4-A, Laxmi Vihar Tomal Bohri Jammu. 23/11/2008.
62. Sh. Makhan Lal Goja originally resident of Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at 117/2, Saraswati Vihar Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 24/11/08
63. Sh. Pyaray Lal Drabu S/o Late Sh. H.N: Drabu originally resident of Malik Angan Fatehkadal Sgr and presently residing at H.No: 250, Sector-3, Govind Nagar, Gole Gujral Jammu. 24/11/2008
64. Smt. Jai Kishori W/o Sh. Sham Lal Pandita of Bemina Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 7, Lane No: 1 Sector-1 Boni Lane, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 29/11/2008
65. Sh. D.K. Koul (Sec J&K Assembly) S/o Late R.K. Koul of Sehyar Sgr, presently putting up at 112-A, Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 29/11/2008
66. Sh. Dina Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Balak Ram Raina R/o Bonapora Akingam Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 6-B, West Railway Colony Jammu. 25/11/2008.
67. Sh. Janki Nath Trisal S/o Late Sh. Shridhar Joo Trisal of Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at 2N-Govind Nagar Gole Gujral Talab Tillo, Jammu, Sector-2. 24/11/2008
68. Sh. Makhan Lal Koul (Khodballi) S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Koul 52/1, Kharyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 4, Lane-8, Kothian Nater Barnai Jammu. 26/11/2008.
69. Smt. Soomawati Pandita W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita of Bidder Kokernag Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 171, Lane No: 1, Surya Vihar (TCP) Lower Muthi Jammu. 26/11/2008
70. Sh. Prabhawati Raina W/o Late Sh. Nath Ji Raina R/o Karfali Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Kangra (H.P.). 26/11/2008
71. Smt. Meenawati Raina W/o Late Radha Krishan Raina resident of Kathroo Anantnag; Kmr; and presently resident of H.No: 883, Last Stop Bhagwati Nagar, Jammu. 27/11/2008
72. Smt. Rani Khoda W/o Late Sh. Hriday Nath Khoda of Malapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently putting up at Lane 1-H, H.No: 7, Adarsh Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 27/11/2008.
73. Sh. Ravinder Kumar Dhar S/o Late Sh. Harishur Nath Dhar of Channapora, Lal Nagar, and presently putting up at H.No: 3, Lane-2 KB Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 27/11/2008
74. Smt. Shanta Wakhloo W/o Sh. Shiv Jee Wakhloo of Murrar Pulwama, Kmr; presently at 166-Amar Colony Camp Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 28/11/2008.
75. Smt. Mohan Rani Thaploo W/o Late Sh. D.N. Thaploo of Shalayar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 173, Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 28/11/2008
76. Sh. Brij Nath Bhat S/o Late Madsudhan Bhat R/o Muran/Mahjoor Nagar Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 144, Wazir Bagh Opp. Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 28/11/2008.
77. Sh Surinder Koul S/o Late Sh M.N. Koul resident of Hargopal Niwas Sehyar Nawakadal Sgr; presently resident of F-68, Sec-14, Nanak Nagar, Jammu. 29/11/2008
78. Smt. Shobhawati Koul W/o Sh. Suraj Ram Koul of Super Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 469, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 29/11/2008.
79. Sh. Arjan Nath Bhan S/o Late Sh. Amarchand Bhan of Reshi Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at D-19, Lane-17, Police Colony Swaran Vihar Bantalab Jammu. 29/11/2008
80. Smt. Krishna Khurdi W/o Late Sh. Soom Nath Khurdi R/o Reshi Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 184/4 Sanjay Nagar, Ext. Jammu. 29/11/2008.
81. Smt. Indrawati Trisal W/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Trisal R/o Babapora, Shelting Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 11, Lane-1A, Hanjura Lane Lakshmiapuram Chinore, Jammu. 30/11/2008
82. Sh. Moti Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Kailash Nath Koul presently resident of Kalka Colony Near Vishwabarti School Lower Muthi Akalpur Road, Jammu and originally resident of Tulmulla Kmr. 30/11/2008
83. Smt. Soomawati Pandita W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita of Ashmuji Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at Kailash Vihar, H.No: 36/4, Netar Kothian Jammu. 30/11/2008
84. Smt. Kamlawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Bhat of Kharduri Bazar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of B-5, F-4, Shrikrishna Appart. Ramparasta Gaziabad (UP). 30/11/2008.
84. Smt. Kamla Jee Shangloo W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Shangloo originally resident of Bul-Bul Lankar, Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 128, Lane No: 11, Laxmi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 1/12/2008.
85. Smt. Roopawati Dhar W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Dhar of Langate Handwara Kmr; presently residing at 57/2 Anand Nagar Bohri, Jammu. 1/12/2008.
86. Sh. Prithvi Nath Peer S/o Late Sh. Neel Kanth Peer of Narparistan Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 1, Lane-5, Bhawani Nagar, Gole Pully, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 1/12/2008.
87. Sh. Dawarika Nath Koul (Wafa) of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of 203, Kashmiri Colony, Vitasta Enclave Paparawat Road Najafgarh New Delhi. 1/12/2008.
88. Smt. Koushalya Koul W/o Sh. Sham Sunder Koul of Devsar Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 329-330 Phase-IIIrd, Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 1/12/2008.
89. Sh. Prem Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Hari Ram Koul of Seer Hamdan Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Block E-2, Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 2/12/2008.
90. Sh. Brij Lal Razdan originally resident of Akhura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at 10-Wasuki Vihar Nitar Kothian Rajouri Lines Jammu. 2/12/2008.
91. Sh. Mohan Krishan Jan S/o Late Sh. Ishwar Joo Jan R/o Aga Hamam Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 15-A, DDA, Flats Gulabi Bagh Delhi. 2/12/2008.
92. Dr. Puran Raina S/o Late Sh. S.K. Raina originally resident of Magarmal Bagh Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 110, Sector-I, Channi Himmat Jammu. 2/12/2008.
93. Sh. Shamboo Nath Gurkha (Zalpuri) Sr. Journalist S/o Late Sh. Shridhar Koul (Gurkha) originally resident of Wazpora Alikadal/Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 955, Lane-14, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 3/12/2008.
94. Smt. Prabawati Raina W/o Late Sh. S.P. Raina of Village Mujamargh Zainapora presently at village Muthi H.No: 134-A, Vinayak Nagar, Jammu. 4/12/08.
95. Smt. Shanta Zalpuri W/o Sh. Chaman Lal Zalpuri R/o Tankipora Dadi Kadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 7, Lane No: 7, K.B. Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 4/12/08.
96. Sh. Sheetal Misri S/o Late Sh. Pushkar Misri presently resident of Mohalla Panditan Ward-11, Poonch Jammu. 5/12/2008.
97. Sh. Triloki Nath Yacha S/o Late Raghunath Yacha formerly resident of Rainawari Sgr and presently resident of 156-B, Block-C, Kanchan Janga Appt. Sect-53, Noida. 5/12/08.
98. Sh. Lambodhar Nath Hangloo of Hangalgund Anantnag, Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 3, Sector-E, Bharat Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/12/2008.
99. Sh. Madav Lal of Levдора Qazigund Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 11-M, Police Complex Channi Himmat, Jammu. 6/12/08.
100. Sh. Krishan Kumar Handoo H/o Smt. Mohini Raina ertstwhile resident of Exchange Road Sgr; presently at B.H. 403, Abhimanyu Appt. Vasundra Enclave Delhi. 6/12/2008.
101. Sh. Keshav Nath Handoo originally resident of Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of 129/11 Laxmi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 7/12/08.
102. Smt. Sheela Ji Bhat W/o Late M.L. Bhat R/o Tral Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 161, Lane-3 Vikas Nagar, Sarwal Jammu. 7/12/2008.
103. Smt. Rattan Rani Bhan W/o Sh. L.N. Bhan originally resident of Rajbagh, Srinagar, presently residing at 201, Col. Colony Bohri Jammu. 8/12/2008.
104. Smt. Gonwati Raina W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Raina of Kandikhas Handwara Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 30, Saraswati Vihar Bohri (Tomal) Jammu. 8/12/2008.
105. Sh. Ravinder Kumar Dhar S/o Late Dr. Neelkanth Dhar of Karfali Mohalal Sgr; presently residing at 274, Sector-30, Faridabad Haryana. 8/12/2008
106. Smt. Shobawati W/o Late Sh. Govind Lal Khashu of Wazapora S.R. Gunj Sgr; presently residing at 585-15A, Faridabad. 9/12/2008.
107. Sh. Prithvi Nath Pandit erstwhile resident of Jamoo, Ashmuqam and presently resident of STD/PCO, Roop Nagar Soap Factory Paloura, Jammu. 9/12/2008.
108. Mr. Rocky Bhat son of Late Sh. T.K. Bhat of Baramulla Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: B-B, Phase-IInd Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 9/12/2008.

Homage

Panun Kashmir & Kashmir Sentinel Pariwar pays homage to **Sh. Brij Lal Kaul** F/o Sh. Rakesh Kaul (activist of Panun Kashmir) who breathed his last on 18th January 2008 at Noida (UP). Sh. Brij Lal Kaul was a veteran freedom fighter. He worked relentlessly to counter the disinformation campaign unleashed by communal and antinational elements of Kashmir Valley after the mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in 1990. **May God rest his soul in peace.**



Sh. Brij Lal Kaul

Homage

Panun Kashmir pays homage to Smt. Raj Laxmi Misri mother-in-law of Satish Sher who passed away on 20th of Feb 2009 at Chandigarh. **May God rest her soul in peace.**



Smt. Raj Laxmi Misri

Dear Editor,

A cousin of mine dabbles in astrology. He remembers my horoscope by heart. Once in a while, he gives me a piece of advice, based on his reading of the stars. Recently he told me that my Rahudasha was nearing its end and Brihaspati dasha was about to begin. His prediction is that the health problems which Rahu caused would now taper off and a very good period begin with the blessings of Brihaspati. His advice was that I should let go of my mundane activities and concentrate on higher pursuits like literature and spirituality. In other words, I am about to enter the Vanaprastha ashram.

I have suspected this for some time. So I am winding up my worldly affairs. I shall now keep away from the rough and tumble of Kashmiri Pandit politics. I remember when I was persuaded to take over as the President of the AIKS, my mother had advised me not to wear these "khashiri paejama". I did not take her advice, saying with the optimism of the ignorant that it might be an interesting

Entering the Vanaprastha

experience to wear my pyjamas the wrong way.

Many of my friends try to provoke me by warning me of what might happen to AIKS after we leave it. I tell them that it is never a good policy to look backwards. We should trust the democratic process to produce the best man. We should have faith that our successors would always keep the interests of the community at heart, rather than their personal agendas.

Just for the record I would like to state some of my core findings about ourselves:

- The Kashmiri Pandits are intelligent in matters of survival. That makes them avid learners, great performers, favourite subordinates and inspired leaders.
- They are prepared to lead, but not to be led. That is why we have so many organizations and so few followers. That is why we cannot be a vote bank. That

is why unity can just be a slogan, never a reality. That is why we keep on reinventing the wheel.

- Fortunately, even though we have many organizations, their programmes are the same. So even if we cannot unite under a single leader or organization, our seemingly dissonant shouts actually result in a symphony.
- We should be inclusive in our approach. This can be best done by attending one another's programmes. That itself will build bridges.
- We should have an unwritten convention never to criticize one another in public. Any differences should be sorted out by one to one discussions.
- AIKS should not claim to be the apex body, the lead organization, the central organization, the controller, the coordinator or the arbitrator. It can at best work

as a loose network of all KP organizations, without attempting to foist a common agenda on them.

- At the field level, there are and bound to be a host of organizations in areas with large concentrations of KP population like Jammu and Delhi. It would be pointless to have only one of them as an affiliate, hoping that the rest will disappear or merge.
- There should never be an adherence to a single strategy. We should use the courts, the Commissions, the Committees, the memoranda, the public demonstrations, the media, the personal equations and every other forum.
- Nothing happens at once. All change is incremental. We should be happy with small concessions and achievements. If we keep at it, the many smalls start adding up.
- Alone, we cannot achieve much. The best way is to

build linkages with larger social, cultural and religious entities and to have our problems ventilated in the councils of Hindus, Saraswats, sub-regional minorities, internally displaced persons and the like.

- Above all, let us keep our cool. No doubt, we have been treated most unfairly. We have not received full justice. But we have overcome our tragedies in the past and shall continue to do so in the future. Let us stand on our feet, with full faith in our capacity to bounce back.

This is my valedictory piece as President of the AIKS. I wish the next Team AIKS the best of success in their endeavours. I pray that our community not only survives as a distinct ethno-cultural entity but fulfils the mandate God has given to it to spread the message of Abhinavagupta and Lalded. May God bless you. Good bye!

--Sh. M.K. Kaw
Former President AIKS,
(Retd.) Secy. Govt. of India

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS (Feb. 1 to Feb 28 2009)

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| <p>Feb 1: Three top LeT terrorists were killed in an encounter in forests in Handwara. An LeT OGW was arrested in Jammu city. The arrested OGW has been identified as Munir Hussain Malik of Bagla Doda, who was a driver of a Srinagar-Jammu route bus. A Hawala operator was arrested in Tyarath, Rajouri.</p> <p>Feb 2: An HM Comdr was nabbed in Kishtwar. An Army captain slipped to death in Kishtwar. A youth was killed in firing in Kupwara. 103 crossed LoC in Poonch, Ali Shah Geelani termed ban on women education in Swat Valley in Pakistan as un-Islamist.</p> <p>Feb 3: Four cops were injured in a terrorist attack on SDPO office Sumbal, Bandipore. Two terrorists were arrested in Handwara. An IED was defused on National Highway near Banihal. India asked for global action against terror emanating from Pak.</p> <p>Feb 4: The J&K High Court quashed detention of 10 PSA detainees. Centre orders pull out of 13000 CRPF men from J&K.</p> <p>Feb 5: Arms and explosives were recovered in Kishtwar district. Mufti Sayeed described J&K Legislative Assembly as proper forum to resolve all issues including Kashmir.</p> <p>Feb 6: An LeT terrorist Mohd. Khurshid surrendered before Army on his return from PoK. A cache of arms and ammunition was recovered from Kanuian forests in Poonch. Valley witnessed first peaceful Friday after eight months and death of 60 people in Amarnath row.</p> <p>Feb 7: In wake of release of disgraced nuclear scientist A.Q. Khan, Congress demanded that all nations should declare Pakistan a terrorist state. Army Chief Gen. Deepak Kapoor said that terror infrastructure in Pak is existing and 30 to 50 training camps are being run.</p> <p>Feb 8: RDX was seized in Mansar forests. A terrorist hide-out was busted and arms and ammunition recovered in Pulwama. Army Chief said that surgical strikes on terror-infrastructure in Pakistan are militarily feasible. Farooq Abdullah described honesty in dialogue must for Indo-Pak peace.</p> <p>Feb 9: HM Chief Operation Comdr Muzaffar Ahmad Dar was arrested from Sadarbal, Srinagar. An LeT terrorist was killed in Doda. Ghulam Hassan a multi purpose worker in RDD and a resident of Shagla Kotli-Doda, was arrested for terrorist links. 32 arrived in weekly Poonch-Rawalkot bus service.</p> <p>Feb 10: Ten people including a CRPF jawan were injured as people protested in Maisuma locality against alleged high handedness by the CRPF. A CRPF officer committed suicide in his camp at Kokernag while another CRPF officer died under mysterious circumstances in Pampore. The US President Barack Obama asked Pakistan to act against terror.</p> <p>Feb 11: JKLF supporters held protests on the 25th death anniversary of Maqbool Bhat.</p> <p>Feb 12: A JEM terrorist was killed while another escaped in an encounter in Dangiawacha, Baramulla. Maqbool Bhat's brother, Zahoor Bhat was arrested for illegally crossing over to PoK. A suspected terrorist and a woman were arrested in Poonch on their return from PoK. Pakistan admitted that 26/11 attacks were plotted from its soil.</p> <p>Feb 13: Five people were injured in public police clashes in downtown Srinagar as people continue to protest against CRPF high handedness. Pranab Mukherjee described Pak response to Indian dossier as positive. Farooq Abdullah and Shafi Uri were elected to Rajya Sabha.</p> <p>Feb 14: A large cache of arms and ammunition was recovered in Surankote, Poonch. Sonia Gandhi asked separatists to learn lessons from the Assembly Election and that the</p> | <p>believers of violence are not well wishers of nation.</p> <p>Feb 15: Security forces busted two terrorist hideouts in Bandipore and Kupwara and recovered arms and ammunition there. Mufti Sayeed said that to undo political and economic injustice are the agenda of PDP. Top operations Comdr LeT Zakir Lakhvi and communications expert Zarar Shah were arrested in Pakistan for Mumbai attacks. Reacting to Sonia's statement, JKLF said that govt was doing no favours by laying rail etc. as it was possible due to tax paying by people.</p> <p>Feb 16: 36 combat dresses seized in Akhnoor 100 cross LoC at Chakan-da-Bagh.</p> <p>Feb 17: Six terrorists were arrested were in Kashmir Valley. A Pak terrorist Ghulam Abas, arrested in J&K, was produced before a court in Varanasi. Arms and ammunition was recovered in Surankote. Even if CRPF will not be shifted out of Srinagar city but J&K Police will take the lead in maintaining peace in the city. There are reports that Obama Bin Laden is hiding most likely in Pakistan.</p> <p>Feb 18: An LeT terrorist was nabbed in Batote. A youth was injured in a grenade attack on a CRPF bunker in Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar. Pranab Mukerjee described war with Pakistan a futile exercise as it would not solve the problem of terrorism. Naval Chief Admiral Suresh Mehta warned that N. Weapons could be transported through containers.</p> <p>Feb 19: An LeT terrorist was apprehended in Kulgam. Three terrorist hideouts were busted and arms and ammunition recovered in Doda and Rajouri districts.</p> <p>Feb 20: Forces recovered three rifles and large quantity of arms and ammunition in Seoj Dhar, Ramnagar but at least five terrorists managed their escape. Shabir Shah's supporters were fired upon to be dispersed in Nowhatta Srinagar. A VDC member was murdered in Thathri, Doda.</p> <p>Feb 21: An SPO was shot dead by terrorists in Sopore, Baramulla. Two OGWs were held in Sunderbani, Rajouri. Army Vice Chief Lt. Gen. Noble Thambuway claimed that terror activities were on decline in Kashmir. Omar Abdullah ordered magisterial probe as two youth were allegedly killed in a firing incident in Sopore. A peace-activists, delegation is to visit Pakistan.</p> <p>Feb 22: Curfew was imposed in Sopore and Army orders high level enquiry in the firing incident. A student of 11th standard Kanwar Raja was held with grenade in Mendhar, Poonch. PDP decided to bring resolution for scrapping AFSPA.</p> <p>Feb 23: An LeT OGW was held in Kulgam. An explosive device was detected and defused in Asham, Bandipore. 75 crossed LoC at Chakkan-da-Bagh. Curfew was lifted in Sopore even through protests continue in the Valley.</p> <p>Feb 24: Security forces recovered an arms haul in Kupwara. Protest erupted in Maisuma and other areas as police recovered body of Shabir Ahmad Sheikh, an auto driver and cousin of Yasin Malik.</p> <p>Feb 25: People's Movement was restricted in Valley as protests continue against the killing of two youth in Sopore. Arms and ammunition was recovered in Kho forests in Rajouri.</p> <p>Feb 26: A terrorist was held in Mendhar Poonch; arms and ammunition was recovered in the same area. An Army jawan fell to death in Rajouri. Accusing PDP of playing politics over killings, CM pointed at withdrawal of AFSPA.</p> <p>Feb 27: Civilian movement was again restricted in Srinagar city.</p> <p>Feb 28: A boy was injured in a land-mine blast near LoC in Poonch.</p> |
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Navsamvatsara (Navreh)

This festival is celebrated on the first bright night of Chaitra. According to the lunar calendar, it is the first day of the New Year. It is also the first day of the creation of universe. Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped on this day. It is also the beginning of

Navratras. According to the custom, a plate (thali) is filled with rice. The following articles are also placed on the rice

(i) milkpot (ii) flowers (iii) walnuts (iv) pen (v) inkpot (vi) coin or a currency note of any denomination (vii) Panchang of the new lunar calender year (viii) boiled rice (ix) Sugar or mishri (x) salt (xi) ghee (xii) baked rice flour bread (xiii) wuy a root of some kind of grass that grows in water and (xiv) picture of Vishnu or Shiva-Parvati. This plate is filled on the eve of Navreh (Navsamvatsara).

Early in the morning of Navreh, the grandmother or elder lady or mother gets up and brings this thali for darshan by every member of the family. It is considered a good omen for the new year. Tahar of the rice is cooked and served after Pooja. Goddess Sharika is worshipped at Hariparbat. Flowers and Tahar are offered there. Navratras are celebrated with great devotion and faith. Goddess

Mother is worshipped in homes and temples. Wye and kernels of walnuts are taken by every member of the family before taking any other thing in the morning.



नव-वरीद

नव-वरीह नव-वरीह
सु चोयन मयोन नव-वरीह
सु जलद यी नव-वरीह

न खोच यिमन वुजमलन
न जोअन थव कक-नादन
वेयि यी सोन नोव पुभात
नवि-वरीह

सु चोयन मयोन नव-वरीह
सु जलद यी नव-वरीह

नव-वोमीद नव आश
नोव अरमान करव नव ज्ञान
नवि-वरीह

नोव कलम, नोव पणचाग त दयल थाल
बुद्धव नुश यमवरजति
नवि-वरीह

सु चोयन मयोन नव-वरीह
सु जलद यी नव-वरीह

न हसयिस पेयठ न वृषभस पेयठ
यमि नटि यी सहस पेयठ
नव-वरीह

सु चोयन मयोन नव-वरीह
सु जलद यी नव-वरीह

पथ त्रिविधः घट-पट्टसः
सु वारसः अग्निः जल-पट्टसः
नव-वरीहः नव-वरीहः
सु चोयतः मयौतः नव-वरीहः
सु जलदः यी नव-वरीहः

नोव पोशाक - नोव वसाख
नव फुल्लय त नोव व्हार
वेयि यी

वेणि यी नव- वरीह
सु चोयन मयोन नव-वरीह
सु जलद यी नव-वरीह

दियुत धक सहलावन यपोर
छु तरुन अस्सि वापस अपोर
नवि-वरीह

नव- वरीह
सु चोयन मयोन नव-वरीह
सु पनुन सोन नव-वरीह
सु जतद यी नव-वरीह

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