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COVER STORY**JAMMU & KASHMIR**

Democratic Process: Conversion into a Subversive Space



By Dr Ajay Chrungoo

Dr Ajay Chrungoo

THE developments in the Middle East have certainly created an impact in Jammu and Kashmir which witnessed a disturbed last summer. The happenings in Egypt and elsewhere have almost evaporated the public demoralization in Kashmir valley that had set in after the failed 'Quit Kashmir' campaign and once again created a hope amongst the rank and file of the separatists that their tactics on the street may bear fruits in the near future.

The 'Quit Kashmir' campaign relied on a semi violent mass mobilization and non-cooperation methodology resorting to sustained stone pelting assaults on police and paramilitary forces, hartals and protest demonstrations to bring the public life and the government functioning to a standstill. It is being described as a non-violent transformation of an armed uprising.

The campaigners were driven by a hope that the sustained mobilizations

would galvanize the international opinion in favour of their objectives. They believed that the public outcry would force President Obama who was scheduled to visit India to exert more pressures on Government of India to come to terms with the separatists and Pakistan. They also hoped that Indian political consensus on Kashmir will be further weakened to resist pressures for change of status quo in Kashmir in favour of the separatists.

After the happenings in Egypt and elsewhere in the

India." Prime Minister's statement underlined the hope and confidence of a rational being but could not hide the nervousness and apprehension which has beset his own government in the Centre and the ruling alliance in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. "I hope summer this year will be peaceful... I have no power to predict the future. I can only say that there are continuous efforts on our part to ensure that there is no repeat of summer unrest in 2011," has been the refrain of the Chief Minister

Chairman Sayed Ali Shah Geelani said Egypt like revolution is possible in Kashmir. He said, "This is a blatant lie. By muzzling voice of Kashmiris through brute force, India can't claim victory. World will see one day there will be a bigger revolution in Kashmir than Egypt and other uprisings." The moralizing by Geelani notwithstanding, the separatists in the valley over the years have demonstrated the capability of mobilizing public in the streets and creating a siege on the local government. The mobilizations during the summer of 2010 were not as huge as during the Amaranth land row or various marches conducted earlier to Char-i-Sharief or United Nations Military Observers office in the outskirts of Srinagar city in Kashmir.

The PDP leader Miss Mehbooba Mufti whose political party has received more than generous support from both the Vajpayee led NDA coalition and subsequently by the present Manmohan Singh led UPA coalition at the Centre commented on the uprising in Egypt and Said, "We congratulate the people of Egypt on their success and for achieving the goal in peaceful manner.... It is necessary to mention Egypt because they were fighting for democracy and we are fighting a war in spite of democracy." She did not hesitate to compare the last summer's unrest in Kashmir valley with the uprising in Egypt and said, "Lakhs of people had thronged the roads in Cairo, but nobody

(Contd. on Page 6)



A Kashmiri Pandit house at Nagam, Kashmir.

Middle East the Prime Minister of India tried to assure the nation that, "whatever happens in the Gulf or in West Asia including the countries mentioned (Egypt) is a matter of concern to us.... replication of such events is not possible in India, because India is a functioning democracy... There is no question that things that have happened in Egypt and other Arab countries can be replicated in

of the state Sh. Omar Abdullah. More conspicuous is however the disconnect between the perceptions of the Prime Minister and the perceptions of the people in Kashmir valley.

Perceptions in the valley

Merely a day after Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that the political developments in Egypt cannot be replicated in Jammu and Kashmir, the Hurriyat (G)

1. Sh. Shamboo Nath Dhar S/o Late Prasad Ram Dhar R/o 74-Ashok Nagar Canal Jammu. 14/4/2010
2. Smt. Somawati Bhat W/o Late Kashi Nath Bhat of Krankshowan Sopore Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 61, Nagrota Camp (Railway, Phase) Jammu. 14/4/2010
3. Sh. Kaka Ji Bhat S/o Late Pt. Narayan Nath Bhat R/o L.I.G. 92, Housing Colony (BSNL), Udhampur. 14/4/2010
4. Sh. Brij Lal Labroo S/o Late Sh. Anand Ram Labroo of Bul-Bul Lankar Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of Flat No: 6143, F-6, Alok Vihar, Sec-50, Noida. 15/4/2010
5. Smt. Raj Dulari Kher W/o Late Sh. B.N. Kher of Nai Sarak Sgr; presently residing at 6, Shiv Dhara Row House Pal Road Seerat Gujrat. 15/4/2010
6. Smt. Chuni Tickoo W/o Late Sh. P.N. Tickoo previously resident of Shahpora Ganderwal Kmr; presently resident of Lane-8, Natar Kothian Barnai Jammu. 15/4/2010
7. Sh. Kailash Nath Koul of Kalusa Bandipora Kmr; currently residing at 157-C, Regents, Shipra City Indirapuram (UP). 15/4/2010
8. Smt. Shyam Rani Shah of Rughnath Mandir Sgr; presently residing Qtr. No: 3, Vitesta Enclave Najafgarh, New Delhi. 16/4/2010
9. Sh. Moti Lal Raina S/o Radha Krishen Raina originally resident of Akura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at CD Hospital Qtr. GMC Jammu. 17/4/2010
10. Smt. Chand Rani W/o Late Sh. Soom Nath Sarf originally resident of Kha-Bazar Anantnag (Kmr.) presently resident of H.No: 9, Lane No: 1, Adarsh Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 17/4/2010
11. Sh. Shiv Jee Bhat S/o Late Sh. Raghav Bhat (Darbar) originally resident of Nai Basti Anantnag (Kmr) presently resident of H.No: 38, Lane-7, Muthi Jammu. 17/4/2010
12. Sh. Gopi Krishen Pandita S/o Late Pt. Dina Nath Pandita originally resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 54-Top Sherkhania Jammu. 17/4/2010
13. Smt. Prabha Devi Nehru W/o Late Sh. Damodhar Nehru previously resident of 52- Pvt. Jawhar Nagar Sgr; currently resident of 2/20 Panduka Colony Paloura Jammu. 18/4/2010
14. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Zutshi S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Zutshi of Gankhar Zainakadal Sgr; presently residing at 148-C, Surya Vihar Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 18/4/2010
15. Sh. Maheshwar Nath Bhat S/o Late Pt. Nilla Kanth Bhat of Khaw Kmr; presently resident of 458, Colonels Colony Talab Tillo, Jammu. 18/4/2010
16. Smt. Raj Rani Dhar W/o Late Raj Nath Dhar of Nai Sarak Ganpatyar Sgr; presently putting up at 184-Gulab Apparts. Pitampoura Delhi. 18/4/2010
17. Dr. Som Nath Zutshi R/o Upper Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Flat No: 126 (FF) Dream Home Apparts Green Enclave Naz Zirakpur Punjab. 19/4/2010
18. Sh. Avtar Krishen Koul S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Koul of Hushroo Badgam, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 45, Ward-14, Sailan Talab Udhampur. 20/4/2010
19. Sh. Krishen Lal Raina S/o Late Pt. Gopi Nath Raina previously resident of Nawa Kadal Khande Bawe Sgr; currently residing at H.No: 178, Dharmal Temple Upper Barnai Jammu. 20/4/2010
20. Smt. Soomawati Koul W/o Late Pt. Dina Nath Koul of Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently residing at 68-A, Sector-31, Noida (UP) 20/4/2010
21. Smt. Rupawati Raina W/o Late Sh. Raghu Nath Raina of Kathwar Budgam, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 6, Krishna Vinhar, Vinayak Nagar, Sector-1, Upper, Muthi Jammu. 20/4/2010
22. Sh. Vijay Kumar Dhar S/o Sh. Bansi Lal Dhar of Arch Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 331, Lane-3, Laxmi Vihar Tomal Colony Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 21/4/2010
23. Sh. Kanhaiya Lal Handoo S/o Late Sh. RC Handoo originally resident of Rajbag Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 26, Lane-3, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 21/4/2010
24. Sh. Kashi Nath Koul S/o Sh. Shiv Jee Koul R/o Gudbugh Pulwam, Kmr. 21/4/2010
25. Smt. Rita Koul D/o Late Sh. NN Koul of Jawahar Nagar Rajbagh Sgr; presently resident of Mumbai. 21/4/2010.
26. Sh. Rattan Lal Handoo S/o Late Pt. Shamboo Nath Handoo of Qazi Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 713, Lane-3, Vinayak Nagar, Jammu. 22/4/2010.
27. Sh. Nath Ji Raina S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Raina of Nanil, Anantnag, Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 1,2, Block-M, Jammu. 22/4/2010
28. Roopawati Bhat W/o Pt. Nand Lal Bhat originally resident of Chichlora (Magam) Pattan, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 491, Jeevan Vihar LIC Colony Kunjpora Road Karnal Haryana. 22/4/2010
29. Smt. Rattan Rani Razdan W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Razdan of Gund Ahalmar Nai Sarak Sgr; presently resident of Post Office Colony, Aap Shamboo Mandir, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 23/4/2010
30. Wife of Late Sh. J.L. Sazawal, Smt. Rajrani Sazawal currently putting up at 602, Technology Apparts. Patpar Gunj Delhi, Guraon. 23/4/2010.
31. Smt. Rani Pandita W/o Late Sh. Prithvi Nath Pandita of Sahipora Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of Jt-8, TRT, Camp Opposit FCI Toll Post Nagrota, Jammu. 24/4/2010
32. Sh. Som Nath Razdan S/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Razdan resident of H.No: 35, Lane-2, Roop Nagar Enclave Block-A, Jammu, erstwhile resident of Sheetal Nath Sathu, Sgr. 24/4/2010
33. Sh. Gopi Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Ishar Dass Bhat previously resident of Akingam Anantnag, Kmr, currently residing at H.No: 18-A, Amar Colony Camp Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 24/4/2010.
34. Sh. Janki Nath Pandita S/o Late Vasudev Pandita erstwhile resident of Hakura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 46, Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 24/4/2010.
35. Sh. Janki Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Keshav Nath Dhar originally resident of Safakadal, Sgr; presently resident of Airole, Navi Mumbai. 25/4/2010
36. Sh. Tej Nath Kichloo S/o Sh. Arjan Nath Kichloo originally resident of Batapora Shopian Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 49, MCJ, Lane-4, Buta Nagar, Paloura Jammu. 25/4/2010.
37. Sh. Hirday Nath Pandita of Batapora Kandha Kmr; presently putting up at Flat No: 449-B, Indira Puram Shipra City Gaziabad (UP). 25/4/2010
38. Smt. Sunita Bazaz W/o Sh. Raj Kumar Bazaz R/o Baghe Sunder Ba Chattabal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 46, Block-A, Lane-2, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 25/4/2010
39. Sh. Narayan Dass Pandit originally resident of Batapora Dealgam Anantnag Kmr; currently resident of H.No: 115-Z, Lane No: II Vitasta Enclave Najafgarh (Kashmiri Colony) New Delhi. 26/4/2010
40. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Shiv Ram R/o Chudrigund Kmr; presently residing at 1/130, Vikas Nagar Sarwal, Jammu. 26/4/2010
41. Sh. Makhan La Dhar S/o Late Sh. Shiv Ram Dhar R/o Chudrigund presently residing at H.No: 130, Lane-1, Vikas Nagar, Sarwal Jammu. 27/4/2010
42. Smt. Leelawati W/o Late Sh. Dev Ram Pandita originally resident of Chogal Handwara Kmr; presently residing at 125/107 Ambica Vihar, Kabir Colony, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 27/4/2010
43. Sh. Bhushan Lal Rishi S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Reshi R/o Mattan, Martand Anantnag, Kmr; presently resident of Post Office, Paloura, Jammu. 27/4/2010.
44. Sh. Satish Kumar Pandita S/o Late Pt. Janki Nath Pandita Lokpura-Sedakpura Jammu. 27/4/2010
45. Smt. Arandati Bhan W/o Late Sh. PN Bhan of D-105, 1st Floor Sun City, Sector-54, Gurgaon. 27/4/2010
46. Sh. Badri Nath Tickoo R/o Peth Kunihamma Buru (Hagam) Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 360, Lane-12 Kabir Nagar, Poonch House Talab Tillo, Jammu. 28/4/2010.
47. Smt. Arandati Bhan W/o Late Prathivi Nath Bhan of Kanikadal Fire Brigade Lane Sgr; presently resident of D-105, First Floor, Sunicyt, Sector-54, Gurgaon. 28/4/2010
48. Smt. Tulsi Devi Raina W/o Sh. Dina Nath Raina of Ranipora Brah Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Batal Ballian Udhampur. 28/4/2010
49. Sh. Ram Nath Bagati S/o Late Pt. Balak Ram Bagati R/o Tekipora (Lolab) Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of Santra Morh Jammu. 29/4/2010
50. Prof. Joginder Nath Kar S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Kar resident of 33, Indira Colony Talab Tillo Jammu. 29/4/2010
51. Sh. Shamboo Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Nath Ram Raina R/o Abalwani Shopian Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 749, Block-C, Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 29/4/2010
52. Smt. Roopawati Bhat W/o Sh. Nand Lal Bhat R/o Chichlora (Magam) Pattan Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 491, Jewan Vihar L.I.C. Colony Kunjwani Karnal Haryana. 29/4/2010
53. Smt. Damyanti Raina (Razdan) W/o Sh. Sarwanand Raina (Razdan) of Akhoora Anantnag, Kmr; presently residing at H.No:1 Sector, Durga Nagar Enclave Jammu. 30/4/2010
54. Smt. Mohini Bhat W/o Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat originally resident of Mehjoor Nagar Sgr; presently resident of 1/2A, Durga Nagar, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 1/5/2010
55. Smt. Meenawati Bhat W/o Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat originally resident of Dangarpura Shopian Kmr; presently residing of H.No: 254, Sector-1, Vinayak Nagar Muthi Jammu. 1/5/2010
56. Sh. Sham Lal Koul S/o Late Damodhar Koul previously residents of Jamia Qadeem Sopore, Kmr; currently putting up at H.No: 3, Lane-79 Hazuribagh Bohri Jammu. 2/5/2010
57. Sh. S.K. Ambardar S/o Mr L.P. Ambardar originally hails from Sgr; presently residing at Delhi. 2/5/2010
58. Smt. Kamlawati Pandita W/o Late Sh. Hari Ram Pandita R/o Karihama Kupwara, Kmr; presently residing at H.NO: 105, Lane-8, Manorama Vihar Bohri Jammu. 3/5/2010
59. Smt. Santosh Koul W/o Sh. Avtar Krishan Koul resident of H.No: 734, Sector-22, Pocket-B, Gurgaon Haryana. 3/5/2010
60. Smt. Vidyawati Gassi W/o Late Sh. Laxmi Nath Gassi originally R/o Mattan Kmr; presently resident of Suryavanshi Nagar Upper Muthi Check Lane 6/D, Jammu. 4/5/2010
61. Smt. Kanta Kachroo W/o Sh. Jagan Nath Kachroo; presently residing at Mumbai, H.No: 230, Friends Colony, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 4/5/2010
62. Smt. Sham Rani Koul W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Koul originally resident of Govripora (Sant Nagar) Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 63, Lane-3, Durga Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/5/2010
63. Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat S/o Late Pt. Sansar Chand Bhat R/o Zaindar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Himachal Pradesh. 4/5/2010
64. Smt. Kanta Pandita W/o Sh. K.N. Pandita of Shivpora, Broadway Cinema Sgr; presently residing at H.no: 175, Block-C, Sector-11, Faridabad, Haryana. 4/5/2010
65. Smt. Vijay Koul W/o Sh. Jawahar Lal Koul previously resident of Wanpoh Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Laxmi Puram, Sector-1-A, Jammu. 6/5/2010
66. Smt. Somawati Sadhu W/o Late Dr. NK Sadhu originally resident of Safiyar Habbakdal, Doodh Ganga Natipora, Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 109/B, Basant Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 6/5/2010
67. Smt. Prabhawati Badam W/o Sh. Lassa Koul Badam of Kralkhud Kharyar, Habbakdal Sgr; presently residing at G-33, H.I.G. Duplex Partap Vihar Gaziabad. 6/5/2010.
68. Smt. Lalita Patwari W/o Sh. Veerinder Patwari resident of Bohri Talab Tillo, Jammu, currently E-8, Sector-41, Noida. 6/5/2010
69. Smt. Indira Pandita W/o Late Sh. Arjan Nath Pandita originally resident of Umanagri Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.NO: 63, Ward-17, Shankar Nagar, Sailan Talab, Udhampur. 6/5/2010.
70. Smt. Mohan Pyari Mattoo W/o Late Sh. Badri Nath Mattoo originally resident of Sabdan Budgam Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 82 Shantipuram Muthi Jammu. 7/5/2010
71. Sh. Makhan Lal Handoo originally resident of Kani Kadal Sgr; presently residing at 102, Govind Nagar, Sector-2, Revenue Complex Road, Jammu. 7/5/2010
72. Smt. Shanta Bagati W/o Late Sh. Makhan Lal Bagati R/o Bul Bul Lankar Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of R-205, 21 Jal Vihar Noda (UP). 7/5/2010
73. Smt. Sham Sapoo W/o Sh. J.L. Sapoo R/o Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Laxmi Nagar Dlehi. 8/5/2010
74. Sh. A.K. Bali S/o Sh. Dina Nath Bali originally resident of Goshabugh Pattan Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 229, Lane-1J Sector-2, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 8/5/2010
75. Sh. P.I. Koul R/o G-2/17, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi. 8/5/2010
78. Smt. Dhanwanti Raina W/o Late Sh. DN Raina of Gund Ahalmar Nae-Sarak Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 222, Upper Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 9/5/2010
79. Sh. Dina Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Bhat of Ramooh Pulwama, Kmr; presently resident of H. No: 42, Block-B Lane 2/3, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 9/5/2010
80. Sh. Ram Lal Mattoo S/o Late Sh. Mahanand Mattoo originally resident of Chanapora Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 381, Lane-2, Anand Vihar Bohri Jammu. 9/5/2010
81. Smt. Nirmala Dhar W/o Sh. Ashok Kumar Dhar of Gubag Bagh Ganderbal Kmr; presently resident of A-42, Sainik Coony, Enclave Vipan Garden Uttam Nagar, New Delhi. 9/5/2010
82. Sh. Brij Krishen Kandhari S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Kandhari originally resident of Kharyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 36- Lower Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 10/5/2010
83. Sh. Soom Nath Raina R/o Qtr. No: 342, Muthi Camp Jammu erstwhile resident of Sallar-Pahlgam, Kmr. 10/5/2010
84. Sh. Kashi Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Mana Pandit R/o Jablipora Bijbehara Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 3, Lane-3, Surya Vihar Patta Bohri, Jammu. 10/5/2010
85. Smt. Kamlawati Dhar W/o Sh. Arjan Nath Dhar ER/o Muran Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at S/2, Plot No: 2007, Sector-A, Vaishali Gaziabad. 10/5/2010
86. Sh. Girdhari Lal Kakroo S/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Kakroo originally resident of 193, Balgarden Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 25, Sector-C, Lane No: II, Udhewala Bohri, Jammu. 12/5/2010
87. Sh. Moti Lal Kuchroo S/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand Kuchroo of Dewan Bagh Baramulla Kmr; presently putting up at 380, Niti-Khan-III, Indirapuram Gaziabad. 12/5/2010
88. Sh. Badri Nath Razdan S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Razdan originally resident of Sirmoo Pulwama, Kmr; presently resident of 15/16-IB, Kral Bab Nagar Bantalab, Jammu. 13/5/2010

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EDITORIAL

Deny the Separatist the support within India

STATE Government seems to have risen to the dangers posed by the forays of people like Gautam Navlakha, Arundhathi Roy, Ram Jethmalani and so many others who flaunt themselves as prominent members of the civil society of India who can help win supporters for the separatist cause in Jammu and Kashmir in rest of India. That the state government thinks that the indulgence of such persons in Kashmir affairs is in fact bringing instability and more trouble to the people of Jammu and Kashmir is a realization which should be welcomed. It needs however to be seen over a period of time whether the displeasure of the state government is merely a tactical and transient ploy to somehow ensure a peaceful tourist season in the valley this year or a more deeper realization of the support structures of separatism in the state in rest of the Indian mainland.

The public discourse in India has mainly remained focused on the support provided to the separatism in Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan. There is no denying the fact that Pakistan continues to be the key and critical component of the separatist support structures in Jammu and Kashmir. But it is also true that there are many political actors and formations in rest of India who for their own reasons want the separatist pot boiling in the state. Ram Jethmalani led

Kashmir committee is not a recent addition to the bandwagon of separatist supporters in India masquerading as peaceniks. In its first incarnation the Kashmir Committee had Dileep Padgaonkar, who is now the chief Interlocutor appointed by Government of India, as its member. Many apprehend that services of Ram Jethmalani's Kashmir Committee have been sought by the interlocutors themselves to engage those in the separatist rank and file who have refused to meet them. Others say Kashmir Committee is a

proxy committee of BJP to convey signals to the separatist echelons in the valley that the party still continues to pursue the Vajpayee line even now despite the fact that it is not in a position to support it openly because of the change in the political arithmetic in the party as well as in the country. But when Mr. Jethmalani compares the situation in Kashmir with that of Germany when Nazis were at the helms of affairs in that country we are witnessing a vicious phenomenon of self-negation and self-flagellation which goes beyond the rationale of lobbying, engagement and political brinkmanship.

Ram Jethmalani has chosen to pick up the thread where Arundhathi Roy had left after she chose to exit herself from indulgence in Kashmir affairs for a while. Arundhathi Roy had described the repression in

Kashmir so severe that people were even denied free breathing. Ram Jethmalani and Arundhathi Roy represent ideologically different poles and yet they seem to be meeting intensely in Kashmir. Or is it that both of them are actually approaching the task of balkanization of India using Kashmiri Muslim Separatism as a cardinal insult to the National unity.

The convergence of segments of Indian right and the radical left on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir is perhaps more an indicator of the identity of the bigger powers which have been promoting both. Once we start examining the issue from this angle we reach an inevitable conclusion that the right and the left we recognize as right and left are in fact merely tools of a vicious imperialist maneuver in Jammu and Kashmir. The implications of Ram Jethmalani comparing the situation in Jammu and Kashmir with Nazi Germany are the same as his support to the Musharraf formula. And these implications are perfectly in sync with what Arundhathi Roy and Gautam Navlakha have been saying and doing about Kashmir. Such interventions have been seen umpteen times in the past when the situation in Kashmir had shown signs of improvement and when the credibility of separatism was starting to take a nose dive. What is most intriguing is the abject silence

of BJP high command on the role of Ram Jethmalani in Jammu and Kashmir. What makes Jethmalani to become a stronger player in BJP than even Jaswant Singh who was expelled from the party for comments in his book which were not as dangerous as the utterances of Ram Jethmalani? Is it the legal support which he provides to Narendra Modi in Gujarat or is he the leader of the track two maneuver of BJP on Kashmir which provides the party the room for implementing the Vajpayee line while providing a sufficient space for deniability?

The government of India has ignored to its own discomfiture the support Kashmiri Muslim separatism has got from sections of political class in rest of India. The local governments in the state have also taken a long time to realize how encouragements from within help in complimenting the destabilisation campaigns on the ground. As the situation in Pakistan is deteriorating and the international opinion is waking up to the dangers posed by Muslim identity politics in fomenting and perpetuating culture of intolerance, the support which the separatists in Jammu and Kashmir are getting from within India is acting as a critical oxygen line. It is time that the political support line of separatists from within India is disrupted decisively for democratic process to shift from soft secessionism to a vibrant nationalist mode.

K.S. Indepth study

Sir,
Thanks for sending me regularly 'Kashmir Sentinel'. Undoubtedly it gives an in-depth study of the problems, historical importance and our socio-economic know now.

I really congratulate you all for continuing to

take 'Kashmiriyat' of KP's to move on.

The analysis 'Islamabad Conference' by Prof. M.K. Teng is mindblowing and I agree with him to quote 'The Indian office messed to picked up the signal'.

—Dr. Sunil Kaul
New Delhi

Kashmir Sentinel a real treasure

Sir,
Kashmir Sentinel is bringing out well analyzed writeups and presents possibly the real picture of different subjects viz., Kashmiri Pandits Kashmir imbroglio, culture, Tradition philosophy and what not. Although its publication frequency has sharply gone down for some time, but the

material published is destined to go into readers archives and shall be used as reference

LETTERS

material by our future generation.

The in-depth analysis of Dr. Chrungeo about the KP com-

munity, needs to be taken up ... and the psychologists need to address the issues raised by the writer with immediate remedial measures.

Sentinel is bound to guard the broader issues of the Community and the Nation.

—A.N. Raina
Delhi

RADICALS

Are "Radicalized Hindus" more dangerous than LeT?



By J N Raina

THIS is no baby talk. These words of 'wisdom' that "Hindu terror groups could pose a bigger threat to India than Muslim militant groups like the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT)" are coming from the mouth of Rahul Gandhi, the icon of the Indian National Congress (INC). Great-grandson of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is stuck-up with the belief that "honey moon period" for the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) was over, obviously for lack of proper leadership.

His fears are justified. He knows the ins and outs of the Congress, and is obtrusively blaming the leadership of his mother Sonia Gandhi, the high-flown Chairperson of the UPA, which is united superficially but bereft of progressive ideals.

In a leaked U S diplomatic cable, Sonia Gandhi has been described as "someone who never misses an opportunity to miss an opportunity to show real leadership". How appropriate these words are. It has been amply made clear in the cable, put out by WikiLeaks that "...Sonia Gandhi has been unable to show principled leadership". It is understandable. That is expected from Sonia Gandhi, whose roots are not embedded in the Indian culture. It gives credence to the belief that that Sonia Gandhi is more powerful—who exhibits her prowess—than Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. All important decisions are taken by her, and PM is agreeable to all. The country has never been so mired in multifarious scams. New Delhi lacks proper leadership. Till it happens, the Congress will have to endure.

Mind-numbingly, Rahul Gandhi, the scion of the Nehru-Gandhi family, in an uncanny manner, created an unnecessary fuss by the

outpouring of these chauvinist remarks. Nothing can be more outrageous. In a political conversation with the US Ambassador Timothy Roemer, he has made it known that although "there was evidence of 'some' support for LeT among certain elements in India's indigenous Muslim community, the bigger threat may be the growth of radicalized Hindu groups, which create religious tensions and political confrontations with the Muslim community". These are wild allegations against the peaceful Hindu community, comprising 80 per cent of India's population. They are not warlike.

Rahul Gandhi's grandmother Indira Gandhi was never paranoid about the 'radicalized' community. She would never blame them in such a roughshod manner for the ills of the nation. On the contrary, these groups were utilized at election time to garner Hindu votes. Even Rajiv Gandhi would never pass on such objectionable remarks churlishly. Rahul's bete noire, Varun Gandhi, his first cousin, on the contrary, has been asking the Indians to "rise above caste; to build a united Hindu society". This is the difference in upbringing. Rahul has lost his cultural moorings.

What a comparison between the hydra-headed LeT and the so-called 'radicalized Hindu groups'. There is a Himalayan difference. Rahul's background about LeT is succinct. Even a child knows it is the creation of ISI to dismember India. Its subversive pan-Islamic role is well-known internationally. On the contrary, the RSS is nationalist to the core, an organization wedded to India's unity.

If some elements in the RSS have turned bigots, there must be some reason. Intrinsically, they have lost patience with the Indian authorities for their failure to combat Pakistan-sponsored terrorism, continuing for 30 years. Who is at fault? Who created Sant Bindranwallah and subsequently the Sikh terrorism, which boomeranged on the Congress. Who alienated the Sikh community and at what cost? Who killed nearly 7000 Sikhs in the wake of Indira Gandhi's

assassination by a Sikh guard? (Still she did not blame the community). It is only the government's inefficiency to tackle Islamic terrorism which has led to the stray incidents of bomb blasts at Ajmer and Hyderabad. The Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) is a well-knit homegrown terrorist organization, acting as a surrogate for the ISI, LeT and Jaish-e-Mohammad.

Several hundred Hindus have been killed in a series of bomb blasts in India, engineered by ISI, in collaboration with LeT during the past 20 years. Reaction was expected from the majority Hindu community, even belatedly. Those who killed Sikhs were Congress goons, not radicalized Hindus. Even after partition, lakhs of Hindus in Pakistan and Bangladesh have either been killed, converted or

Hindu radicals more dangerous to India, thus denigrating Hindu community. Had it been so, there would have been anarchy in India, as was witnessed in Iraq, Afghanistan and now in Pakistan, where Muslims are being killed in hundreds on daily basis.

As if Rahul's revelations were not enough, Dighvijaya Singh went a step further in tarnishing the image of India by comparing the attitude of Hindus towards Muslims with that of Nazis towards Jews. What a shameful comparisons. His allegations that RSS was instilling violence and hatred through Shishu mandirs is preposterous. He has failed to mention about mad-rassas, run by Islamic institutions, where pupils are openly taught to kill 'kafirs' (non-believers). In a 32-page booklet: "The Muslims' Belief", students are told: "It is our



Smt. Indira Gandhi

In a 32-page booklet : "The Muslims' Belief", students are told : "It is our opinion that whoever claims the acceptability of any existing religion today—other than Islam— such as Judaism, Christianity and so forth, is a non-believer. He should be asked to repent; if he does not, he must be killed as an apostate because he is rejecting the Quran". The booklet has been distributed by the Jeddah D'awah Centre, Jeddah.

forced to flee.

Rahul Gandhi however admits in the cable that 'homegrown extremist front has been reacting to terror attacks coming from Pakistan or from Islamic groups in India...'. His diabolical statement is a slur on India's secular traditions and Indian democracy. While the same Roemer cable written on Jan 9, 2009, has quoted then U S Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher as telling then India's Foreign Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon that the US had told Pakistan to 'eliminate LeT', Rahul has pitifully considered

opinion that whoever claims the acceptability of any existing religion today—other than Islam— such as Judaism, Christianity and so forth, is a non-believer. He should be asked to repent; if he does not, he must be killed as an apostate because he is rejecting the Quran". The booklet has been distributed by the Jeddah D'awah Centre, Jeddah.

Israel has snubbed Dighvijaya Singh for making such a comparison. It has warned that 'without entering into a political debate, no comparison can be made



A file photo of 1984 Delhi Riots

with the Nazi holocaust in which six million Jews were massacred solely because they were Jews'.

Let Rahul Gandhi narrate to people in the next elections that Hindus are more dangerous and see the result. Signals are already discernible from Bihar Congress cannot revive on the old plank of dividing people on the basis of caste and religion. The party should have learnt a lesson from Bihar polls where people ignored communal politics. The party should not misread people's verdict in Bihar. Instead of salvaging the image of the Congress, Dighvijaya Singh and Rahul Gandhi together have been slamming the BJP. They have succumbed to the worst kind of debased politics, provoking one community against the other. Its only agenda is to destroy the opposition and attack the RSS, which is engaged in rebuilding India. The Congress is just helping Pakistan in slamming India. Earlier, Singh raised controversy by suggesting that slain

ATS Chief Hemant Karkare had received threats from extremist Hindu groups, which he sadly connected with the 26\11 Mumbai attack. He can stoop so low. Even then Minority Affairs Minister A R Antulay had charged that Karkare could have become a victim of 'terrorism or terrorism plus something'. What does this all indicate? It is on the basis of these assumptions and presumption that the US had come to believe that the Congress had 'backed' the 'outlandish' conspiracy theory over the death of Karkare in 26\11 attack for 'crass political gains'. Then U S Ambassador to India David Mulford in a cable to Washington had observed that the "Congress had made a cynical political calculations to boast the conspiracy theory". EOM

**(The writer is a senior most journalist based at Pune)*

Homage



Sh Pushkar Nath Raina

Sh Pushkar Nath Raina popularly known as Papa Ji was resident of Nowgam Anantnag presently at Lower Muthi, Jammu. He was soft spoken & God fearing personality. He was staunch follower of Swami Ashokananda Ji Maharaj founder of Nagdandi Ashram in Anantnag district. After displacement from Kashmir he got himself associated with Rama Krishana Advaita Ashram Udhowalla founded by Swami Shakti Ji disciple of Swami Ashokanand Ji Maharaj.

He was taking keen interest in community programmes. He was very much impressed by the concept of Panun Kashmir & was taking personnel part in Panun Kashmir programmes. He was inspiring force for our family.

We have lost our guide, father, friend & have no words to write about his great personality.

He breathed his last on early morning (4:30 AM) of 19th of May 2011.

—O.P. Raina

Ramlila Maidan: Sonia Maino Gandhi's GESTAPO project

By Sandhya Jain

This write up was written by the author on 6th of June 2011, soon after the police action at Ram Lila Ground

THE Congress-led UPA government lost both honour and legitimacy when, in the dead of night of 4-5 June, it sent armed policemen to invade and assault unarmed, sleeping, anti-corruption protesters at Ramlila Maidan in the capital, led by the celebrated Yogi, Swami Ramdev.

The action is reminiscent of the manner in which the Communist Party of India-Marxist lost its reputation when goons raped two women protesting against State land grab for a crony capitalist in Singur, West Bengal. Hindu tradition looks poorly upon those who assault unarmed citizenry, something the Italian-born Roman Catholic does not understand.

Petticoat politicians like Digvijay Singh may exult in the false empowerment wrought by misuse of power, but there should be no doubt that there will be a severe public backlash, with no quarter or mercy for supremo Sonia Maino Gandhi, widely perceived as the architect and beneficiary of this Nazi Gestapo-Sicilian style operation.

Tasks before the nation

There is an immediate need to disband the National Advisory Council and its illegal role in law-making and setting the national agenda, overriding Parliament and Government. This body of intellectual charlatans has been created only to give the Congress president a Cabinet rank at public expense, and to host a bunch of unelectable cronies who help her undermine and destabilize the Prime Minister and the Government.

Under Sonia Gandhi, the UPA has been forced to outsource all thinking and law-making to these darbaris. As Indian Express Editor-in-Chief Shekhar Gupta argued, the "idea of putting a non-governmental watch over your own government undermines the very idea of elected, constitutional democracy." So it is time to dismantle the NAC. And with this will end Sonia Gandhi's illegitimate

status as super-PM, thus restoring power and authority to the legitimate constitutional position-holders and institutions. Indeed, the Congress party may be privately amenable to such a move as it realises that neither Sonia Gandhi nor Rahul Gandhi are credible vote-catchers and that new leaders will have to be built at all levels.

The Supreme Court, whose judges surely witnessed the atrocity on their television screens along with the rest of the nation, is morally on trial at this critical juncture. To uphold its prestige, the Hon'ble judges must suo moto take notice of the unprovoked violence unleashed upon the citizenry and order an immediate ban on the political culture of surreptitious and illegal midnight arrests/detention of unarmed persons, without warrant, and particularly the bashing up of sleeping men, women and children in the darkness of night.

No matter how irked persons in authority may feel about peaceful protesters, a civilized society claiming to be a democracy cannot allow its citizens to be hounded and assaulted like animals selected for culling in a jungle. There is no legitimate reason why the police did not ask citizens to leave the venue in the daytime, or why it could not wait for them to vacate as per schedule on June 6.

The Supreme Court must make the Government apologise for this atrocity and pay punitive damages for the physical violence and loss of human dignity suffered by Swami Ramdev and the thousands of men, women, and children, whose peaceful gathering was illegally disrupted with police brutalities.

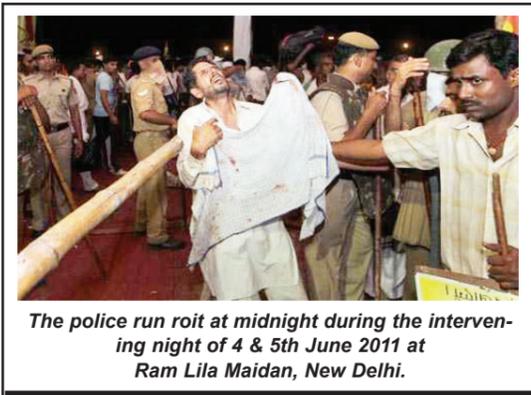
Swami Ramdev and the public should give a wide berth to the National Human Rights Commission headed by Sonia acolyte K.G. Balakrishnan, who remained a mute spectator to this scandal and failed to take cognizance of this massive outrage enacted in the capital itself. In fact, we should

demand disbanding this useless and motivated body, which is merely a perch for cronies of the powers-that-be.

The National Commission for Women is another useless organisation could be shut down. As expected, it was missing throughout the action, though eye witnesses appeared on national television to say that policemen stepped on the bellies of unarmed women and tore off their clothes; female constables were

excessive powers for itself.

While the 'civil society' representatives on the Committee were savvy enough to support Baba Ramdev in his fast at Ramlila Maidan, and to condemn the barbarous attack sponsored by the State, they surely realize that if they continue on the Committee, they will be perceived as 'poodles' of Sonia Gandhi by the general public. As such, their work, if it does conclude to their satisfaction, will lack



The police run riot at midnight during the intervening night of 4 & 5th June 2011 at Ram Lila Maidan, New Delhi.

deployed much later. NCW is a drain on the national exchequer and a sinecure for unemployed retainers of the regime. Naturally, it is notorious for selective concerns regarding women's rights.

To their credit, Anna Hazare and his colleagues have realized that the police atrocity – which Government ministers like Kapil Sibal and Subodh Kant Sahay are shamelessly defending (while Pranab Mukherjee has slipped away, surfacing only to call it a 'sad event', while Home Minister P. Chidambaram claims he was away and did not give permission for action!) – has made their position in the Joint Drafting Committee for the Lokpal Bill invidious.

This writer is among the early critics of the Joint Drafting Committee and Lokpal Bill, and it would be worthwhile for the 'civil society' representatives to resign and facilitate the early demise of the committee (which anyway is going nowhere). The writer opposes the Lokpal Bill because it usurps the powers of the legislature, executive, judiciary and police, CBI, et al, and assumes

credibility. Wisdom demands a retreat from the Committee. Maybe they will choose this course during their public fast on June 8.

Need to rethink Civil Society methods of agitation

Both Anna Hazare and Baba Ramdev would do well to ponder over the methods they used to force Government action against corruption, and to admit that these were counter-productive. While raising public awareness about the scandalous proportions assumed by corruption in the political class is one thing, neither was authorised or capable (in the end) of forcing the Government to submit to their demands. Both were manipulated by other forces, which is why the goalposts shifted in their respective agitations.

During the build up to the Anna Hazare fast in Jantar Mantar, RSS think tank Vivekananda International Foundation organised a two-day seminar to galvanise cadres for the Jantar Mantar movement, probably without understanding the issues associated with it. Swami Ramdev came for the valedictory function

and stated that an organisation to lead the anti-corruption battle would be formed by RSS thinker K.N. Govindacharya, who would also lead it. Swami Ramdev made it clear that the Bharat Swabhiman Trust would remain separate and continue public awareness work.

Obviously, the sudden decision for Swami Ramdev to lead a fast-unto-death at Ramlila Maidan and issue ultimatums to the Government on the issue of return of black money from abroad (and assorted other demands, some laughable) was the result of manipulation of a decent man. Throughout the day of June 4, Govindacharya had a prominent role at Ramlila Maidan.

The question legitimately arises why he was missing at night – when everyone in the city knew that the Government was planning some action that night, and messages to this effect had started going out from 2 p.m. onwards. Officially, the talks collapsed only around 7 p.m., but clearly Government was preparing the crack-down prior to the breakdown. Where were all the cadres of the BJP and the RSS, which had clearly used the Baba for a proxy political fight with ruling party?

Why politics behind purdah?

It bears recalling that the first major scandal involving political leadership in our times was the Bofors payoff scam which engulfed the reputation of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, all on account of his wife, Sonia Maino Gandhi, and her personal associations.

This scandal was opposed politically by all the non-Congress opposition parties, individually and collectively, and there was no culture of proxy wars using non-political eminent persons to shadow-box on behalf of some party or other. I particularly recall an all-party rally (perhaps Jantar Mantar) attended, among others, by National Conference MP Akbar Jehan (mother of Dr Farooq Abdullah), Akali Dal MPs, and MPs of the then new Telugu Desam Party who flaunted bright yellow

scarves.

The point is why did BJP not fight ruling party corruption openly? And once it was known that Baba Ramdev would fast on June 4, why did the BJP President call a national executive meeting and take party stalwarts away from Delhi at the very same time?

Worse is the wimpish approach of satyagraha at Rajghat (give me a break), rather than confronting the regime frontally, and helping battered citizens. The party uses Baba Ramdev to lure innocent villagers into an inhospitable environment, and leaves them to fend for themselves while its leaders sleep in the comfort of 5-star hotels (no more tents, mind you).

This brings us to the most pertinent question – why did Advani and co sneakily join hands with the Government and agree to covertly pass the Budget without discussion in April, on the very day Parliament was to break for the one month recess in which the Budget would be studied by MPs, before being passed in May? Given the huge corruption, crushing price rise, and excessive favours to the corporate sector, why did BJP not consider a cut motion to bring the Government down or wrest some tax concessions for the middle class?

And why did Advani promise to pass the Lokpal Bill (still not drafted) without it being brought to Parliament and seen by the party? Is a political party supposed to give blind support to laws introduced by Government at the instance of an extra-constitutional body?

Last words

■The UPA government instead of cracking down on crooks, hawala operators, and illegal foreign bank account holders, has instead swooped on an unarmed Swamiji and world renowned Yoga teacher who had wanted effective action against the corruption, making India look like a tin pot dictatorship in a Banana Republic – Dr Subramanian Swami

■Supreme Court must order a probe as justice cannot be expected from the Centre – Uttar Pradesh chief minister Mayawati

*(The writer is Editor, www.vijayaani.com)

(From Page 1)

levelled allegations on them. Our people are being dubbed as LeT militants, paid agents and now recently as drug addicts by the state government only for raising the voice for resolution of Kashmir issue..”

The sections of separatists, whom Government of India never hesitates to call as ‘moderates’, also drew parallels between the situation in Egypt and Kashmir. All of them hoped that Egypt can be replicated in Kashmir.

How the ferment inside is shaping can be gauged from the following two sample responses. One from a former terrorist and now a self-professed moderate whom many in Kashmir believe to be closer to government of India, Mr. Firdous Sayed, one of the first of the initial band of young men who took to arms and also one of the first to renounce them. And second, Mr. Hassan Zainagiree who has been a pro Jamaat and pro Geelani columnist and writes regularly for the local English dailies. Sh Firdous compared the situation in Kashmir with Egypt thus, “On February 11, when Hosni Mubaraq was forced to resign and Tehrir Square burst in impromptu jubilations, people in Tehran were observing the thirteenth year of Iranian revolution. Iran’s and Egypt’s revolution share a date February 11. The comparison does not end here, February 11 in Kashmir is remembered as a day when Maqbool Bhatt kissed the rope and kindled the flame of Azadi with his blood.” Mr. Hassan Zainagiree wrote in his column, “No political manipulation or military might can stop simmering lava of rebellion from accumulating a critical mass and then blowing up citadels of hubris into smithereens..... If today Al-Tehrir Square sent twenty first century Pharaoh of Egypt in the dark dungeons of History, some other squares are waiting and gearing up for replicating Al-Tehrir.”

Referring to the role of Islamic organizations in Egypt Mr. Zainagiree notes, “The Islamist Organization (in Egypt) remaining invisibly visible behind the scenes used its organizational strength and mobilized large number of its supporters for the protest that was mainly non-religious and spontaneous in character. Despite being banned from political activity it accepted the invitation for discussion on political transition.... Projecting a more pragmatic image of itself to domestic and international audience Ikhwan declared it as an ‘Egyptian Revolution’, and not an Islamic revolution. With one stroke of political acumen and dexterity it blunted many

Democratic Process: Conversion into a Subversive

arrows aimed at it from Washington, Brussels and Tel Aviv.” Mr. Zainagiree has almost revealed the mindset of the cadre based Jamaat as also the core content of the processes which are making the radical and more popular separatist leader to behave as he has been. Geelani, by engaging with the governments at the state level and the Centre and cohabiting with the likes of Arundhatti Roys, once in a while extending his hand of patronage to hapless Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs living in the valley, is exhibiting a flexibility which many are describing as a change of heart of the ailing and aged leader. When the septuagenarian leader chose to be one of the first leaders in the entire Islamic world to condemn the killing of the dreaded Osama bin Laden he only demonstrated a ruthless commitment to pan Islamic movement for which Osama is an undisputed icon. Geelani by declaring Osama bin Laden as a martyr in the cause of Islam also mocked at those in India within the government and outside who have been claiming a change of heart in him.

The issue in Kashmir valley is not whether Egypt like uprising can be replicated. The separatist regimes have the confidence and expertise of mobilizing people far more in numbers. They have the maturity to ignore the multiplying fractures within their rank and file. The stone pelting campaign last year amply demonstrated this. They have demonstrated it at many occasions in the past, be it marches to UN Military Observers Posts in the outskirts of Srinagar, or march to Chrar-i-Sharief and many similar mobilizations during the Amarnath Land row. The issue which they are addressing is how such mobilizations on the ground could be used to wreck the status quo on Kashmir. When the Prime minister talks about the value of ‘functioning democracy’ he is ignoring the fact that the political class across the spectrum in the valley recognizes it as a ‘managed democracy’ and they also believe that the world at large is just a very small distance from recognizing it so. He also is blissfully unaware about the fact that his own government has allowed the democratic process to be undermined with impunity.

Undermining of the Democratic process

The ‘functioning democracy’ argument as a counter weight to the mass upsurges in Kashmir valley guided by regressive political ideologies

has certainly a great value. But if the government has a policy structure which essentially undermines and also delegitimizes the ‘democratic process’ which it has established in an extremely stressful environment of terrorist intimidation, then the ‘functioning democracy’ argument loses its value and cannot be harnessed as a protective shield.

Only very recently the New Delhi appointed Chief Interlocutors for Jammu and Kashmir said that the participation of people in Panchayat polls and the Kashmir problem were two different issues. “Polls and Kashmir issue are far away from each other. People are participating in elections to address their basic issues,” said Dileep Padgaonkar at a two day ‘Peace Conference’ organized by J&K Peace Foundation in Srinagar on May 16, 2011. In an earlier interview on Doordarshan, Radha Kumar, another interlocutor appointed by the Government of India, described the elected government in Jammu and Kashmir as almost non-representative because as per her a very large public constituency fell outside the boundaries of the democratic sphere. These are not isolated views of persons who might have been nominated as interlocutors by the Government of India for reasons other than their views on the democratic experiment in Jammu and Kashmir. A significant section of Kashmir experts and track 2 actors employed by none other than the Government of India itself profess the same views.

When government of India allowed Mufti Mohammad Sayed and Omar Abdullah to advocate publicly, as the Chief Ministers of the state, that their elected governments were just a day to day arrangement to handle the day to day problems of the people and they have no locus standi to decide about the larger political issues it renders the entire functioning democracy in the state to a stature of even worse than that of a ‘managed democracy’ which the educated middle class in Kashmir valley chooses to call it. If the elected government in Jammu and Kashmir is accorded the status of a mere interface between the governments of Pakistan, India and the people of Kashmir by the governments in the state and the Centre then the democratic legitimacy automatically shifts outside of the democratic sphere to the regimes orchestrating secessionist public mobilizations but which have stubbornly

opposed the democratic process in the state over the years. The international opinion which the secessionist mind in Kashmir is targeting cannot be expected to ignore this reality.

Why will the international opinion not take the cognizance of the fact that the Indian Government itself does not accord the respect of a functioning democracy to the democratic process which it has established under the nose of a terrorist gun? Can Americans afford to call the elected governments in Afghanistan and Iraq as non-representative and merely as day to day arrangements?

The strategic fraternity in India and an overwhelming section of the Indian political class advocated the initiation of democratic process in the state in 1996 to restore the democratic rights of the people. Initiation of the democratic process served two other major strategic objectives. First has been to deploy democracy to mobilize opinion against terrorism and separatism and isolate the armed separatist regimes in the state. And second to use the democratic interface as a legitimate moral shield while conducting counter terrorist operations on the ground. Democratic interface acts as a constant deterrent against Human Rights violations and does not allow terrorists to use the argument of Human Rights violations, which inevitably happen once in a while as collateral damage when security forces confront violence organized from within the sanctuary of the society itself.

The decision to initiate democratic process then was a critical decision as the terrorist regimes in the state were far from being vanquished even though falling into disarray under the attack of counter insurgent operations. More critically subversive entrenchment in the organs of the state administration had remained untouched and there was every possibility that restoration of democratic process might lead to widening and deepening of the subversive entrenchment. But as the policy of Government of India unfolded the democratic process in the state far from becoming an anti-dote to secessionism got transformed into a process where separatists were accorded an extra constitutional veto over all the political interventions devised by the elected government itself.

All the three Round Table Conferences on Jammu and Kashmir were primarily devised to ensure participa-

tion of the separatist leaders. The importance accorded to the separatist participation in these conferences was actually a process of delegitimizing the democratic process itself. The outcome of each such conference and the reports of the Working Groups created during these conferences aimed primarily to further woo the separatists. With each cycle of concessions the separatist leaders, including particularly those whom the Government of India calls as moderates, further stiffened their stance and stubbornly refused to give any credibility to the democratic process. The influence and the concomitant pressures which the democratic process could have generated were neutralized by the very character of the democratic process employed on the ground.

Conversion of Democratic Process into a Subversive Space

During the stone pelting campaign last year, the Central Government was exposed in ample measure to the contradictions and pitfalls of the democratic process which it has employed in Jammu and Kashmir. The failure of the elected government in the state was called erroneously as a ‘governance deficit’ by the Central Government. The unwillingness of the state government to stand up against secessionist mobilizations in the state and many times if not always acting as an accomplice to the secessionists cannot be merely called as a ‘governance deficit’.

At the peak of ‘stone pelting’ campaign the Chief Minister of the State said without inhibitions that the “the aspirations of the people of Jammu & Kashmir cannot be assuaged only by development, good governance and economic packages but needs a political solution.... We must work together to find a solution that can lead to a lasting peace in Jammu & Kashmir as per the aspirations of the people of this great land.” This position was exactly in sync with the separatist line. How many times have we heard Ali Shah Geelani say that development, unemployment, miss-governance were non issues and the real solution was settlement of Kashmir issue as per the wishes and aspirations of the people!

Attitude of the State Government during last year’s so called ‘Quit Kashmir’ campaign was both of helplessness as well as political unwillingness to stand up to the secessionists. Unwillingness to stand up against secessionist forces because there is a definite

(Contd. on Page 10)

PC's 'Indian' Geelani: the insider story

By Capt. S.K. Tikoo

SOON after P Chidambaram took over as the Union Home Minister, a senior Congress party leader and an ex-minister of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) state sought an appointment with him, to apprise him of the ground realities existing in the state in general and the Valley in particular. The Union Home Minister gave him a patient hearing but no sooner, this Congressman who had travelled all the way from Srinagar, talked about Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the chairman of Tehrik-i-Hurriyat, a conglomerate of many subversive, secessionist and anti-Indian outfits as the mastermind and the brain behind the anti-national and separatist agitations being held in the Valley day in and day out. The Home Minister brushed him aside by saying that Syed Ali Shah Geelani was an Indian and conveyed in no uncertain terms to this Congressman that he was no longer interested in any further talks on the subject. The meeting ended then and there. Indian and Geelani are poles apart. Here is the brief profile of this 'Indian':

As early as 1989, a meeting of Jamaat-e-Islami was held on August 3, in village Soibug of Budgam district in Kashmir Valley, under the chairmanship of Syed Ali Shah Geelani. The meeting was held at the residence of Dr. Mohd. Sultan.

It was SAS Geelani who proposed that the time was ripe to stage an armed struggle against India and he also promised total support of JI to this armed struggle.

Incidentally, Dr Mohd Sultan had also fought the elections as a JI (Jamaat-e-Islami) candidate to the J&K Legislative Assembly held in 1987. Those who attended the meeting included Ghulam Mohd. Mir alias Shamas-ul-Haq, Mohd. Ismail, Ashraf Dar and Maqbool Ilahi among others. All of them were senior JI leaders.

Those days, Ashraf Dar was known as founder (BAANI)

Geelani, not used to disobedience, it is well known, got Haji Ghulam Mohemmed Shot dead soon after he came out of a mosque after having offered his evening prayers.

militant and Maqbool Ilahi as real (ASLI) militant. Master Yousuf Shah, a fire spewing imam of a mosque and resident of the same village who had unsuccessfully fought the 1987 Assembly election as the JI candidate from Amira Kadal constituency, was conspicuous by his presence. It was SAS Geelani who proposed that the time was ripe to stage an armed struggle against India and he also promised total support of JI to this armed struggle. Ashraf Dar, the founder militant suggested ZIA Tigers as the



P.Chidambaram

name of the new outfit, which would carry out insurgency in the state. Immediately thereafter, hundreds (some say even thousands) of young boys were sent across to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and Pakistan to get arms training in various camps in POK and Pakistan. These camps were run by Pak army and JI Pakistan jointly. It was this 'Indian' Geelani who persuaded the reluctant members of the Majlis-i-Shoora of JI, to release enough funds to this new adventure and he ensured that 'ZIA Tigers' would never fall short of financial support to be provided by JI.

Some sudden developments like the growth of JKLF (Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front), 'Allah Tigers' besides 'ZIA Tigers' declaring some sort of autonomy shocked Geelani. His reaction was quick and sharp-he coined a new word HM (Hizb-ul-Mujahideen), borrowing the word Hizb from Arabic language which means jamaat (gathering group) and added Mujahideen to it. This new militant outfit was thus created by JI and its constitution was presented by Master Ahsan Dar, who later rose to

be the supreme commander.

JI Jammu and Kashmir and JI Pakistan recognised only HM as a truly Islamic terrorist outfit and both these organisations, locally and from across the border, supported it fully. In 1991, a meeting was held under the chairmanship of master Ahsan Dar, in the house of Abdul Gani Sofi alias Shaheen, a well known JI worker, situated in village Sepdan (district Budgam) and was attended by Mohd. Yousuf Shah, Mohd. Abdullah alias commander, Ghulam Mohammed Gani known as 'ISI Agent', SAS Geelani, Ghulam Mohammed Mir, Waheed Sheikh and Maqbool Ilahi and a few more committed JI members. In the said meeting, Geelani ordered his (HM) 'commanders' to disarm all 'commanders' owing allegiance to rival militant groups. He even went to the extent of ordering their physical elimination if they did not agree to work under the banner of HM. This move was vehemently opposed and objected to by two senior-most JI leaders viz Ghulam Mohammed Ganai and Mohammed Abdullah 'commander', but Geelani the 'Indian' stuck to his guns and stripped Ahsan Dar of the post of 'supreme commander' and appointed Mohammed Yousuf Shah in his place under a new name-Syed Salah-ud-Din. Master Ahsan Dar was given the title of 'Military Adviser'-a decorative consolation. Master Ahsan Dar who had tremendous hold in Pattan town and its adjacent villages in Baramulla district struck back quickly. In a significant move, he issued a press release declaring HM as the ASKARI (militant) wing of JI - it was the first public declaration of JI running a terrorist outfit. Almost at the same time, Mohammed Abdullah 'Commander', who had walked out of HM, issued a separate press statement claiming that HM in fact was a political outfit and 'Jamaat-i-Mujahideen was its militant (ASKARI) wing. Surprisingly, these two contradictory statements issued by two stalwarts of JI were neither endorsed nor contradicted by JI or HM. However, general

public got disillusioned with the internal bickering of JI and HM and started openly helping other rival militant and terrorist outfits. JI could not take it lightly, it started co-opting and owning up, by means fair and mostly foul, other smaller terrorist outfits like 'Allah Tigers' 'Tehrik-i-Jamaat-i-Islami' etc. and continued to do so in spite of bitter opposition by Haji Ghulam Mohammed, a respected and a senior JI leader. Geelani, not used to disobedience, it is well known, got Haji Ghulam



Syed Ali Shah Geelani

Mohemmed Shot dead soon after he came out of a mosque after having offered his evening prayers. The killing was owned by 'Al-Hasan Commandoes' of 'Hazrat Ali Regiment', a fake outfit which was never heard of again.

In 1991 itself, HM declared the creation of a political outfit and named it as Hurriyat Conference with SAS Geelani as its president. Known JI headliners like Mohammed Akbar Bhat, Zaffar-ul-Islam (Divisional Commander of HM) and Sadiq Ali, the chief confidante of Geelani, were given key posts in the Hurriyat Conference. Geelani ensured that militant 'commanders' and upper ground leaders from other outfits did not get important and prominent positions in the Hurriyat Conference. But the high handedness of Geelani was soon challenged by those who had been fighting the 'holy war' on the ground unlike Geelani who was always issuing dictates from safe havens without having ever operated, nay even touched an AK-rifle. A vertical division split the HM in two warring outfits, one headed by master Ahsan Dar and the other by master Yousuf Shah alias Syed

Salahu-du-Din. Senior 'commanders' of both groups got killed in this internecine warfare. Geelani issued orders to Syed Salah-ud-Din to eliminate all those who defied HM headed by him. During this period, master Ahsan Dar got a setback, when an important hideout in the house of Rashid Zain-i-Gami, an influential, rich and wealthy supporter of Ahsan Dar was destroyed by the grenade attacks and in the process. Rashid-Zaini-Gami was killed - a severe blow suffered by Ahsan Dar. Rashid-Zaini-Gami, was not the only one, two other senior leaders of JI, the senior most 'original (ASLI) commander' and 'founder (baani) militant' met the same fate. It was Geelani who had ordered their killings, only to emerge as the unchallenged leader of Hurriyat, says one of Geelani's one time colleague who does not want to be identified for obvious reasons.

Geelani did not stop at that. The rise of SLF (Students Liberation Front) to popularity in late 1994, was the biggest setback to Geelani and he set his murder machine to motion. He detailed Syed Salah-ud-Din to kill the 'supreme commander' of SLF - someone known as Kuka Parrey, Salah-ud-Din failed to deliver and an immediate change of plans took place. A meeting was held in village Vachi in south Kashmir in the house of one Ghulam Hassan Khan, a senior JI leader. Another

The constitution (dastoor) of Tehrik-i-Hurriyat right in its permeable, incites, instigates and provokes its members to eliminate all non-believers in the name of Islam

senior JI leader, Ghulam Qadir Ganaai, present in the meeting sent for Abdul Qayoom Shah, an important leader of National Conference. There were 40 to 50 fully armed militants already in the room when Qayoom Shah arrived. He was offered a princely sum of Rs 50 lacs and asked to surrender to the army, gain their confidence and kill 'that'

(Contd. on Page 8)

Roadmap for Kashmir: the path not trodden

By Navnita Chadha Behera

THE interlocutors for Kashmir are due to submit an interim report to the central government. It is too early to say if their roadmap will resolve the conflict because what it entails is unclear. If it's expected to yield a final political settlement, then it may not succeed because that can only result from a multi-layered and inclusive political dialogue wherein J&K's political class takes the lead in reworking the rules of power sharing. The Delhi-based, eminent albeit 'apolitical' interlocutors are not best suited to this monumental task.

Even so, they may make a significant contribution to the peace process. This, simply by undertaking the overdue and neglected task of mapping out the broad parameters within which the specificities of a peace proposal may be debated. Even this much calls for a fundamental shift in the basic terms of discourse because it questions the multiple fables that pass for conventional wisdom.

The original blunder was made in 1947 when the ideological prism of the two-nation theory was used to characterize Kashmir as a Hindu-Muslim conflict. This

historical narrative suggested that Pakistan — the "homeland" of the subcontinent's Muslims — was incomplete without Kashmir's inclusion, or that India's secular credentials depended on Kashmir's accession. It also suggested that the dispute arose because a Muslim-majority state had its fate determined by a Hindu Maharaja. Both propositions do not stand up to historical scrutiny. In 1947, Kashmir's fate was neither preordained nor decided on ideological grounds. The princely Dogra state of Jammu & Kashmir lay outside British India. The battle over it between the leadership of Congress and the Muslim League was fundamentally political and mainly because of the respective Dominions' defence needs and need for geographical consolidation.

Another critical factor was the local dynamics of Kashmiri politics. Though legally, the Maharaja alone could sign the Instrument of Accession, it was the Sheikh Abdullah-led National Conference's political backing that ultimately swung it. The Muslim League chose to blame the Hindu Maharaja because it would have been far more difficult to explain how a popular Muslim

leader like Sheikh had voluntarily opted to join India.

The 'territorialization' of the Kashmir conflict has also detracted from the question of peoples' 'political' rights and per-

munity of 'Kashmiri Muslims' is not a unified, homogenous entity in terms of political beliefs, ideological leanings or political goals. Nor is the Kashmiri Muslims' interpretation

demand for full and unconditional accession to India acted as a countervailing force to the Valley's demand for independence. Currently too, the separatist leadership faces the same dilemma. It speaks on behalf of the 'people of Jammu & Kashmir' but represents the political interests of only a part of the majority community — Kashmiri Muslims in the Valley. The minorities in Jammu and Ladakh, in fact, seek autonomy from the Valley. The secessionist agenda underlying the demand for right to self-determination has thus failed because it lacks an inclusive character.

A just, viable and lasting peace in Kashmir must involve all the communities and nationalities living in the state, not Kashmiri Muslims alone who resorted to the gun and have thus been the worst affected by the political violence. This is important because if the political demands of the non-violent mobilization in Jammu, Ladakh and elsewhere are not addressed through the peace process, it will send the message that 'violence pays'. This would defeat the very purpose of a peace process. And yet, J&K's pluralities are an asset,

not a liability when devising a strategy to resolve this conflict if they are viewed as a basis for linkages, not division.

Finally, it's important to bring developments in 'Azad Kashmir' and the Northern Areas within the purview of debates on Kashmir's political future. The people of 'Azad Kashmir' and the Northern Areas had to wait until 1970 and 1994 respectively to exercise their basic civil right to vote. Ambiguities about the constitutional and legal status of the latter have fostered typical colonial conditions whereby all civil and legal rights reside in the Pakistani state and none in the people. Nonetheless, Pakistan has always assumed the mantle of championing the Kashmiri cause and dictated the terms of Kashmir's discourse at home and in the international arena. The basic rules of the game in agenda-setting must change and if the interlocutors could set this ball rolling it may well prove to be a game-changer in Kashmir.

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—Source: Times of India



The interlocutors on J&K addressing media persons at Srinagar.

petuated the fallacy of viewing two parts of the divided state as homogenous entities. The political construct of a 'Muslim-majority' Jammu & Kashmir state pitted against a 'majoritarian Hindu India' or its counterpart that Islam is sufficient to cement the relationship between 'Azad Kashmir' and Northern Areas with Pakistan are, at best, misleading.

Jammu & Kashmir with its extraordinary medley of races, tribal groups, languages and religions is arguably one of the most diverse regions in the subcontinent. Its majority com-

of the right to self-determination in terms of demanding a plebiscite mandated by the 1949 UN resolutions shared by other communities such as the Dogras, Kashmiri Pandits, Gujjars, Bakkarwals and Ladakhi Buddhists.

The Kashmiri leadership has consistently failed to come to terms with this reality. In the 1950s, if Sheikh Abdullah argued that self-determination was the inherent right of all peoples and demanded it for Kashmiris, he could not justify denying the same to people of Jammu and Ladakh. However, the latter's

PC's 'Indian' Geelani: the insider

(Contd. from Page 7)

Kuka Parrey. This too did not work.

An alternate plan was hatched. A group of hardcore HM 'commanders' that included Abdul Majeed Hajam, M Ashraf Hajam, Tufail a 'coy commander' and younger brother of Zafar-ul-Islam of Salvation Movement and Fayaz Ahmed Ahangar alias Junaid-ul-Islam were ordered to surrender along with their arms and then work for Hm from within. To Geelani's disbelief and shock, most of these surrendered militants actually started working against HM, but Geelani could not take it lightly. He got Abdul Majeed Hajam burnt alive in a brick kiln, to send a stern message to any prospective 'renegades'. He continued issuing 'Death Orders' regularly. Mir Asadullah, a prominent Congress leader of Soi Bug was done away with in a mine blast and in March/April, 1996 when 8 militants and 3 civilians got

killed in an encounter in village Chivdara of Beerwah tehsil. Geelani publicly declared to the assembled mourners that he knew who the informer (mukhbir) was and the next day, the bullet ridden body of Abdul Khaliq Mir of J&K police, of the same village, was found in the village square. Geelani had deputed Musaib bhai, a Pakistani militant to kill Mir.

This modern day godfather controls HM, appoints naazims (commanders) of even platoons, companies and battalions - not to speak of higher formations, looks after the finances and has a well knit organisational set up where he has his favoured and trusted commanders working for him. A well known journalist worked for him for years under the assumed name of Idrees Khan. This journalist later worked as a staffer of a national daily for years, this time under his real name. Under a well chalked out plan, he made some of those 'ex-commanders'

surrender, spend few years in jail and are now openly running his Tehrik-i-Hurriyat. And what is Tehrik-i-Hurriyat? This Geelani 'the Indian' once thrown out of Hurriyat Conference (was it a part of a deep rooted conspiracy?) floated another political party under the name and title of 'Tehrik-i-Hurriyat Jammu

CONTINUATION

and Kashmir in 2004 with himself as its chairman. The constitution (dastoor) of Tehrik-i-Hurriyat right in its permeable, incites, instigates and provokes its members to eliminate all non-believers in the name of Islam and thus complete the unfinished task of the Prophet. Just read what is written in the very first chapter (there are three chapters in all) of the constitution (DASTOOR) pages 4 and 5.

"...Those who are not accepting the fact that all creation flows from the dispensation of the one God, those that insist

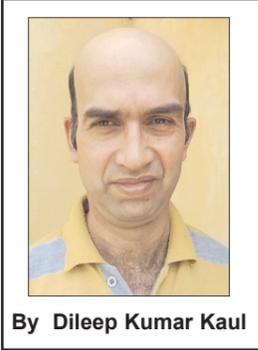
that they will bow to the God of their choosing and base their culture and civilisation on the philosophies and points of view of their liking are hereby told unequivocally that the Messenger of God has not been sent to accommodate them, but has been sent to impose the instructions of (the one) God that he brings on every aspect of creation. This (the will of God) has to be carried out by him in whatever manner required. You should leave no stone un-turned to condemn/admonish/lashout at the apostate polytheist and the disbeliever to accept this, he may try howsoever hard (towards the controversy): this mission of the Messenger will stand accomplished".

Is this 'Indian' not exhorting

his followers (Muslims) of terrorising Hindus (Polytheists)? Yet he is not booked under the relevant sections of IPC. He is the only 'Indian' who calls Omar Abdullah the chief minister of Indian occupied Kashmir. Even the Pakistanis refer to the state of J&K as the Indian administered J&K state. In a booklet 'teen hadaf' (three aims), he throws caution to the winds and pleads intensely for the creation for ummah, where there will be no geographical demarcations and different governments, but just one khilafat. This modern day 'Indian' godfather is calling the shots.

The state bureaucracy and police are unwilling to touch him.

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By Dileep Kumar Kaul

Lalded Consciousness"-II

FROM the stories of its origin as mentioned in Neelmata Purana to our times Kashmir has got a mystic feeling associated with it. In Neelmata Purana the land of Kashmir is itself the body of Mother Goddess and the life-line of this land the sacred river "Vitasta" too is Mother Goddess herself. With such a mystic lore associated with this land the people who inhabit it have a natural affinity towards mysticism and they readily enter into discussions about the comparison of the powers of various mystics. And when we talk of mystics Lalded is held in the highest esteem by the common folk of Kashmir and almost all mystics most of whom were poets as well have held her as worth emulating through their recorded word and thus placed themselves in her tradition. This reverence for mystics is a very important aspect of the place consciousness of Kashmir which makes Kashmiri People what they are. Lalded is considered the pinnacle of mystic tradition of Kashmir. Attempts to appropriate her by the Islamists of Kashmir bears testimony to the fact that her inclusion in any faith will glorify that faith. This also shows that even these Islamists could not escape the effect of Lalded consciousness.

All the mystics and those who have the awareness of the mystic practice of Lalded consider her an unparalleled Shaiva yogini. Mystics of Kashmir give an example to explain her extraordinary yoga margha. Lalded would keep an inverted earthen saucer (Toke in Kashmiri) on her head and then stand on another earthen saucer. She had got such control on the energies of her body that in some moments her body would slowly dissolve away and the earthen saucer on her head would sit on the earthen saucer on which was under her feet. Then she would reappear from within these saucers again with the saucer on her head, standing on another saucer. The mystics of Kashmir agree that she was the only one who had achieved this state. She had the power to change the matter constituting her body into energy and the energy back into matter. We have heard of the practices of transforming the vital

energy or the soul into other bodies but Lalded had attained that state of shivahood where she could play this game of transformation with every cell of her body. This practice is known among mystics as 'Chandrakala'. Such states are not achieved all of a sudden. She had worked on a tradition of mystic practices which existed in her times which was nurtured by great sages like Acharya Abhinavagupta and Acharya Utpladeva and achieved the extraordinary state of her yoga. She was the living epitome of this tradition. This practice attained heights with her and after her we do not know anybody who had achieved this state. Before her also nobody had achieved this state. That is why every mystic of Kashmir finds her worth emulating. Lalded represented the pinnacle of the mystic tradition of Kashmir.

Her poetry also marks the beginning of the literary history of Kashmiri language. It must be kept in mind that her poetry is not a treatise on shavite philosophy of Kashmir. It is an extraordinary expression of her experiences which are predominantly associated with her shaiva yoga. Every one of her vaakhs is an intense experience in which every particle of her being seems to be involved. She has given such heights to every aspect of poetry that no Kashmiri poet has ever after her been able to fall near her. Before her there were poets and mystics who wrote their experiences in form of poetry but all of them wrote in Sanskrit, Lalded was the first who made Kashmiri as her medium of expression. But here also a big question arises. The sort of poetry she wrote, the powerful matured language that carries the extraordinary intensity of her experiences could not be achieved at one blow. Such a kind of language-Desh Bhasha could not come without a powerful tradition of doing literature init. But such works in the the Kashmiri desh Bhasha before Lalded are not available. Lalded's language and poetry is not the origin, it is the peak, the pinnacle of a literary and linguistic tradition but without any trace of the predecessors. Lalded's poetry carries within her the labour of those predecessors who transmitted to her the legacy which she carried to the topmost heights. Thus Lalded consciousness stimulates within us an obligation to remain grateful for ever to those forgotten poets whose toil and sweat made our language what it is in Lalded's

poetry and gave us the tongue to say that we exist and belong to the land of Lalded. Thus Lalded consciousness adds a new dimension to the place consciousness of Kashmir and becomes synonymous with it.

Lalded was a Shaiva Yogini and thus could not take this world as an illusion. She had a strong awareness of the objective world and exhibits a deep consciousness of the place she dwelled in, that is Kashmir. One of her vaakhs which is easier to understand but complex in its structure is important from this point of view:-

*Gagan tsuy bootal tsuy
Tsuy then pawan tu raath
Arag tsandan posh ponya
tsuy
Soruy tsay tu laegizi
kyah.*

(you are the sky and the earth, you are the day, the breeze and the night, you are the grain offered in oblation, you are the sandal paste and the flowers, you are all these and everything, so what should I offer you in worship?)

In the structure of this vaakh, every word is meaningfully placed. It is like a camera which focuses on the sky then moves to earth, it happens in the day light then a breeze of air blows and there is night, then there is grain of oblation, the sandal paste, flowers and water then there is Lalded thinking that shiva is everything and if he is everything what should be offered to him!

Now if the camera moves from sky to earth all the things in between will be visible. When a day passes and night comes there is generally a cool breeze in between in the evening. Between all these natural processes the cultural act of worship is there which again is done with natural things like grain, sandal paste, flowers and water. And all these natural things are not assets granted to us by the God as semitic religions tell us. They are themselves shiva the ultimate lord, not his manifestations but he himself as is evident from the vaakh. This is the ultimate non-dualistic thinking. And when this consciousness comes to a person the traditional form of worship undergoes a crisis. If everything is Shiva, flowers, grains, water etc. what is there to offer. Every natural happening is shiva. Every object is shiva and thus has inherent value. Here we see no difference in sakaar-the manifest and nirakaar-the unmanifest. Shiva is everything and everything is Shiva. Everything that has shape is shiva and every other thing that doesn't have a shape is shiva as well. This understanding is not

rejecting the idol worship but transcending it through awareness that everything is Shiva and there is nothing to offer because that awareness makes everyone of your acts, your interaction with anything between sky and earth, your every experience the worship of lord. This is human interaction with the world around in its totality through which any difference between the deity and devotee is erased. Even worship is not needed because whatever you do is the doing of God. This verse exhibits the ecological thought of the highest order, which leaves even the concept of 'Deep Ecology' far behind. The concept of Deep Ecology has inspired many international environmental groups like Friends of Earth, Earth First and Sea Shepherd. This concept was given by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in 1972. With other thinkers he put forth eight basic principals of deep ecology the first two of which are:-

1. Every living being has an inherent value.
2. The prosperity and diversity of life has an inherent value.

These two principals can be seen in this vaakh of Lalded, which was written centuries before Arne Naess. But nobody understands this in Kashmir these days. They are busy proving whether she had converted to Islam or not and their ecology is taking a beating.

It should be noted in this vaakh that the sky and the earth Lalded is talking about is the sky and the earth of Kashmir because she had not been outside Kashmir. All her experiences were in and of Kashmir. So the earth and sky and all things between them are in Kashmir and all are shiva. She expresses Kashmir as sacred geography and gets connected with the tradition of Neelmata Purana where mother Goddess herself says that Kashmir is her body. Same is said here in terms of Shiva. This is the miracle of Lalded and her consciousness. Lalded is the most profound expression in Kashmiri language where the geography of Kashmir becomes the sacred geography. When you are associated with her consciousness you are automatically associated with Kashmir, history, geography and culture of it and all the meanings Kashmir has as a place. In the Vaakh given above the earth and sky of Kashmir are Shiva and thus attain a universal significance. This shows that the deep consciousness of your place only can give you univer-

sal significance and proves that Lalded Consciousness, is not a reduction but a totality in itself. That is why all meaningful mystics and poets and the common folks after her show their association with Lalded consciousness.

Lalded legion amply reflects that the Lalded consciousness is so deeply rooted even in the ecological entities of Kashmir. Lotus stem (*nadur*) is cooked by all Kashmiris and is relished as a delicacy. It grows in many lakes of Kashmir. When we cut a lotus stem into two and pull the two pieces apart we see extremely fine hair between the two pieces. There is a Legend associated with it. Once Lalded was working on a spinning wheel. She had spun extremely fine thread. But her mother-in-law, criticized her for not spinning fine enough. She threw the thread in a pond which grew into lotus stem. The mystic lore of Kashmir holds that the thread we see in the lotus stem is the same thread which was spun by Lalded. This legend grasped the imagination of Kashmiri women who through this have offered resistance to all torturing mothers-in-law. All daughters-in-law in Kashmir, who have borne the torture of their mothers-in-law, are referred to as Lalded's. Kashmiris have offered resistance to Sayyeds through the fable of Lalded jumping into the tandoor of a baker on seeing Shahi Hamadan and coming out clad in a divine costume to show that Sayyeds ran away because they feared they would die if they passed through fire. But in Kashmir a woman could do it. This shows that Lalded has been an empowering consciousness for Kashmiris and has made them to assert their spiritual, intellectual and emotional strength and specificity from time to time. No other personality in Kashmir has attained such significance or dwelled in the consciousness of people in the matters ranging from mundane to spiritual to this extent.

Lalded Consciousness is synonymous with the consciousness of our being as Kashmiris and underlines specific meanings carried by Kashmir as a place. It incorporates the grandeur of our traditions, the depth and universality of our thought, our spiritual intensity, evolution of our linguistic heritage and ecological thinking which respects the inherent value of every being. It is the consciousness which will make us live till eternity.

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

(From Page 6)

overlap between the objectives of the secessionists and the main party of the ruling alliance and helplessness because all organs of the society seem to be on the other side. They are in fact two poles of a vicious cycle which feed each other. Unwillingness generates helplessness and the helplessness feeds the unwillingness.

Omar Abdullah, while responding to the criticism of his handling of the situation made a very revealing statement. "By focusing on my style of governance, you are distracting from the main issue. In which protest did you see slogans against my government? The slogans were 'Hame chahiye Azadi, Go India Go'. What has that to do with my style of governance," he said. "There are lessons to be learnt from this crisis - lessons I have to learn, lesson the state has to learn and important lessons the Government of India has to learn. Don't underplay the complexity of the issue that if I change my style of governance, miraculously, everything will get better. Till June, you hadn't a problem with my style," Abdullah observed. The real paradox of the situation is that the people on the streets raise brazen secessionist slogans and the Chief Minister does not at all consider them as against his government. The ruling party in fact finds a resonance in the secessionist din raised in the streets.

In Jammu and Kashmir one thing which has been overlooked over the years by the think tanks of the mainstream political parties as well as the experts on strategic affairs in India is the consensus within the separatist constituency in the valley that they have to control the 'space of governance'. This consensus reflected for the first time after the defeat of Pakistan in the 1971 war. Sheikh Abdullah agreed to join back the electoral politics because he was aware that the separatist class in the valley, at least the overwhelming majority of it, was convinced about denying the pro India politics in Jammu and Kashmir the space of governance to survive in the aftermath of Pakistan's humiliating defeat. Control of the state government emerged as an imperative strategic necessity for the separatist elite in the valley. That Sheikh Abdullah had taken up the course of joining the power politics in the state not because of any ideological transformation but to meet the exigencies of the times was clear when he responded to the statement of the then President of Pakistan,

Democratic Process: Conversion into a Subversive Space

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, that the fight for Kashmir's right of self-determination was lost in 1948. What Sheikh said in response revealed his ideological disposition as well as urge for an alternative strategic paradigm. He said, "Mr. Bhutto's statement as reported in the Indian Press is not clear to me... It is a historical truth which had been amply proved that any country which has depended on other powers for achievement of its objectives has always met with disaster... It is very difficult to understand that the fight for the right of self-determination was virtually lost in 1948."

Sheikh assumed the helms of affairs in the state and assiduously saw to it that the cadres of plebiscite front and even Al Fatah were accommodated within the new power structure. Pro-Pak and radical Islamist formation of Jamaat-i-Islami of Kashmir was first to realize the import of capturing the legislative space to sustain secessionism in the valley. The then Jamaat supremo, Ali Shah Geelani, contested elections to the State Legislative Assembly and won in 1972, 1977, and 1997. He had the full endorsement of his party and also Pakistan to do so. This is how one young participant in the 2010 stone pelting campaign explained the participation of Ali Shah Geelani in the electoral process of the state, "...And there are some people who say Geelani contested elections earlier, yes he did, but why? At that time the entire pro-freedom groups contested elections, they all wanted to raise Kashmir issue through Indian Parliament." Geelani himself describes his participation in the Assembly elections in a brazen uninhibited way, "Yes that was a compulsion; when National Conference, Congress and other parties fight elections, they raise slogans of socialism, secular democracy and the accession of India, and these slogans are anti-Islam. We people are for Islam, so whenever these principles and ideological systems are being forced to the Muslims, we must fight against these anti-Islamic theories. That was the main objective for which we were fighting the elections."

The transformation of the democratic space into a subversive space started with earnestness after Sheikh Abdullah assumed the reins of power in 1975. Indira Gandhi realized its unfolding sooner than later. To an explanation from Syed Mir Qasim who was instrumental in persuading her to hand over power to

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, she did not mince words to rebuff him and wrote back, "... For the present it is sufficient to recall that you misled me and the Congress party about the nature of your talks with Sheikh Sahib.... For me the accord was, and remains a method of fruitful cooperation among all secular and patriotic forces in the state. It certainly did not mean that Congress should fade into oblivion. I did not and cannot accept this interpretation of the accord... At this critical juncture in our history, when international forces are working for the destabilization of India... and you admit that you are not unaware of these facts— was it not incumbent on all Congress workers to work selflessly to fight all forces that are against the secular and democratic unity of our country. Would we have carried any credibility had we done what you prompted us to do i.e., abandon the battle in the valley?"

The difference between the methodologies adopted by the terrorist regimes in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the separatist regimes in Jammu and Kashmir needs to be recognized with clarity. In Afghanistan and Pakistan terrorist regimes seek creation of ungoverned spaces. In Jammu and Kashmir armed separatism views control of governed space as a key component of their strategy. That is why we see symbiotic relations between regional Muslim parties promoting religion based identity politics who participate in elections and the frank secessionist formations who oppose elections.

When Indira Gandhi harnessed the democratic process to neutralize the secessionist tendencies of National Conference by voluntarily vacating space for Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah she was basically committed to join the battle with the secessionist and visualized a critical role for the national political formations in the state. The present Congress regime has abandoned the battle in Kashmir. When Azad became Chief Minister during Congress-PDP coalition in the state, Congress allowed PDP to nominate candidates for the assembly bye elections in constituencies which as per coalition sharing formula belonged to it. Abandoning Kashmir to political parties espousing Muslim sub-nationalism has in recent years been advocated by top security experts who have served Government of India at the highest level. Former director RAW, Sh A.S Dulat, is on record of having

Indira Gandhi visualized the role of Congress to preserve the 'secular democratic unity of India' in Jammu and Kashmir. Present Congress regime is considering Musharraf formula as a solution of Kashmir problem and in fact conceding to carve out a separate territorial sphere of Muslim influence in Jammu and Kashmir.

advocated such a line for Kashmir many times in the past.

Indira Gandhi visualized the role of Congress to preserve the 'secular democratic unity of India' in Jammu and Kashmir. Present Congress regime is considering Musharraf formula as a solution of Kashmir problem and in fact conceding to carve out a separate territorial sphere of Muslim influence in Jammu and Kashmir. It has sent unambiguous signals to the displaced Kashmiri Hindus to submit to the dominant politics of the valley. The present Congress regime seeks to hostage Hindus to the imperatives of Muslim Identity politics in the state to preserve its relationship with the Muslim communalism in the state. It has used its clout in Jammu only to paralyze the growing restlessness in the state against the increased clout of Muslim identity politics in the state.

During Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh regimes in the Centre we have seen a perverted democratic attitude being allowed and promoted in the state which operates beyond the Constitution of India. We have seen many times Legislative Assembly in the state taking up issues which do not constitutionally belong to it. The Greater Autonomy resolution by the National Conference or the Women's Permanent Residents Bill, are the glaring examples. When the Chief Minister used the podium of the assembly to comment on the accession of the state with the Union of India we were witnessing the crossing of sacrosanct lines being allowed by the Centre in the name of conflict resolution.

The conferring of almost a veto to the separatist leadership operating outside the boundaries of democratic process by the Government of India has led to democratic process assuming a character to target the credibility of the process itself. In this situation extra constitutional importance accorded to Geelani or Omar Farooq is in fact an

expression of the government policy to shift the democratic legitimacy outside the democratic sphere. Democracy in Jammu and Kashmir is mutating into a subversive space.

Conclusion

We cannot overlook the core content of the democratic process employed in the state even if we choose to have faith in Government of India and assume that it has allowed soft secessionism in the constitutionally sanctioned democratic space only to purge the secessionist sentiment. A peach fruit graft on an apple tree grows peaches not apples. A secessionist graft on a sovereign democratic body grows only secessionism. In fact secessionist political grafts assume a malignant tendency to throw up metastasis elsewhere on the body polity. The interplay of Maoists and Islamists in Kashmir is an expression of this phenomenon. Democratic process can only neutralize secessionism if it chooses to contest it and not cohabit with it. Democratic process can become effective if it does not allow itself to become an insulator of regressive content of secessionism. Democracy wins if it does not offer itself as a willing accomplice in creating a false consciousness based on historical distortions and falsehoods. The Prime Minister's hope that 'functioning democracy' argument can act as a critical deterrent against one more secessionist upsurge in the valley may be misplaced because international actors know it very well that Prime Minister of India has shown a proclivity not to defend what is sacrosanct in Jammu and Kashmir. These players have ample experience that Government of India undermines its own leverages in Jammu and Kashmir. They must be baffled that in a worsening situation for the separatists in Jammu and Kashmir Government of India is more than willing to lose.

**(The author heads Panun Kashmir)*

Thoughts about Homeland

The book is a sensitively written narrative, an account of events and experiences, cast in a poetic mould

Prof M L Raina

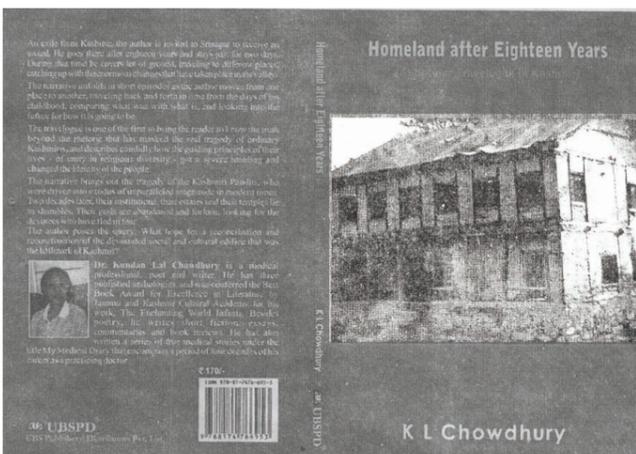
AT a subtle level of perception, the anthology entitled "Homeland After Eighteen years", by Dr K L Chowdhury, seems to be a poetic bioscope, presenting myriad scenes and sights of the historical city of Srinagar and its outskirts. At a subtler level, it is a work of pure poetic magic that casts a spell on the reader, preparing him for flights of imagination.

A powerful description of the features of the city, enlivened with the author's "modifying colours of imagination" cannot but touch the inner chords. The author lifts the reader as it were on the "wings of poesy" to give him a first-hand feel of what the city looks like and what it looked like by contrast before a deep and destabilising pall of gloom descended on it, eclipsing its bright and beautiful looks. Creating empathy in the reader, the author makes him walk along with him and visit various areas of Srinagar. In the process, he takes him up the hills and down the dales, through the streets, big and small, rivers and pools, lakes and gardens, high rise buildings, dilapidated structures, malls and burnt houses and so on and there come tumbling down on the mind of the reader painfully pleasant memories.

The book is a sensitively written narrative, an account of events and experiences, cast in a poetic mould. It is a fine blend of pathos and subdued pleasure. The poet's nostalgia is so overpowering that, to quote him, "I would die to be there again for once, if only once" and "strong is the urge for a reunion with people and places". The thrill of the anticipated reunion is, however, diluted and his bubbling enthusiasm cooled down when he conforms the dimly changed environs of once the "paradise on the earth" while coursing through the city, coupled with his ever present feeling of anguish and pain his community members have been through, having been driven out their ancestral land and obliged to live as refugees outside, away from "the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods".

Dr. Chowdhury is bitterly critical of "What man has made of man" in the peaceful and sedate city of yore, the pride of its people, and the envy of the visitors from outside. He describes painfully the scenes of the destruction of men and material. There are flashes of several accusations in the narrative, directed against the insensate Jihadis, the enemies of peace, prosperity, and the good old values of communal amity and brotherhood, social cohesion, civilised behaviour, and decency of attitude. This impression is conveyed in the following lines:

What place for values and ideals
Where religious bigotry holds sway,
Where divisions and discord prevail
Over reason or rationality?
Blatant hypocrisy of the Jihadis and their sympathisers of all hues, who call themselves devout religionists, is exposed by the author in these lines:
The mandarins and ministers.
The politicians.....
The high officials and the lowly workers-



One and all-
Have joined the loot'

The forced exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits, with its pathetic consequences, is the recurring theme of the narrative. Their pitiable condition of uncertainty and the pain of exile find an echo in the bard's lament:

"We look before and after,
And pine for what is not"

When they think of the past, their raw wounds are ripped open. When they think of the future, a sense of dismay overtakes them, because they are not sure of what the future holds for them. They eagerly long for what they have been brazenly denied at present.

All the poems in the book have a charm of their own, but the one titled "The Audience" stands out as a grand and sublime poetic piece, with a profound religious import. The poet is candid about his faith in the divine and divine intervention. His reverential awe comes to the fore when he looks at the stone image of his beloved Lord Shiva in the temple of Shankaracharya. When he approaches the idol to touch it, his hands quiver, and an electrifying divine wave sends a shiver through his mortal frame and he remains immersed in 'celestial joy' that is marked by inner peace. His passion for the divine embrace is so intense that he wants to give himself up to the divine presence, body and soul.

This, he feels intuitively, is the right place and time for him, not to offer material oblations, but to offer his whole being, as expressed in these lines:

"I have come to offer myself,
My entirety,
My essence"

The author seems to firmly believe that "there is destiny in the affairs of men". He says that the award ceremony at Srinagar to honour him was an excuse, an act of divine intervention, to grant

him the long cherished prayer for visiting his motherland. He sees destiny's hand in sending a doctor (the author) to the doorsteps of the ailing priest in the temple.

The narrative, though subjective in nature, has an air of objectivity about it, in so far as it holds a mirror to the smeared soil of Srinagar for all to see, including the Jihadis who perceive beauty in every scene of ugliness. As for the Pandits, the narrative unfolds the saga of sufferings and deprivations they have faced. When all this is recapitulated through the medium of songs, they effect catharsis of their pent up feelings and loosen their emotional baggage, thus providing some reprieve.

The style of the narrative is marked by lucidity of diction and felicity of expression. The technique of moving forward and backward in time, use of historical present to lend poignancy to a scene depicted or a thought expressed, use of varying rhythmical patterns of lines, to suit the shifting events and moods, use of apt figures like metaphors and similes, sensuous touches here and there and above the all use of brilliant images- all these enhance the grace of the subject matter.

Such is the poetically treatment given to an otherwise gloomy content of the narrative that the reader would love to read the book over and again, for, verily "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of the saddest thoughts."

Indeed sad,

"PAKISTAN is going to lose one of the most precious rock art carvings due to construction of the Damer-Basha Dam. The proposed site of the dam hosts some 30,000 ancient art carvings and inscriptions which may vanish forever due to the construction of this reservoir.

Some of the carvings and inscriptions are more than 10,000 years old which provide a window to discover ancient lexicography, history, anthropology, culture and lifestyle of the people settled in the upper Indus area.

There is an urgent need to preserve these sites so that they remain a part of world heritage.

--Source: Dawn

Concern

Please have a look at this masterpiece carving of the Buddhist era with Stupas and writings in three different languages of Kharoshti, Brahmi and Sogdian.



- Photos courtesy by Harald Hauptmann/Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Germany."

By Varad Varenya

21 years ago, on 19th January 1990 started the biggest exodus since partition. About half a million Kashmiri Hindus, facing the threat of Islamic fundamentalism left their homeland. Every year since that day Kashmiri Pandits observe 19 January as Kashmiri Pandit Holocaust/Exodus Day, hoping to go back to their homes one day.

Why did it happen? Every stakeholder has their own version. Muslims in Kashmir blame then governor Jagmohan but Pandits seem to have not forgotten the events that took place before the fateful night of January 19, 1990.

Warnings were shouted from mosques against KAFIRS, threat letters posted on walls of Pandit houses, often processions would shout slogans like Hum Kya Chahte, Azaadi (We want freedom), Yahan Kya Chalega, Nizam-e-Mustafa (What will have sway here - Prophet's governance) etc. Killing of Pandits had become a regular affair.

Well Pandits, who were a miniscule minority, thought that the situation in valley will improve in few months. They left for the land unknown, hoping that one day when the normalcy returns, they will come back HOME!

What remains an irony is that there was no judicial enquiry for genocide in the valley till date. There are enquiries, probes, commissions for 1993 Mumbai Blasts, Gujarat Riots, Babri Mosque Demolition, 26/11 Mumbai Attack but no fair enquiry as such on exodus of minorities from Kashmir. The killer of Pandits - Bitta Karate, who claimed to have killed 22 Pandits in an interview, was let go because of lack of evidence!

The Exile Continues!

**"If I die in exile,
think this of me.
There is a corner
out there in
Kashmir where
my soul will
come to rest."**



Who is responsible for Kashmiri Pandit Exile? Well I would say everyone from the terror mastermind sitting across the border to the elected leaders of this country.

Our neighbours from the majority community did nothing to stop our selective murders. In fact, most of them were driven towards the Azaadi sentiment and openly supported it. Pandits were detested and many a time the local would turn an informer for the terrorist organization looking for a Kashmiri Pandit. In 22 years, not a single protest was held to protest against injustice done to Kashmir Pandits. In fact, when

killers like Karate were released they were given a HERO's welcome.

Indian government remained and remains a mute spectator to the exodus. Spokespersons of the political party in power have often ridiculed Kashmiri Pandit cause to attract voters of a particular sect. The small community of Kashmiri Pandits definitely doesn't interest the vote-hungry politicians of this country. Today a NATIONALIST community is on verge of extinction and seems no-one cares! The people responsible for the exodus have now become power brokers in Kashmir. Our Government

hold parleys with them.

This article is neither for the government nor for our neighbours, because enough has been said to them. But, it's for the common man of India; please awake before it's too late. Kashmir is about to fall and you never know what will be next!

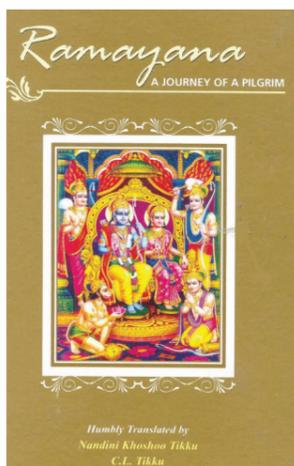
Kashmiri Pandits will keep fighting for their right over their motherland and they will sure return on their own terms!

"If I die in exile, think this of me. There is a corner out there in Kashmir where my soul will come to rest."

"JAI SIYA RAM"

A complete English translation of Valmiki Ramayan has been published by Nandini Khoshoo Tikku and C.L. Tikku. The translation is an attempt to rebuild our faith in the story of "Sri Ram".

The price of the book is Rs 450/. Speed post/courier/registered will be charged extra. With best compliments from Nandini Khoshoo Tikku, C.L. Tikku & Parivar.



Please Contact:
C.L. Tikku
66/B Rajpur Road,
Opp. Hotel Madhuban Dehradun-248001,
Uttarakhand
Tel : 0191-2740540

THOSE WHO LEFTUS

(Contd. from Page 2)

89. Sh. Brij Krishen Razdan of Late Hari Chand Razdan of Nawakadal, Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of Panchkula Chandigarh. 13/5/2010
90. Sh. Omkar Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Madhaw Ram Bhat of Vishal Nagar, H.No: 126, JMC, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/5/2010
91. Sh. Badri Krishen Razdan of Late Hari Chand Razdan of Nawakadal, Karan Nagar Sgr; presently resident of Panchkula Chandigarh. 13/5/2010
92. Sh. Omkar Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Madhaw Raw Bhat of Vishal Nagar, H.No: 126, JMC, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/5/2010
93. Sh. Badri Nath Pandita of Chingund Verinag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 47, Lane-3, Buta Nagar, Jammu. 14/5/2010
94. Sh. Poshkar Nath Naqab S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Naqab of Ramahama Budgam (Kmr); currently residing at H.No: 111, Enclave-2A, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 14/5/2010
95. Sh. Radha Krishen Dutt S/o Late Sh. Narayan Joo Dutt resident of Tullamulla Ganderbal Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 398, Camp Mishrwalla Jammu. 14/5/2010
96. Smt. Suman Koul W/o Sh. T.N. Koul R/o D-8/32, Sector-15, Rohini, New Delhi. 14/5/2010
97. Gouri Shori Raina W/o Sh. B.N. Raina originally resident of Khiram Anantnag, Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 73, Phase-2nd, Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 15/5/2010

In Memoriam



Pt. Herday Nath Gurtoo



Smt. Chuni Gurtoo

In Sweet and everlasting memory of noble and guiding spirits, our dearest Sh. Herday Nath Gurtoo & Smt. Chuni Gurtoo who left for their heavenly abode on 13th May 1991 & 9th June 2011 respectively.

Remembered By
GURTOO PARIVAR

Prospects of Heritage Tourism in Jammu Regional of J&K



By Mahesh Kaul

INTRODUCTION

JAMMU region of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India represents the rich source of heritage that has remained untapped in terms of heritage tourism. The region has been the seat of the ruling dynasty of the state which came into being in 1846 as the amalgamation of the three regions viz; Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The lack of comprehensive policy and vision on the part of the planners and political discrimination meted out to the region by the ruling elite of Kashmir based political dispensations from time to time has relegated Jammu region to the background in terms of the heritage tourism development. In spite of the rich cultural legacy that matured into heritage assets, the only solace lies in the pilgrimage tourism. It is a great paradox that more than 70 lakh tourists visit Mata Vaishnav Devi Shrine annually but the planners have failed to extend their length of stay in Jammu as they have given no thought to broaden the tourism circuit of the region.

Prospects for the development of heritage tourism in the Jammu region of the Jammu and Kashmir state are immense as it is immensely blessed with bounty of not only the diversity in its topography but it has a culture that manifests itself in the rich heritage in terms of forts, palaces, folk lore's etc. The need is to create a heritage tourism product that enables the Jammu's heritage, which is the direct derivative of the Sanskrit civilization of the Indian nation to be the foremost element of the economic upliftment of the region.

Evolution of Jammu and its heritage

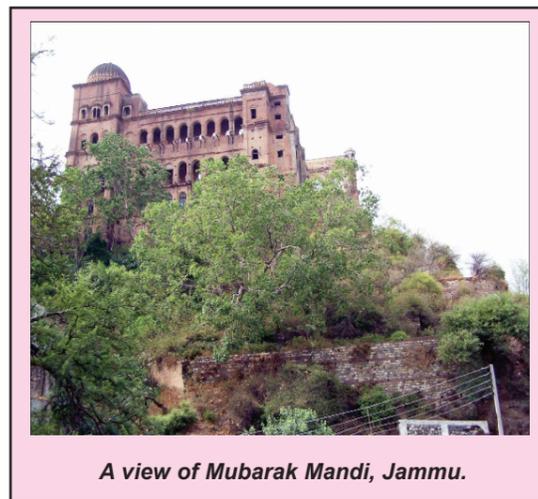
Capital of the "Jammu Raj", Jammu stands on the outer most range

overlooking the Punjab, and a terminus of the Northern Railways was once considered most oriental and picturesque towns. River Tawi flows the narrow gorges below the town. The cliffs which guard the rivers at the heights are the store house of flora and fauna. When one looks over south and West from the lofty terraces of Jammu, Punjab Mountains rise from the east to north in the form of ridges having intervening valleys which rise gradually and beyond these lie Ladakh, Kashmir and Gilgit, the other constituents of the Jammu and Kashmir state. Jammu region acquired the name of Jammu during the middle ages and played important role in the politics and history of the north-western India. (Drew, 1875, p.29) The original sources that give the detailed and accurate account of the evolution of the Jammu region are the Vanshavalis of the ruling families of the chiefs of the various dynasties. Dewan Kripa Ram's Gulabnama and Rajdarshni of Ganesh Das Wadhwa are the rich sources of the evolution of the Jammu region and its Sanskrit culture. (Charak, 1983)

Archaeological excavations and records carried from time to time reveal that Jammu region is as old as the civilization of India itself. The sensational discovery of the proto-historic site at the village Manda in Akhnoor on the right bank of Chenab has proved the existence of the Harrapan red ware, grey ware and black slipped ware. Pottery remains of the Kushan period both incised and plain includes terracotta figurines, bone arrow heads, iron daggers and copper antimony rods. These materials having cultural significance have been discovered at various sites in Jammu and Akhnoor as well as at the places like Tikri, Guru Baba Ka Tiba, Jhiri, Jafarchak, etc. These archaeological findings highlight the cultural development and evolution of Jammu from the Harrapan Age, about 2500 B.C. to the early Christian era.

The great importance has been laid down by the historians and archaeologists on the Akhnoor-Ambaran terracotta. The Buddha heads

of various sizes and male and female heads with ornamental dresses and curly hair are of great interest and attraction. Akhnoor terracotta is of unique style free from the Graeco-Buddhist influence but there are certain indications that these may have the influence of the Gandhara School of art. Buddhist sites here are of great significance as here the remains of the Buddhist monasteries dating back to the Gupta period can be easily traced from the copper coins of about 500 A.D.



A view of Mubarak Mandi, Jammu.

Akhnoor has also revealed how deep the foundations of the Sanskrit civilization of India in Jammu are. It can be judged from the shell inscriptions on stones found in the compound of the Kameshwara temple. In fact these are the pilgrim records engraved on the stones in the conch shell script dating back to 6th to 7th century. The use of these Southern characters by the South Indian pilgrims, the ardent devotees of the Lord Shiva establishes Jammu as the important pilgrimage centre for the adherents of the Shaivism. This has helped the rulers and people of Jammu to develop the culture which is based on pan Indian feeling. Ancient evidence that establishes the antiquity of the Jammu's religion and cultural heritage is the trishula or the trident inscription found on the Shiva trishul at Shudh Mahadev. The writing consists of three lines. It is written in Sanskrit language and the characters belong to the north-western variety of the Indian alphabet of the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D. These deciphered

lines establish the contact of the Jammu region with other states of India.

The records of Jammu's evolution as the centre of power and hence the cultural hub are not only confined to the vanshvalis and other documents available in the region only but can be traced from the rich sources of authentic literatures like Nilamata Purana and Rajatarangini - the authoritative and professional histories of the Kashmir. (Charak, 1983, p.71-72)

to time. These ruling dynasties fortified the boundaries of the Jammu kingdom from time to time and it resulted in the building of forts and palaces, besides other buildings that serve as living monuments depicting the heritage of this region. The main attraction has been the construction of temples devoted to the various deities of the Hindu pantheon abounding every nook and corner of the region which has given the Jammu city the title of the city of temples

The main principalities that formed the part of the Jammu and the erstwhile "Jammu Raj" include the following:

- Poonch
- Rajouri
- Bhimber (Khari Kharyali)
- Akhnoor
- Reasi
- Gulab Garh (Deng Batol)
- Bhartul
- Banihal
- Kishtwar (Kashthawat)
- Chenani (Himta)
- Ramnagar/Bandralta
- Bhillarwar or Basohli group
- Jasrota
- Mankot
- Samba
- Bhau
- Krimchi Bhuti
- Babbapur

These are the major principalities that form the part of the Jammu principalities not in terms of the territory but in terms of cultural contribution as well. The major art form that has gained national and international recognition is the Basohli paintings. (Kaul, 1993)

The reflection of the royal patronage of the rulers of these principalities is evident from the architectural style and paintings on the walls of the various palaces and royal buildings and the temples within the city as well as the periphery of the Jammu region.

The evidence of the royal cultural imprints is still clearly evident from the names of the places located well in the heart of the present Jammu city. The place where the Rajas of Jammu received the rajtilak or mark of investiture was popularly known as Rajtilak road. This place is now known as Purani Mandi. Purani Mandi is the spot where the palace of Jambulochan existed. The buildings in the Purani Mandi area are

said to be erected by Mal Dev during the last quarter of the 14th century. Another historic urban city area of significance is Mubarak Mandi, it is a collection of palaces depicting the various phases of the Dogra rulers. The existing palaces in the Mubarak Mandi owe their foundation to Dhruv Dev and Ranjit Dev. The latter additions in the Mubarak Mandi are attributed to Gulab Singh. The ancient references regarding the town of Jammu are found in the Malfuzat-i-Taimuri which describes the invasion of Taimur in the Siwaliks in 1399 A.D. Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Azami refers to the Raja of Jammu during the period of 1417 A.D. (Charak, 1983, p.158-164)

Forts of Sambha, Akhnoor, Bahu, Jasrota, Hiranagar, Bhingarh etc are just a few examples that stand as the majestic emblems of the Jammu's pristine glory and military traditions which has few equals in the annals of history. The cuisine is another aspect of the cultural heritage that grows hand in hand with the development of the society and makes the food habits unique and reflective of the climatic conditions in terms of appetite. Jammu has its own cuisine that can add a flavor of ethnicity to the heritage and can give the fast food joints good run for money and taste. Ambal, Rajmash, tooda, malpure, babru etc. are a few delicacies that can be the unique selling proposition of the Jammu's heritage if the it is incorporated as the function of the tourism business.

From the above analysis based on the cursory look at the development of history and the impact on the local populace of the royal patronage to develop the refined culture and heritage it clearly brings to the fore the availability of all the elements and ingredients that are required in the heritage tourism product.

This brief historical description of the Jammu region citing various incidents and references from the historical documents reveals the antiquity of Jammu with a sound cultural basis.

-(To be continued)

By G.K. Gurtu

OWNING a house is the first priority after 'Roti Aur Kapda'. Man has developed a set of guidelines after centuries of observation and experience. Some of them may seem to be antiquated, impracticable and even laughable in this age of shortage of space and coming up of skyscrapers and multi-storey complexes. However, it may be useful to know some of these.

1. The first and foremost thing to know, astrologically speaking, is whether a person is destined to buy or construct a house or not. Otherwise the asset may not bring the desired results. The planet Mangal (Mars) is the signifier of landed property and the fourth House in the horoscope represents, among other things, owning / acquiring landed property. Therefore, the position of Mars along with aspect (Nazar) of Brahaspati (Jupiter) and Shani (Saturn) also is to be considered.

2. The history of plot / house should also be investigated. It should neither be under distress disposal nor have an unpleasant history like illness, deaths, financial losses or any disaster suffered by the seller nor should be bought by using threats, coercion, intimidation, temptation, undue influence etc. Further, if, on digging the foundation, bones, a grave, a Tantrik pot, dried-up old well, tunnel etc. is revealed, the work should be stopped and the plot should be sold at the earliest.

3. Construction work should not begin when

3.1. Jupiter and Venus (Brahmaspat and Shukra) are combust (Ast);

3.2. The Sun (Surya) is in Virgo sign (Kanya Rashi), in Gemini (Mithun) and in Pisces (Meen);

3.3. It is Malmas, Kharmas, Adhikmas and Shunyamas;

3.4. Main planets are retrograde;

3.5. The land (Dharti) is in sleep (Suptawastha) and not awake (Jagrat);

3.6. The fire (Agni) is overhead (Ooper) and not down below the earth (Pataal).

3.7. And finally, the auspicious day and time (Muhurt) should be fixed for and done during sunlight time and during moon-lit night fortnight (Shukla paksh).

4. The plot / house should not be near a drain, canal, burial place or cremation ground.

5. There should not be any Peepal (The Sacred Fig or Bo-Tree) or Barghad (Banyan) tree in the plot or inside the compound of the house. Any type of place of worship should also not be near enough so as to cast its shadow on the plot / house.

6. The main house should be a little away from the road and not stand bang on the road i.e. with a little break of open space or lawn in-between the road and the main house.

7. The plot / house should preferably be rectangular or square in shape and not trapezoidal, rhombus, triangular or multi-cornered

in shape.

8. There should not be a depression or slope on the north and / or east side or facing the main gate. Nor there should be a pit, depression underground pit or tank and natural / artificial waterfall on Southwest side. Similarly, there should not be a water tank below the driveway. Further, it should not have a basement.

9. The plot / house should be facing east, north and west (in that order) and not south.

10. The family temple / worship room / place should either be in the north or east or preferably on the northeast corner and the idols or the pictures of gods and goddesses should be so placed that when one sits for Pooja he / she faces north or east side. The worship room should not be in the bedroom if the bedroom happens to be on that side. The bedroom should, preferably, be in the southwest side.

11. Kitchen / generator / transformer should be in the southeast side.

12. Toilet room should not be located on the north or east side and definitely not in the northeast corner.

13. Southeast side should be closed and not open.

14. Staircase: One should not have a spiral staircase as in a duplex house and the staircase should not either be in the centre or in the drawing room. The staircase should be on one side so that one may not

have to walk or pass under it. One should not sleep under a staircase. The staircase should be located in the southeast or north-west side but not in the northeast side. The staircase should ascend clockwise and descend anticlockwise. The steps in a staircase should be in odd numbers i.e. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, etc.

15. The mirror should be hung on the eastern wall so that one stands facing east while looking at oneself in the mirror.

16. Guests and visitors should be entertained in the lobby, drawing room or living room and not allowed inside worship room, bedroom, bathroom or kitchen.

17. Main entrance door should be larger than the rest of the doors in the house. The main entrance should not pass through the kitchen. The number of the doors should be even i.e. 4, 6, 8, 12, 14 etc. but not 10, 20, 30 etc. to avoid 0 (zero). There should not be half arches over the doors, windows, ventilators etc. If the main gate faces west then the gate should be painted in black.

18. Pictures, paintings and statues showing earthquake, fire, funerals, graveyards, wild animals, demons, witches and old, ugly, crying or weeping faces, men and animals fights, bloodshed etc. must not be kept in the house. Instead, pictures etc. showing blooming flowers, happy smiling faces, cows,

peacocks, pigeons, green mountains, verdant valleys, streams, rising sun, blue sky etc. should be kept.

19. Disused, discarded or broken items like idols, toys, clock / watches, fans, furniture, sewing machines, machinery, faded pictures, unusable clothes etc. should be disposed off earliest.

20. Thorny plants, lily flower-plants, plants with yellow flowers and plants from which white milky liquid oozes out on plucking leaves etc. should not be kept inside the house.

21. One should not sleep with head towards north and feet towards south to avoid the adverse effect of north and south poles.

22. The head of the family should occupy southwestern room / place. This must not be given to children / relations / guests or partners / subordinates in a shop / office / factory, establishment etc. otherwise it will make others powerful, aggressive and undisciplined.

23. Shifting to a new house (owned or rented) should be avoided on Thursdays and also on Chaturthi and Chaturdashi of both Shukla as well as Krishna Paksh.

24. At the time of Grah Pravesh or shifting to a rented house a bucket full of water and a pot of Tulsi plant (Holy Basil) should be taken first inside the house and put in a room before any member of the family enters the house or the lug-

gage is taken inside the house. The water of the bucket should then be thrown near the root of a grown up tree.

25. The photos of the dead relatives must not be put in the worship room. These should be hung on the south side wall or kept on a south side mantelpiece so that these face north direction. Further, these photo frames should have a garland around them.

26. The statue or the picture of the god / goddess should be on both side of a wall and not only on one (front or back) side of a wall. And should have a garland around it.

27. Wooden bedstead and other furniture should be preferred instead of steel.

About the author:

G. K. Gurtu, whose ancestors were the residents of Tankyapora (Amiya Kadal), Srinagar, belongs to that group of migrants which settled in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow (UP) around 1780. He was Secretary, Kashmiri Samaj, Agra between 1988-90. He retired as Superintendent, National Sample Survey Organisation, (Govt. of India), in 1995. He lives in Faridabad and pursues creative writing and helps the needy.

**(G. K. Gurtu, whose ancestors were the residents of Tankyapora, Srinagar, belongs to that group of migrants which settled in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow (UP) around 1780. Presently he is living at Faridabad and pursues creative writing.*

In China, a rediscovery of Sanskrit

By Ananth Krishnan

THE Sanskrit programme at Peking University has a long history, set up in the 1960s and subsequently expanded by renowned Indologist Ji Xianlin, who translated dozens of works

Almost two millennia after the language first came to China through Buddhist scriptures, renewed interest in Buddhist studies and recent discoveries of long-forgotten manuscripts in Tibet have sparked a revival of the study of the ancient language among Chinese scholars.

Beijing's Peking University has now launched an ambitious programme to train more than 60 Chinese students in Sanskrit, with the hope of creating a team of researchers to help translate hundreds of manuscripts containing scriptures that have been found in Tibet and other centres of Buddhism, such as Hangzhou in China's east.

"There is a rich manuscript collection in Tibet, particularly. Many of the originals have not been recovered, and are only available in Chinese and Tibetan, so it is important for us to find a way to render them back into Sanskrit," said Satyavrat Shastri, a renowned New Delhi-based Sanskrit scholar and poet, who is in Beijing this week as a visiting lecturer to meet and advise students and teachers here.

"What they are trying to do here is invaluable, and they are making great progress," Mr. Shastri said, adding that he was pleasantly surprised by the students' technical level.

"I was struck by the interest, of both teachers and scholars, in little details, such as getting the pronunciation perfect. They recited the Bhagavad Gita with me, and it was a unique experience. The pronunciation, the metre [of reciting the verses], was remarkable."

The Sanskrit programme at Peking University has a long history, set up in the 1960s and subsequently expanded by renowned Indologist Ji Xianlin, who translated dozens of works and is seen by many here as single-handedly introducing classical Indian culture to a whole generation of Chinese.

"We want to continue what Ji Xianlin started," said Duan Qing, a professor

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in Sanskrit and Pali who once trained under Ji. "Our programme is quite mature now, and is the only complete Sanskrit programme in China."

She attributed the recent boost in funding to increasing government support for the humanities, ignored during the People's Republic's first three decades when the country's focus was on development alone.

"Sanskrit research is being viewed with impor-

ance now," she said. "India and China were culturally connected. I don't think there's another country in the world where so many Sanskrit works were translated into another language, and this has been going on for more 1,000 years."

Ms. Duan heads the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature at Peking University, which is working with regional governments and hoping to create an archive for lost manuscripts and palm-leaves. Graduate students will work with the institute to help translate scriptures.

Yu Huaijin, a PhD student who is studying K a l i d a s a ' s Kumarasambhava, said she joined the programme because she believed it was playing the role of "a bridge between two cultures."

"India and China are neighbours, but they know little about each other, especially the younger generation. It is a big objective



A class in session at Peking University with renowned Indian Sanskrit scholar Satyavrat Shastri teaching Chinese graduate students.

for me to introduce Indian culture and literature to a Chinese audience," she said.

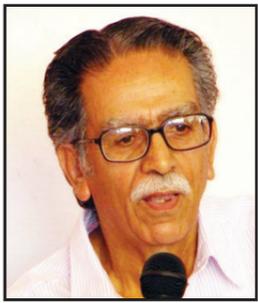
Few Chinese students are interested in Indian culture, with much greater interest in Western literature. Ms. Yu, too, was first a student of Western literature — until she happened to read a translation of the Mahabharata by Ji Xianlin. "It was a different world," she said. "And one that few Chinese are aware of."

Peking University has also begun working with Sanskrit programmes in universities in the West, particularly in Germany, to improve both teaching

methods and archiving practices.

Indian universities, have however, appeared to show little interest in taking forward cooperation. Mr. Shastri, who is an honorary professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, admitted there was "precious little" cooperation between the two countries. There was room for much more, he said, encouraged by the positive response to his teaching methods this past week.

"We want to learn Sanskrit through traditional methods," one teacher told him. "Not from the West." —Source: The Hindu



Prof. M.L. Koul

Rigveda

IT is the first written record of mankind and its hymns though addressed to various gods contain seed ideas that are essentially philosophic in content. It provides an amazing insight into that hoary past of which minimum or negligible records and notices are available. The hymns underpin a thinking that rotates round 'religion myth and mystery'. Most of them contain 'germs of thought', 'hints at surmises about truth' and 'flashes of insight into the Supreme Being'. In the hymns questions of perennial significance are raised, but not answered. They do not present a pattern of thought that is coherent and consistent, but they reflect a mind that is vigorous, this-worldly and brimming with vivacious life. The Rigvedic seers seem to be opening new vistas into the realms of philosophical speculation by raising meaningful questions about the nature of universe and meaning of human life. The philosophic mood of the Rigveda set the tone and temper for future evolution of Indian philosophy. To Max Muller, 'the Vedas were unique and priceless guides in opening before us tombs of thought richer in relics, than the royal tombs of Egypt and more ancient and primitive in thought than the oldest hymns of Babylonia and Acadian poets'.

The Rigvedic gods symbolise nature powers and are anthropomorphic representations of various phenomena of nature. Observes Max Muller, "These gods were the first philosophy the first attempt at explaining the wonders of nature". The gods that are purported as agents behind the natural phenomena reveal the religious consciousness of the Indians in a seminal form. "The Hymn of Creation" underpins an intense curiosity to probe the ultimate origin of the universe. It radiates a consciousness that swings between

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'being' and 'non-being' and reveals a mood of wonderment at the prospect of cosmos and underpins a reflective seriousness to know the origins of it.

Upanishads

The Upanishads as texts of Indian wisdom have attracted the deep attention of thinkers and scholars of all shades and persuasions. To Schopenhauer, they were the products of the highest wisdom and as such were 'the solace of his life and solace of his death'. But, to Max Muller, the Upanishads contained a heap of rubbish from which fragments of gold had to be extracted. The first encounter that the European scholars had with the Indian wisdom was through the Upanishads. They were baffled and dazzled. With a view to downgrading their importance in terms of philosophy most of them came out with irrelevant appraisals lacking in historical perspective. An Indian scholar, Ranade, evaluated the available texts from a historical stand-point without taking them as excellent and flawless bits of human wisdom.

The Upanishads, in fact, mark the burgeoning of the seeds that were sown in the garden-bed of Rigveda in particular and other Vedas in general. Among other connotations the Upanishads imply 'rahasya' or secret or esoteric predilections. The Vedic texts had emphasised 'sacerdotalism' and 'complexus of ceremonies'. But, the Upanishads emerged as a protest against these ritual crafts and marked a milestone towards 'deepening inwardness'. Seriously doubting the utility and purpose of sacrifices and rituals, the Upanishads fixed their accent of emphasis on 'Atman' or self, a region deeper and vaster than the external world. 'Sacerdotalism' with its barrenness and superfluity had misled spiritual aspirants from the region of inner world as a locus of probing and fathoming. 'Quest within' is the cardinal principle of Upanishads ruminations. Lacking in an integrated frame, the Upanishadic are interspersed with 'flashes of insight' and 'gems of thought'. They impacted

the entire Indian stream of culture and thought and more than most the trends of thought outside the purlieux of India.

As per the Upanishadic stipulations, Atman as self or soul is the fundamental essence of man. It originally meant 'breath' but subsequently donned another layer of meaning signifying everything from gross body to the finest principle underlying the existence of man. Finally it came to constitute an essential part of anything, especially of man, his self or soul. To Sankara, 'Atman' is all pervading, it is the subject and it knows, experiences and illuminates the objects. It is immortal and immutable'. In its profounder connotations, Atman means the self-conscious being within man underpinning the ultimate reality. The Upanishads as a whole explain Atman as the innermost existence and body and mind as 'the trappings that dress reality'.

The over-riding concern of the Upanishads is to probe the primordial source of cosmos. It is this sense of pre-occupation that has motivated the Upanishadic seers to establish an entity called 'Brahman' as the life-breath of cosmos as a whole. The word 'Brahman' is derivable to the root 'brh' meaning 'to grow' or 'to burst forth'. Brahman is that which naturally 'bursts forth' as world and soul. As per the Taittiriya Upanishad, all existence is traceable to the fount of 'Brahman' is that which naturally 'bursts forth' as world and soul. As per the Taittiriya Upanishad, all existence is traceable to the fount of 'Brahman', 'from which all beings originate by which they are sustained and into which they are withdrawn'.

Though packed with stray and disjointed ideas, the Upanishads have established the spiritual unity of all forms and varieties of existence through lofty utterances of deeper import. The opening verse of Isha Vasya Upanishad posits Isha (Supreme Lord) as the omnipresent reality of the entire creation. The Mandukya Upanishad opens a new vista through the utterance

'This Atman is Brahman'. The same idea is crystallised through the utterance 'Thou Art That' as available in the Chandogya Upanishad. The Brhihadaranyak Upanishad establishes the identity of man with Supreme Truth through its utterance 'I am Brahman'. These utterances are gems of thought and highlight a trend-setting standpoint impacting the struggling minds to free themselves from cold and frigid doctrines of deism. Observes Krishna Chaitanya that the current set in motion by these resounding utterances 'flowed to the mystics of Persian Sufism, the mystic logos-doctrine of the neo-Platonists and the Alexandrian Christians, to the radical doctrines of Eckhardt and Tauler'.

That the universe functions like a machine is not what the Upanishadic seers hold and trot out. Nor do they subscribe to the view that 'world is a phantom or a mere appearance'. They endeavour to discover an underlying unity, essentially spiritual, amidst diversities of life and world. Man is seen as undergoing a continuous process of becoming with a view to getting identified with ultimate reality. As a seeker he is required to achieve ethical excellence leading to the awakening and fruition of his faculties and urges to share the final beauty and bliss.

Mimansa

Himansa as a school of thought owes its origins to Jaimini who found discerning intellects like Prabhakara and Kumarilla Bhat to elaborate and propound his views.

Though 'Mimansa' implies critical analysis and investigation, yet it as a system of thought remains stuck in the grooves of Vedic ritualism with its enormous superfluities. To Jaimini and all shades of mimansakas, Vedas are a revealed knowledge and a plethora of commands and injunctions allied with them are eternal and unchangeable. Owing total servility to the Vedas the manner of explicating issues relating observance of rituals by the mimansakas is downright traditional and fossilised. Performance of rituals is

so vital for the mimansakas that it has nearly grabbed the position of God as its ground principle. Despite many a lacuna, the Mimansa has evolved a sound theory of knowledge. It appears that it has accidentally strayed into the field of linguistic analysis through the tools of logic. It also counters the standpoint of the Buddhists and Nayayki as regarding their exposition of language and theory of knowledge.

To Himansakas, knowledge is 'apprehension that is immediate, direct and valid, not tainted by defects and not to be made invalid by subsequent knowledge'. They stick to the position that no erroneous cause or condition is required to validate knowledge. In fact, knowledge, to them, is self-valid and 'itself certifying its own truth'. To Kumarilla Bhat, knowledge lies in 'apprehending an object only to be set aside by the discrepancies arisen by its non-conformity to the inherent nature of the object'. To Prabhakar, 'all cognitions as cognitions are valid and their lack of validity depends upon their disagreement with the nature of objects'. Mimansakas are considerably aware of deficient tools that render knowledge invalid.

Mimansa as a school of thought is broadly realistic in its approach to and treatment of issues relating philosophy. The system that it has built is not propped upon the crutches of God. In fact, the agency of God or a transcendent being is missing in it. But doctrines like transmigration of soul, law of Karma and eternal world do provide the strengthening support to the edifice of Mimansa as a thought system. The creation and dissolution of the world does not find favour with the proponents of Mimansa as it conflicts with its basic assumption of holding the Vedas as eternal and revealed knowledge.

Doctrinally speaking, Mimansa is barren and a mis-mash of borrowed view-points from different systems of thought. As a structured system it is so fragile that it comes tumbling as and when authority of the Vedas is questioned or doubted. Mimansa holds that absolute obedience

to the Vedas and their injunctions is the definite path that can lead a seeker to heaven as a matter of redemption from the tangles of birth and death. Ethical life as a tool of salvation is more stressed than that of knowledge or contemplation.

Sankhya

As a separate school of thought Sankhya is a unique development in the annals of Indian philosophy. Its origins can be sought in the thinking moods and concepts that are found enunciated in the Upanishads and epics. The Sankhya as a word connotes 'enumeration' and 'reasoning'. It is enumeration as the system has devised twenty-five categories to reinforce its positions. It is reasoning as it has formulated its positions logically and intellectually.

Sankhya is predominantly materialistic in its exposition of the realities of man and world. Despite its bold and novel doctrinal positions, it has been regarded as an orthodox school of thought. Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya has elaborately expounded the basic positions of Sankhya from a materialistic standpoint. But what makes the Sankhya system as a hall-mark in the realms of Indian thought is its reasoned discussion of the fundamental categories of Purusa and Prakriti and the process of cosmic evolution. The system is so logical and reason-oriented that it knocks the bottom out of the myth created by some Westerners that Indian thought is not a reasoned discourse. Observes theos Bernard, "The Sankhya is the oldest school of Indian philosophy for it is the first attempt to harmonise the philosophy of the Vedas through reason".

Kapil Muni is said to have authored the Sankhya Sutras that are not now extant. Isharkrishna and Vachaspati Misra are the later authors who have expounded the Sankhya positions from their own perspectives. The exposition that they have offered form the substratum of the critical analysis of the system. The available Sankhya Sutras uphold the authority of the Vedas and primacy of

(Contd. on Page 17)

Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants-XIII

By Upender Ambardar

THE Shivratri festival rich in symbolism and metaphors represents a ritual canvas of contrasts, which celebrates a rich legacy of mythology, culture and social history of Kashmir, affirmed Smt. Basanti Hakchar, originally a resident of the village Trehgam district Kupwara and presently putting up at Janipur, Jammu. Reminiscing about the festival celebrations of the yesteryears, she divulged that the house hummed with the festival related activities on Phagun Krishan Paksh Duvadashi or 'Vagur Bah' with the reverential installation of an earthenware named 'Doulj' usually in the morning. The ritualistic offerings to the 'Vagur' amidst religious invocations were leavened chapatis locally called 'phulka', a kind of sweetened fried puri and fried fish. However, the offering of fried fish has now been substituted by fried nadru slices called 'nadir churma' after displacement. The said offering to the 'Vagur' is made in the morning to the accompaniment of *pooja* and recitation of Shiv Mahmanapar in which all the family members participate. Continuing further, she disclosed that on the morning of Shivratri, the 'Vagur' was emptied of its ritualistic offerings at the village rivulet. In the evening, the earthen pot of 'Nout' is filled up with walnuts and water. Afterwards, cooked rice is mixed with ghee, milk and 'Vatak Masala'. The Shivling or Parthishor made out of it is worshipped amidst recitation of 'Mahimnapar'. The ritualistic offerings made to it are leavened rotis called 'phulka', a kind of sweetened oil fried roti called locally as 'naej', backed rice flour rotis called 'tomlavoer' and fried pieces of sheep's liver, locally known as 'churvan'. All these offerings are also taken as 'naveed' by the family members and the rest is distributed among near kith and kin. Apart from the walnuts, the naveed also includes delectable meat preparations and cooked fish. The Shivratri festival is a colourful tapestry of different customs and sacred commitments having acquired diverse settings in bygone times, opined Sh. MK Kapoor, an erstwhile resident of Safakadal Srinagar and now putting up at Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. He revealed that on Shivratri, walnuts and water are put in a brass utensil 'Gagar' instead of the earthen pitcher 'Nout'.

The ritualistic offering to it are milk, *Vatak, masala* and Sugar Candy 'Kand'. Additionally *pooja* is also performed for 'Parthishor' made out of clay, which in earlier times was procured from Shankracharya hill. Presently as a substitute, 'Parthishor' is made out of water chestnut flour, locally known as 'garioat'. The meat preparations and vegetable dishes are the ritualistic offerings to it instead of the usual 'Bhairav doul'. The ritual of knock at the door, known as 'thuk thuk' is performed on 'Doon Mavus' at the home. On Tila Ashtami, eight oil lit lamps are placed, one each at the main door entrance courtyard, connecting lane of the house and the road crossing. There carefully nur-

tured and painstakingly preserved Shivratri rituals moored in medieval origin make Shivratri a brand festival of Kashmir, spoke Sh. KK Raina, an originally resident of the village Goshbug, tehsil Pattan, district Baramulla and presently settled at Durga Nagar, Jammu.

Recapping the festival of earlier times, he recalled that 'Vatuk' comprised of earthen Nout, Choud, Douliji and two Saniewari. Extra Saniewaris were added as per the number of children in the family. Only the 'Nout' and 'Choud' were taken to the village stream called 'Darjin' by the ladies of the house on their heads or shoulders. The said stream was about one km. away from his home. All the male members and children of the household would also participate in the ritual of 'Vatuk barun' at the village stream. Only eldest male

households of the village, at least one male member of each family had to assemble in a prefixed house on the day of 'Doon Mavus'. They were required to participate in an indoor game of even and odd with the walnuts.

The said game was known by the local name of 'Juf and Taak'. Each Pandit household would contribute fifty walnuts for it. As per the game rule, each participant by turns would grasp the stockpiled walnuts with both the hands. If the grasped walnuts turned out to be in odd number, the said participant was entitled to own the said number of walnuts. In case, if it turned out to be even number the game would pass on to the next participant. The game would continue till the exhaustion of the stockpiled walnuts. On the day of 'Salaam' in addition to the neigh-

The Shivratri festival is a majestic community festival and an eventful occasion of month long celebrations. It is the only festival, where a visit to one's home for participation in the festivities is a must do for every individual

member of the family who had undertaken the fast, locally known as 'Yezmun' was required to remain in the house. He would perform 'aalath' on the entry of water filled Vatak utensils at the main entry door of the house. It is at complete variance with the reeth in most of the houses where the said act is performed by a female member of the house. Sh. Raina also recalled that all the old grass woven floorings locally known as 'Vagiv' and 'Pautji' were discarded and substituted by new one's.

The entire path of the ground floor corridor locally known as 'Vuz' and the connecting stairs into Vatak Kuth were also required to be covered with dry grass to welcome the entry of water filled 'Vatuk' in the house. It bears a striking resemblance with the welcome gesture of earlier times displayed at the time of Kashmiri marriages, where in the connecting lane upto bride's house was covered with coloured wood saw dust on the day of marriage. The bridegroom and his accompanying baraat would walk down on the decorated path as a token of regality and royal privilege. In accordance with the culinary culture of Kashmir, the most celebrated dishes of meat and vegetables were the ritualistic offerings to the 'Bhairav Doul'. A sheep was collectively purchased by the Pandit households of the village for the purpose of meat. As a part of the celebrations, the children would play the indoor game of 'Harun Gindun' with the sea shells for one week upto 'Salaam', but strongly enough the family elders would not participate in it during the said time. However, in accordance with an unusual and unfamiliar custom of the Pandit

hours and friends, the iron smith, the potter, the village tailor, the carpenter, the milk vendor and the 'Kashkar's' would invariably drop-in to offer Shivratri greetings. As a token of auspiciousness or 'Shagun', each one of them would bring a knife, cooking earthen utensil or 'laej', a reel of thread and needle, wooden footwear known as 'Khraav', curd filled clay pot and a handfull of almonds and cardamom respectively. The folk singer 'ladishah' would also invariably drop in on the day of 'Salaam' to add colour to the symphony of festive celebrations.

The 'Doon Mavus' was performed collectively on the rivulet bank. After *pooja* ladies would exchange the walnut kernels as 'naveed' among themselves at the rivulet ghat itself. It would signal the subsequent distribution of walnuts and rice flour rotis 'chochiver' usually in odd number. It is in contrast with the more prevalent practice of distribution of walnuts with the leavened rotis called 'phulkas'. The ritual of knock at the door of 'Thuk Thuk' was not observed. On Tila Ashtami, oil lit earthen lamps, one each was kept at cattle shed, paddy storage room, cowdung heap and charcoal ash pile, while as one lamp was floated in the rivulet.

The Shivratri festival is a majestic community festival and an eventful occasion of month long celebrations. It is the only festival, where a visit to one's home for participation in the festivities is a must do for every individual, stated Sh. Jagar Nath Handoo, an erstwhile resident of the village Hanand Chowalgam, district Kulgam and now putting up at Bantalab Jammu. Recalling the foul memories of the festival in earlier

times, he divulged that flurry of cleanliness related activities would commence on 'Hur Oakdoh' i.e. Phagun Krishan Paksh Pretipadha.

In conformity with his family specific custom or 'reeth', the piece of cloth material employed for mud smearing of the house locally known as 'liven hur' was not dispossessed off but retained for the act of mud smearing or 'livun' for the entire year. As per his family belief its retention and subsequent sense would ensure plentiful of auspiciousness, prosperity and overall well being for the ensuing year. He also recalled that as per his family lore, the governing deity of scrupulous purity and home cleanliness known as 'Hur Raza' was given final good bye on 'Hur Ashtami' in the form of token mud smearing of kitchen, the most pious areas of the house and stepping stair slab of the main entry door, locally known as 'Brandh'. Sh. Handoo also informed that potter would bring the earthen Vatak utensils only on pre ascertained auspicious timing or 'muharut'. The Vatak would comprise thirteen items of 'nout', choud, eight small sized pitchers called 'Varie', one Bhairav Doul apart from Sonipatul and Dupzoor. The notable omission was that of Resh Doul.

The Vatak utensils were filled up with water at the village 'Doelradh' stream. It was customary for all the family members to participate in the act of 'Vatak Barun'. The side walls and upper portion of the main entry door of the house were decorated with the coloured motifs of a creeper plant with its accompanying tender shoots and associated leaves and flowers. The said act was known as 'Krool Kharun' and it was accomplished on the day of the 'Vatak Barun'. The sacrificial offerings to the Bhairav Doul were meat preparations and 'Sutsoas' comprising barley (Vushka), twigs of a native herb of 'Babur', moong, rajmah, maha, masoor and channa pulses. On Doon Amavasya, the Vatak was not taken to the stream but instead the decorative assemblages like mouli, vucir etc. were untied in the 'Vatak Kuth' itself. They were collected in a utensil and then consigned to the flowing water of the village stream. Instead of the earthen lamps, eight lamps were made out of kneaded rice flour. They were oil lit and subsequently placed one each at the main entry door of the house, locally known as 'Dass', cowdung and charcoal ash heaps, courtyard wall, the connecting lane and the stream bank. The act of 'Jatoon toon' was not performed.

The Shivratri rituals are our social-cultural relics, which bestow an ethno-religious identity to us. The celebration of a festival outside the homeland gives an emotional and sentimental comfort cum contentment. The celebration is also a remembrance of our original geography, locale and native land. It confers a sense of belonging to the community in displacement. It is our collective responsibility and duty to stay faithfully with our time tested rituals for they are distinctly linked with the uniqueness of our identity.

—(Continued)



By Sanjay Godbole

THE Pakistani media from the beginning has adopted the policy of giving publicity to those news pertaining to India, which create a negative picture about the life style over there. Whether it is child marriage or Naxalite issue or Maoist issue, the Pakistani media always sensationalized them among the readers. The people of Pakistan though having succumbed to the influence of the Bollywood films, still do not like any Pakistani artist to participate in Bollywood films or any stage show presented over there.

Anita Ayub, originally from (Kashmir), became famous Pakistan as a beauty queen and as a bikini 'girl of Pakistan'. She decided to participate in 'Miss world beauty contest' on behalf of Pakistan. But because of stiff opposition in a Pakistan media, she had to retreat from the said competition. The print media of Pakistan has always given wide publicity to Anita Ayub and her affairs. Dev Anand gave her first break in Bollywood in his film 'Pyaar Ka Tarana' followed by another feature film by Dev Anand titled 'Gangster'. Anita received lot of popularity in Pak media because of her comments on Indian Civil Society. According to her, Pakistani women are always more beautiful than were Indian women. "She says, 'There is not much phys-

ical beauty in India, especially if compared to Pakistan. The glamorous effect is created totally by the make-up and camera tricks that make them beautiful on screen. They are very simple in dressing in real life. They go to studios in shorts. Very simple! The males are quite conceited about their macho, cool looks which generally our men are not bothered about. And I found it very funny that the actors whenever seen in public have a habit of combing their hair all the time!"

When Anita Ayub stayed in Mumbai she had an affair with one Mr Saumil Patel who was her landlord and a resident of Ahmedabad. On April 13' 1995 Anita left for New York & then married him and got settled in the United States. No one in Pakistan approved of the fact that Anita Ayub should marry an Indian Hindu. In Pakistan she had intimate relations with many. Anita knew several young men; It is amazing that she found hers in India. According to her, "Men out here in Pakistan have a strange attitude. They would say 'yeh shaadi material nahin hai!' she can be a good girlfriend; I can show her off, but shadi no way! People thought Anita Ayub was controversial and badmash. Saumil and I did not have a lovey dovey affair. The kind of respect he gave me I think no man in Pakistan would have given me. I was very outspoken in Pakistan, which people could not digest. I was badmash in Pakistan, how come there was not a single scandal about me in India where there is an open society, men women live together. I was living alone for three years with no restrictions on me. Most people in Pakistan have not believed Anita Ayub getting married. Many

would have doubted. The propriety and the logical sanity of the man marrying a celluloid doll who had a mixed plate of scandals, true or false, trailing behind her "you know even my friends used to laugh at the idea."

'Noor' is a famous model and an actress in Pakistan. She has acted in Several Urdu and Punjabi films and performed in many T.V. advertisements. Noor was born at Lahore On July 3, 1977. The famous Pakistani actress 'Sana Nawaz' is her cousin. Noor started film acting since 2000. So far 21 feature films have been released with Noor as a heroine. In the music video of a famous Pakistani Singer 'Nasib Lal' the beauty of Noor is filmed. In 2003 Noor, had gone for a stage show in Dubai. There she fell in love for one Vikram Seth, a businessman of Indian Origin and married him. Initially there was a great discussion in Pakistani print media whether or not Noor had really married Vikram. After Noor's marriage Shiraz the father and Mumtaz the mother of Noor declared that they have disowned Noor on account of her behavior and marrying a Hindu against the dictates of the religion and the norms established by culture and traditions. Noor is in the glamour show business, since she was only 5. All her income is being grabbed and hogged by her parents, about 17 feature films and 6 T.V. serials are on way of release. Noor's parents are making these statement only due to the, fear that they shall be deprived of the said income, and that Noor has stopped all the payments to them, said Fazal Shah manager of Noor.

The reports of defamation of Noor by her par-

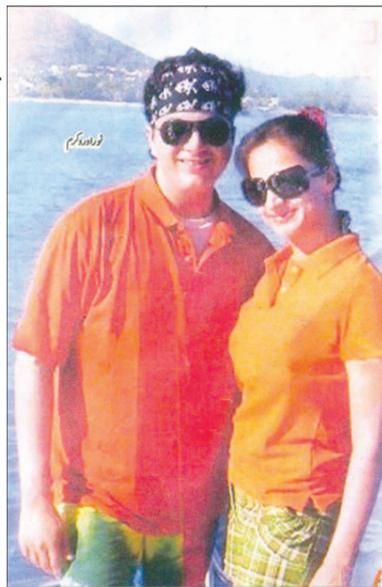
Noor Ki Shaadi

ents on account of the fact that Noor married a person who is a Hindu of Indian origin were published and were given a wide publicity. Vikram has promised Noor to see that she gets suitable roles in the feature films in Bollywood and therefore this gave rise to another discussion of whether Noor will go to India and whether the reigns of the transactions and the controls of, Vikram's offices in Mumbai and United Arab Emirates will be headed by Noor. Some people in Pakistan also took out the procession rally to protest and to express disapproval of the marriage of Noor at her city.

In the year 2003 Noor returned to Pakistan and her parents locked her in their house. Noor had to file an application in Sessions court of Lahore and had to get herself released with the help of the court's order. Noor after being released was kept in the welfare centre. Noor then pleaded in the court that her parents had threatened to kill her. Noor's father Shiraz, made a statement in the court that they would never approve of Noor's registered marriage with a Hindu and that the whole prestige of their family had since been razed. This way Noor left Pakistan for Dubai. Noor received a wide publicity in Pakistan on account of her marriage with a Hindu, rather than her acting in the films.

After staying in Dubai for seven years, one day Noor returned to Pakistan unexpectedly and started working in a T.V. serial. There was rumour that she would marry again with one Mr

Farooq Mayangal, her colleague and producer of films. The type of reporting in news media which took place at the time of her the first marriage was almost repeated this time also. When Noor went to Dubai once again, filed a F.I.R. against Vikram there. Many reports to the effect that Noor deserted Vikram since she did not bear any issues from him were published. In the weekly edition of Nawa-e-waqt (family magazine) in Urdu, an exclusive interview of Noor was published. In this interview, Noor is stated to have said that marrying Vikram was the greatest folly in her life and that she has been divorced from Vikram. When at the end of this interview, Noor thanked her fans, Nawa-e-waqt commented that all the fans of Noor were cursing her on account of her marriage with a Hindu and as an aftermath of it her marriage went on rocks. She was also further advised not to venture into Dubai as many more wolves (Like Vikram) would be there in the offing. When such debates in Pakistan's media were in full swing, Vikram sent an explanatory statement clearing his take on the issue. According to Vikram he was legally married to Noor in the courts of



Vikram & Noor.

Dubai and because he has not divorced Noor yet, his marriage with Noor still stands and is valid, and that Noor is his wife.

After receipt of this explanation from Vikram, Nawa-e-waqt has taken a somersault and, said that it is the court only which will decide who is right or wrong. Very hypocritical, it further says that they have been given a revelation (by Him) as to why should they poke their nose in someone's personal and private life. When there are formidable problems in front of Pakistan such as unemployment, dearth, extremists and terrorists, poverty and floods, attention should not be diverted to such accounts. "There are many agonies before the society other than the (trivial) issues like marriage!"

**(The author is a museologist/archeologist based at Pune)*

Indian Philosophy-A Synoptic View-III

(From Page 15)

the spirit over matter. That the Sankhya system is akin to the Tantric thought and tradition is established by Sankara calling the Sutras of Kapila as 'tantrakhya'. It leads one to believe that the original Sankhya positions were materialistic and atheistic. Jacobi holds the same view but is outright rejected by Dr. Radhakrishnan who observes that Sankhya 'at any stage of its development could never be identified with materialism'. Despite Radhakrishnan's spirited defence of the Sankhya orthodoxy, the fact remains

that Purusa is grafted on the system in a manner that it does not appear to be organically woven with the inner logic of the system.

The Sankhya in its basics is a dualism that rotates round two of its dominant categories, Purusa and Prakriti. It stipulates them as two separate and independent categories without any cogency for a meaningful contact or bond. Prakriti is stipulated as beginningless and endless matter constituting the basis of the world of name and form. It grows and evolves as per its own dynamics and does not depend on any external agency to impulse its growth and development.

Prakriti is 'absolute, eternal, unmanifest, ever dynamic and imperceptible' and in this state it is known as Mula Prakriti or Pradhan. It is endowed with three attributes of satva, rajas and tamas. Satva is 'static energy, psychological poise', rajas is 'dynamic energy and psychological extroversion', and tamas is 'physical inertia and mental apathy'.

CONTINUATION

Constituting matter the three 'gunas' with their intrinsic energies maintain an equilibrium and 'are inseparably linked and mutually condition one another'. The process of evolution is generated when the three gunas lose their equipoise and get disturbed.

The evolutionary process implies change 'which is homogenous and heterogeneous'. The cause for the loss of equipoise of the gunas is inherent dynamism or contradiction.

The Sankhya has delineated a sketch of a yogic discipline or praxis for attainment of release from the sorrows afflicting a man through his contact with the 'miserable and corruptible world'. There is no concept of grace as it does not sit well with its essential atheism. Redemption or release from the world in the parlance of the system is known as kaivalya.

The Sankhya thought is original, compact, analytical and more that most penetrating. Its impact on the formative

processes of other systems has been tremendous and overwhelming. In fact, all systems with rare exceptions have 'filled their husks' with the Sankhya content including its structural elements. The entire corpus of Indian literature from the Mahabarta to the mythological Puranas are replete with they stray doctrines of Sankhya. It has given a comprehensive description of evolutionary processes which are not viewed 'from angles metaphysical' but are based on 'the conservation, transformation and dissipation of energy'. The Sankhya thought has devised 'a theory of matter, a theory of causality, a theory of knowledges and a theory of cosmic evolution'.

- Feb. 1: Addressing CM's conference on Internal Security, PM said that the Kashmir situation has taken a turn for better while J&K CM asked for political solution based on pragmatism. CM condoled the killing of two girls in Sopore by the terrorists and questioned the mute or no condemnation by the separatists. Political leaders asked for honest dialogue for resolution of Kashmir. Pak chopper flies close to IB. Pre Summer unrest train operations in the valley are to be restored by the March end.
- Feb. 2: Terrorists attacked the house of Congress leader G R Kar and a CRPF camp in Sopore. A terrorist and an OGW were arrested in Baramulla. Nine stone pelters were also arrested in the valley. Security forces have improved their vigil in the back drop of movement of terrorists along the LoC and IB. Hurriyat termed killing of two sisters in Sopore as inhuman while BJP asked Omar Abdullah to be proactive against the terrorists. Farooq Abdullah reiterated demand on the troop reduction. Terming Kashmir issue an outcome of uncontested communalism, Panun Kashmir asked Centre to clear its stand on the Musharraf formula. Home Minister is to review security of five districts at a meeting at Kishtwar and is expected to meet CM, Governor and Congress leaders during his visit to Jammu.
- Feb. 3: Hurriyat has called for a shutdown tomorrow as people protest killing of two sisters. PC asks congress leaders to prepare a document for the resolution of Kashmir as he met two factions of the party separately. He also called on the Governor. Centre asked states to be sensitive while dealing with the Kashmiris. BJP opposed appeasement to the separatists. Pak team is to assess work on artificial Tawi Lake.
- Feb. 4: Life remained affected in the Valley while an employee of BSNL Ali Mohd Bhat was arrested and a pouch, one binocular, HM's letter pad and four petrol bombs were recovered from his possession. P Chidambaram discussed CBMs with the CM while he asked for ending residual militancy but winning over the youth during a review meeting at Kishtwar. BJP asked the centre not to take hasty decisions on Kashmir. MHA has reportedly not given security clearance to the start of the 3G Services in the J&K. Amidst opposition to the appointment of Amitab Mattoo as VC of the Central University Jammu, Mattoo has reportedly declined the offer.
- Feb. 5: CM calls for restraint while a student was reportedly killed during an Army ambush in Kupwara and a murder case was registered in the case. Terrorists shot at an NC activist in Pulwama while six stone pelters were arrested in Baramulla. An OGW was arrested and a terrorist hideout destroyed in Kishtwar. The number of rehabilitation seekers has reportedly swollen to 300. 13 IM terrorists are to face trial for masterminding serial blasts in Delhi in 2008.
- Feb. 6: An arms and ammunition haul was recovered in Rajouri. CM emphasized need for zero tolerance while Army ordered probe in Handwara incident. India and Pakistan agreed to carry forward talks.
- Feb. 7: Pakistan refused permission to NIA to interrogate masterminds of 26/11 Mumbai attack in Pakistan.
- Feb. 8: Three top terrorists were eliminated in an encounter in Banihal. CS visited Jagti township to take stock of the work.
- Feb. 9: A stone pelted was arrested in Baramulla. SSP Srinagar Sayed Ashiq Bukhari said that 70% stone-pelters were either drug addicts or having parental problem. AK Antony said that the govt. is to modernize armed forces.
- Feb. 10: Terrorists struck twice in Sopore and injured two persons. Jammu and Kashmir Muslim League president and one time dreaded terrorist who was instrumental in Summer-unrest was arrested in Srinagar. Three trans-border smugglers were arrested in Jammu. CM asked separatists to meet the interlocutors and added that they have the mandate and full backing of PM to find a political settlement of Kashmir issue. India today formally announced start of comprehensive dialogue with Pakistan on all issues including Kashmir that had hit a road-block in wake of 26/11 Mumbai attack.
- Feb. 11: Life remained paralysed in the valley due to the strike on the death anniversary of JKLF leader Maqbool Bhat. Eight top LeT terrorists have offered to return as 265 terrorists of Doda are reported to be in PoK. SC has sought centre's response on Guru's plea for transfer to a jail in J&K. Omar Abdullah favours Indo-Pak dialogue.
- Feb. 12: Three people were injured in Baramulla during protests as four stone pelters were arrested. Seven terrorist-supporters were convicted to eight years imprisonment after 20 years trial. Amidst war of words between PDP and NC, Omar Abdullah charged Mehbooba Mufti of instigating people for replicating Egypt.
- Feb. 13: Two siblings were killed and three others were injured as children fiddled with an explosive device left behind after an encounter at Maloora in the outskirts of Srinagar in October 2010. Two HM terrorists were arrested even though they took families as shield to escape. UHS G K Pillai said that 10000 troops will be withdrawn from the state of J&K and the amendment to AFSPA is still on the table. Four people were arrested as a fake gun license racket was busted even several youth managed employment on these licenses in Mumbai and Kolkata. Home Minister asked PDP to correct itself and Omar Abdullah said that gifting away parts of J&K is unacceptable as PDP reportedly showed parts of J&K as parts of China during a presentation.
- Feb. 14: A hunt has been launched for three terrorists in Poonch and one another in Ramban. Congress today asked PDP to withdraw the controversial map.
- Feb. 15: Terrorists lobbed a grenade towards a security picket in Sopore while gunmen opened fire on a house in Pattan injuring two girls. 12 stone pelters were arrested from Kreeri and Patten. Army Chief reviewed security situation in a meeting in Udampur and said that India wants to solve all disputes with pak. Omar Abdullah said that BSF will pay rent for the land taken for fencing the border.
- Feb. 16: NIA filed final charge sheet in the case relating to the recruitment of Kerala youth as terrorists for Kashmir. PM said that the situation in J&K has improved.
- Feb. 17: Terrorists struck twice as they attacked an Army camp and a Police patrol in Sopore as Police claimed 40 terrorists active in the area. An intrusion bid was foiled in KG sector. Reacting to PM's statement about normalcy, Geelani said that the lull is temporary and added that Kashmiri people will bring such a revolution that the revolutions in Egypt and other places will look pale. A high powered committee deliberated upon removal of DAA in Srinagar and Budgam to facilitate withdrawal of AFSPA. Omar Abdullah announced removal of 12 more bunkers. A K Antony dismissed reports about withdrawal of AFSPA and added that the separatists are misusing facebook in J&K.
- Feb. 18: Terrorists shot dead an NC activist in Hajan, Bandipore while three policemen and one another person were injured in stone-pelting on a police post in Baramulla. An Army jawan was injured in a blast in KG area. Shabir Shah was arrested in Hazratbal. Police claimed that 4294 arrests have been made and 195 stone pelters have been booked under PSA to ensure a peaceful summer. Pak team is arriving to inspect a barrage on the Tawi, two canals and a power project.
- Feb. 19: A terrorist was destroyed in Keshwan, Kishtwar and ammunition was recovered there. Police arrested five persons in connection with the attack on two girls in Kreeri and recovered the weapon of offence.
- Feb. 20: Four more terrorists have been arrested in Ramban even as dreaded terrorist remained at large. BSF decided to go on with the installation of flood lights even though Pak Rangers tried to stop the installation along the border.
- Feb. 21: BSF continued the floodlighting along the fence despite objections by the Rangers. GOC 15 corps said that at present there is no infiltration and the troop cut does not apply to the Army and added that the decision about AFSPA lies with the political establishment. India proposed dates for talks with Pakistan. President said that proactive measures have improved situation in J&K. The Bombay HC confirmed the death sentence awarded to Kasab.
- Feb. 22: Another conduit of slain terrorist Qari Zubair was held with arms and explosives. Two live bombs were recovered in Nowshera. Valley witnessed partial strike against the restrictions imposed on Geelani in New Delhi. The interlocutors were moved by the plight of Basties while the PoK refugees demanded relief at par with the KPs.
- Feb. 23: Huge cache of arms and ammunition was recovered as two terrorists' hide-outs were busted in Anantnag and Kupwara districts. The interlocutors are to submit report within two weeks and the separatists' point is to figure in the report. Omar Abdullah met Home Minister and demanded deletion of DAA in peaceful areas.
- Feb. 24: The interlocutors met family of the sisters killed by terrorists in Sopore and of the youth killed in an Army operation in Handwara. PM said that the centre is keeping fingers crossed for the summer and the Rangarajan committees report will change the mindset as it is expected to recommend creation of one lakh jobs.
- Feb. 25: Two terrorists with their wives and seven children crossed Loc and were captured in Poonch. India asked Pakistan to eschew rhetoric.
- Feb. 26: A VDC member was injured and two terrorists reportedly trapped as an encounter was going on in Keri, Budhal. Many Jammu terrorists are reportedly in pitiable conditions in PoK as there is no space for terrorists above 40. Even though the interlocutors claimed that they spared no attempt to reach to the separatists, Mufti Sayeed wanted CBMs before inviting separatists for talks.
- Feb. 27: Terrorists killed a truck driver in Pulwama while a huge cache of arms was recovered in Bandipore. Police claimed that the surrendered terrorists and criminals have also benefited from the fake license racket as many youth reach Mumbai, Kolkata and Nepal. Omar Abdullah visited IB and called for better Indo-Pak ties.
- Feb. 28: Terrorists shot dead a shopkeeper in Baramulla while three persons including two policemen were injured in a grenade attack in Batmaloo. NN Vohra asked separatists to seize historic opportunity of dialogue as agitation and confrontation cannot resolve issues. Omar Abdullah asked for political solution to Kashmir. Rs 8000 crore package has been provided to J&K in the union budget.
- Mar. 1: Hurriyat leader Geelani was questioned in Delhi in hawala trail.
- Mar. 2: A terrorist was killed and an Army Major injured in az day long gun-battle in Dadsar, Tral. Pakistan's Minority Affairs minister Shabaz Bhati was killed and Taliban is believed behind the incident.
- Mar. 3: S A S Geelani has been put under house arrest after his return from New Delhi while judicial remand of KBA Chief was extended by a court. Omar Abdullah termed unemployment and militancy as biggest challenges. CPM leader Tarigami demanded withdrawal of DAA and revocation of PSA while NC and PDP charged each other over the prevailing situation in the state.
- Mar. 4: A BSF jawan died of accidental fire in Srinagar. JKLF chief appeared in a court in hawala case. PM inaugurated Jagti Township and said that the government will make situation conducive for the return of migrants. PM said that the centre recognizes political and emotional grievances of J&K.
- Mar. 5: A terrorist surrendered along with his family in Doda after his return from PoK. Speaking in the seminar "Should Kashmiri Pandits Look for an Option Beyond the Nation" organized by PK lead by Agnishekhar, Ram Jethmalani said that Musharraf tried to resolve Kashmir while S K Tickoo of Kashmiri Pandit Sangarsh Samiti said that the community should approach organizations like the UN seeking a territory for them outside India, preferably in North America. M H Baig opined that the Article 370 cannot be scrapped while CM mooted Truth and Reconciliation Commission for two decade militancy.
- Mar. 6: An LeT OGW was arrested in Doda. Two children were hurt in a mine-blast in Nowshera, Rajouri. Geelani backed of India Today Conclave saying that he cannot share the platform with National Security Adviser as hurriyat cannot engage itself with the centre until his five-point demand is accepted.
- Mar. 7: An HM worker from Ramban was arrested in New Delhi. Terrorists blew up portion of Railway Track in Nowgam. A Delhi court is to decide on a plea on March 10 to charge-sheet Geelani, Arundati Roy and others in a sedition case.
- Mar. 8: Army repatriated a youth to Pak after he had inadvertently crossed to this side. PDP leader Baig asked the government to reduce dependence on centre before autonomy or self-rule and charged the government of recruiting 200 NC workers in Police.
- Mar. 9: A terrorist was killed and one another injured as BSF foiled an infiltration bid in Niki Tawi area. Pakistan violated ceasefire in Poonch. Geelani called for a strike on 12 March. Statehood

(Contd. on Page 19)

(Contd. from Page 18)

- demand again echoed in the Assembly. Two Rajouri villages shown in PoK in revenue records.
- Mar. 10: Dreaded terrorist Sajad Afgani and his body-guard were killed in an encounter in Srinagar. Awantipora police seized 50 kg explosives from a shop at Lidhoo. Three children were injured while playing with an explosive device. An LeT operative was held in Doda and Rs 1.84 lakh worth Hawala money was recovered from his possession. Rubbishing the reports that Srinagar is a militancy-free area, DIG Central Kashmir Abdul Gani Mir said that about 50 militants including foreigners are active in Central Kashmir.
- Mar. 11: Police arrested Ghulam Hassan Mir alias Chota Geelani, a close associate of A S Geelani, from Soura while carrying immoral activities with a girl. DGP said that the centre and the state has chalked out strategy on summer unrest and added that the wages of SPOs may be hiked. Interlocutors are to hear women's voice. CU issue again rocked Assembly. Revenue Minister said that health insurance is being provided to the migrants.
- Mar. 12: An HuM Div. Comdr. Was among three terrorists killed in Kashmir valley. Army nabbed a suspect from LoC when he was trying to cross over to PoK. A Doda SPO was held in Punjab and cocaine was recovered from his possession. Interlocutors meet women leaders. Kashmir observed a shut down against alleged mass arrest on Hurriyat (G) call though Geelani said that there were no plans for prolonged shut-downs or for violent protests and was not in favour of damaging the tourist season but described shutdowns as the only means of peaceful protests.
- Mar. 13: Police claimed to have killed the terrorist Chota Kalimullah who was responsible for killing of two sisters in Sopore in January. The terrorist had set up hide-out in a doctor's clinic. A Jawan was killed after falling from a train. Interlocutors asked for setting up a Task Force to address women's issues. Multi Agency Centre (MAC) has warned of intrusion bids as LeT and HM has readied 489 ultras for infiltration. 30 PoK refugees were arrested and others dispersed as they tried to cross over LOC in Akhnoor sector demanding compensation and one time settlement. RSS described presence of Chinese Army in PoK a serious issue. While Mufti Mohd Sayeed said that PDP is keeping a close watch on Govt., M H Baig said that NC hatched conspiracy against Maharaja Hari Singh.
- Mar. 14: Assembly witnessed clashes as Ashok Khajuria took exception to the allegation of some members that valley faces shortage of ration during Amarnath Yatra. Panthers party described re-organisation as the only solution. Pandits express dismay over non tabling of the shrines bill in the Assembly.
- Mar. 15: Grenade blasts rocked Sopore. IEDs were recovered in Kupwara while a person was arrested and fake currency recovered from his possession. Interlocutors submitted 6th report to PC. Revenue Minister announced issuance of Dogra Certificate to the Dogri speaking people to get concessions in recruitment in defence forces. Police recruitment, funds to NC candidates, CU and empowerment of Panchayats issues rocked the Assembly.
- Mar. 16: Defence Minister described situation in J&K stable but infiltration cause of concern. Governor visited Chakan-da-Bagh TFC. NC blamed Mufti Sayeed while PDP Sheikh Abdullah for Kashmir problem.
- Mar. 17: 12 more CRPF bunkers have been removed from civilian areas in Srinagar. GOC 15 Corps claimed that 700 ultras are waiting to enter J&K. Omar Abdullah told the US Ambassador that the US should not look at J&K through security prism. The entire opposition from Jammu stages a walk out as the Assembly witnessed uproar over the reported interlocutors' report suggesting change of nomenclature of Governor and CM.
- Mar. 18: In a snub to the separatists, The US Ambassador said that he met CM only as he is the elected representative. Arun Jaitely dismissed Omar Abdullah's remarks who had said that it was NDA that made offers of bribe and not the UPA.
- Mar. 20: Five people including three security personnel were injured as terrorists attacked a patrol party in Rainawari, Srinagar. A tragedy was averted as an IED was detected and defused at a shrine in Kupwara. CWC member Mohan Prakash claimed that the Congress is in forefront on dialogue over Kashmir.
- Mar. 21: A security force patrol was attacked in Sopore. Army Chief reviewed situation on LoC in Kashmir. IAF Comdr. Air Commodore Arjun Subramaniam said that Taliban may infiltrate into India and Pakistan.
- Mar. 22: Army Chief met Jawans on LoC. Rs 23.84 lakh have been incurred on the security of separatists as 17 of them are under security while Yaseen Malik, Fazal Haq Qureshi, Shabir Shah, Nayeem Khan and SAS Geelani have refused security from police. Mehbooba-Sagar, BJP-Congress clash in the Assembly on issues of Kashmir and Autonomy.
- Mar. 23: A top HM terrorist Mudassir Nazir was arrested in Batmaloo three persons were arrested outside a coaching centre in Srinagar for trying to kidnap a teenaged girl. Police arrested three persons - one in Jammu & two in Kashmir under PSA. 39 bunkers have been removed since October last year. Baig advocated for Sadar-e-Riyasat while Khajuria asked for revocation of DO Nishan Do Vidhan policy. Terror camps and Samjota express blasts are to dominate Home Secretary talks.
- Mar. 24: An Army Jawan committed suicide in Baramulla. Three separatists Prof. A G Bhat and Lone brothers stayed away from Pakistan Day function while PDP leader Iftikhar Hussain Ansari was the surprise guest.
- Mar. 25: A woman of Kreeri, Baramulla who was injured in summer unrest last year succumbed to her injuries. S A S Geelani who was under house-arrest gave slip to police and was later traced at his aide Ashraf Sehrai's house.
- Mar. 26: NC and PDP clashed over diversion of Central Roads Fund (CRF) from Kashmir to Jammu while Jammu opposition MLAs walked-out over Task-Force and delimitation issues. BJP said that it will not allow toe division of Jammu. India has decided to extend the stay of visitors of PoK to six months. Farooq Abdullah said that the cricket diplomacy will bridge differences.
- Mar. 27: Two suspects were held in Rajouri while arms were seized in Poonch. While Indo-Pak Home Secretary's are to begin two days talks, Indo-Pak PMs are to meet at Mohali. Rs 26 crore penalties has been slapped on Airtel for not following verification guidelines in J&K. Dr Karan Singh said that serious thought should be given to the Interlocutors' report.
- Mar. 28: LeT terrorist Chacha Talha was killed at Reban, Baramulla. Two people were arrested and fake currency worth Rs 25,000 received from their possession in Mendhar. Maharashtra police has arrived in Jammu after more fake gun licenses were seized. Mohd Yousf Tarigami was the only member to dissent as the house united to give more than 100 Pc hike in their own salaries. Indo-Pak Home Secretaries termed their talks positive and the two PMs are to meet before the match.
- Mar. 29: Army sources said that the infiltration is on rise as against 490 infiltration attempts in 2009, 500 were made in 2010 and against 105, 120-25 terrorists succeeded to infiltrate. MLC Mohd Yousf was snubbed by the Dy Chairman for using Azad Kashmir for PoK. A trust based in Hyderabad-Justice on Trial- and headed by former HP Governor Justice (Retd) V S Kokje submitted report on militancy victims of Jammu to Governor N N Vohra. Indo-Pak Home Secretaries agreed to set up Joint Working Group as Pakistan agreed to allow India to probe 26/11 terror case. Pak HM Rehman Malik thanked P Chidambaram for successful talks. Omar Abdullah described invitation to Pak PM as historic.
- Mar. 30: An NC leader Gh Mohiudin was shot dead and his wife injured as terrorists barged into his house at Pinglish, tral. SDM Mendhar Mukhtiar Ahmed Chowdry was attached in gun licenses' case. 12 more bunkers would be removed from Srinagar. India and Pakistan push for normalization as the two PMs held wide ranging talks. Diwali in Jammu as India beat Pakistan in the semi-finals of the Cricket World Cup.
- Mar. 31: Prepaid mobile service in J&K has been extended for two more years. 12 people were killed though the JUI Chief Maulana Fazlur Rehman survived second time in two days.
- April 1: Mirwaiz Umar said that Hurriyat is ready to facilitate dialogue process.
- April 2: Explosives were recovered in Mahore. Speaking at a function organized by Athwas, Ali Mohd Sagar said that migration of Pandits was a tragedy for majority community and added that madness of some people and agencies was behind the exodus. M M Ansari said that election and cricket diplomacy delayed the submission of interlocutors' report.
- April 3: An HM terrorist was killed in Shopian. Omar Abdullah ordered release of stone peltter Faizan who is claimed to be a teenager. Corps Commander 15 Corps, Lt Gen Hassnain said that Army is still wanted in Kashmir as there is existential border threat and camps are still full with militants. Jagmohan said that fear led to KPs' migration. KPC demands consolidated rehabilitation of KPs in the valley.
- April 5: An HM terrorist, an Army jawan and a JKP ASI were killed in an encounter at Dadsar, Tral. Number of ultras seeking rehabilitation crossed 800 as unlisted ultras also apply. CM said that reduction of troops is linked to ground situation.
- April 6: Police busted an extortion module in Reasi as they arrested two OGWs of HM with explosives. The UN said that there is no report about sexual abuse by security forces in J&K. Cross-LoC traders clashed at Chakan-Da-Bagh accusing one another of being defaulters.
- April 7: An LeT hideout was busted and arms recovered in Mendhar. 10 Kg explosives were recovered from Gandoh on Doda-HP border. CM briefed Governor on internal security. SASB justify reduction of Yatra duration.
- April 8: Terrorists struck in Srinagar and killed Jamiat-e-Ahlahadith Chief Showkat Ahmed Shah, who was reportedly engaged with interlocutors and had denounced stone pelting. Army intercepted an LeT-Reporter talk in which former asked the reporter to circulate report that Shah was killed by Hindu extremists. An official report of the US claimed that separatists and terrorists were involved in HR abuses in J&K. The gun license racket has roots in four states.
- April 9: A civilian was killed by terrorists and an ultra arrested while life remained paralysed in the valley against the killing of the religious leader. CRPF Special Director General J&K zone said that there is no proposal to withdraw more CRPF troops.
- April 11: A Hurriyat activist was held with a rifle in South Kashmir while life remained paralysed in the valley on the call given by Hurriyat (Geelani) against the issue of Dogra Certificate. Explosives were recovered in Mahore. A jawan ended life at the house of MLA Doda. CM claimed that some clues have been found in the killing of the cleric.
- April 12: Two persons were killed and one injured as a shell exploded in a Kabadi's shop in Jourian. Ex-SDM Mendhar was arrested in fake gun-license's case. Farooq Abdullah said that government should reconsider Dogra Certificate issue. China expressed its willingness to work with India on stapled visa issue. Several delegations meet BJP's Study Group at Jammu.
- April 13: A youth was held in Poonch and fake currency worth 8 lakh recovered from his possession. Seven BJP MLA's cross-voted in favour of NC, Congress in LC elections. BJP's Study Group interacts with several delegations in the valley. India and China are to resume defence exchange as China is expected to scrap stapled visa for J&K.
- April 14: A Pakistani was held on IB in R S Pura. Omar Abdullah described dialogue as the only option to settle all issues.
- April 15: Ammunition was recovered from LoC in Kreeri sector. An Iraqi woman was arrested in Bishnah. Lt Gen. Hasnain said that training camps are still operational and warned of intrusion bids as snow melts. Omar Abdullah said that he will resign if charges of bribing BJP MLA's are proved while BJP National President summoned all the 11 BJP MLAs.
- April 16: Terrorists gunned down a woman Panch in Budgam. An unidentified man was killed in Army firing in Kupwara. Two jawans were injured in a blast at Sona Gali in Mendhar. Two civilians were beaten up by terrorists in Kishtwar. In a major breakthrough, police arrested three persons in connection with the killing of cleric and claimed that SAUTUL HAQ was responsible for the killing and the operation was conspired by Ashiq Hussain Fakhtoo, husband of Asiya Indrabi.
- April 17: Farooq Abdullah favoured talks between India and Pakistan while Omar Abdullah claimed improvement in situation. Mirwaiz Farooq allged that centre is not serious to solve Kashmir. PM said that India and China are working for peace on border.

For the benefit of our readers we reproduce an interview of Sh. Sanjay Tickoo, a non-displaced Kashmiri Pandit leader who stayed put all through in Valley. Mr Tickoo talked to Kunal Mujumdar of Tehelka Times in April 2011.

'Geelani is no longer taken seriously in Kashmir'

Syed Ali Shah Geelani's visit to Pandit camps is pointless-Sanjay Tickoo

HOW do you look at separatist leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani's visit to Kashmiri Pandit camps outside Srinagar?

It has surprised us all. For years, Geelani advocated that Kashmir should be an Islamic State and should have Islamic law. Now, he talks about protecting Kashmiri Pandits. Since 2005, we have been asking what rights will minorities have in a Kashmiri settlement.

News reports suggested that more than 100 Kashmiri Pandits were present at Geelani's meet-

ing. How acceptable is he?

No one takes him seriously, leave alone Kashmiri Pandits. He remembers the Pandits only when he is losing ground in Kashmir. The only option left for Geelani is to approach the Pandits who are returning to the Valley for jobs — not to rebuild their old homes.

Does that mean the visit is meaningless?

In 2008, before the Amarnath land row, we went to Geelani with photographs of our temples that had been desecrated, looted and burnt by unscrupulous elements from the majority community. We went

because he had issued a statement saying the temples were not burnt by people of the majority community. He said he would issue a fatwa against the guilty. But nothing has happened so far. Therefore, we fail to understand what he really means when he says that he will protect our dignity and our religious places.

Geelani had also announced that Kashmiri Pandits should move to their ancestral homes in the Valley. Is it possible in the present atmosphere?

No way. The burning of Kashmiri Pandit properties began in 1992 after the

demolition of the Babri Masjid. If Geelani is asking the Pandits to return to their homes, why doesn't he label their houses? The political rhetoric of the state changes according to the interest of the state and non-state actors. As of now, no one wants Kashmiri Pandits to really come and live in the pre-1991 state. It is just not possible. There is a big political, religious and societal divide between the two communities now.

How do you suggest reconciliation then?

The only way reconciliation is possible is when both mainstream political parties and separatist organisations start acknowledging that the Pandits were targeted. They know the people responsible for killing the Pandits from 15 March 1989 till today. We have already informed them that we have identified the killers. If they wish we can give them the names but they already know. The killers of not just the Pandits but also ordi-

nary innocent Kashmiri Muslims have to be punished, even if they are punished under Islamic law. Let them make this gesture. They have also been propagating that the Centre conspired by sending Jagmohan as governor. This is a lie. If you go back in history, you will find most of the migration happened after Jagmohan's tenure. The truth has to be told.

But there will be no reconciliation this way.

I didn't leave the Valley, I have been living here through the troubled times. If I have not been getting the same stature as a Kashmiri, how can you expect whoever is returning to get a fair deal? Will we get back our lands, which were encroached upon? Will they return our businesses? People who have returned from other cities are virtually in jail here. They cannot venture out after 7 pm. Going to a Kashmiri Pandit camp means nothing. There has to be some concrete action.

Brief of the press statement issued during a press conference addressed jointly by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo Chairman, Panun Kashmir, Prof Hari Om, eminent intellectual and a senior leader and Sh. Yuvraj Gupta, senior PoK Refugee leader & Social activist, on May 6, 2011 at Jammu.

We dismiss out-of-hand and disapprove of the contention of Government of India to continue dialogue with Pakistan despite the universal acknowledgement about Pakistan's neck-deep involvement in the international terrorism that has gripped the whole of the globe. The stand which the Government of India has taken in the aftermath of May 2 killing of the world's most sought after terrorist Osama bin Laden is suicidal.

India has been the worst victim of Jihadi terrorism promoted by Pakistan as an instrument of its foreign policy. Over the years, Government of India has been only bemoaning the duplicity of America and the Western world with regard to handling issues pertaining to international terrorism. Now is the time to act. India can no longer afford to shirk declaring Pakistan as a terrorist state. We demand that the Government of

India must correct its course vis a vis Pakistan and shun its ambivalent approach to issues of national import.

India has already paid a very heavy price for pursuing a policy course with Pakistan which has only strengthened subversive and terrorist regimes in India and accorded international legitimacy to the Pakistan's communal stand on Jammu and Kashmir.

MEDIA INTERACTION

Such a policy cannot go on forever. It has to be abandoned here and now or history will not forgive what could be termed as a treachery of sorts. Sovereignty of India and its territorial integrity are non-negotiable and our foreign policy has to be based on these two cardinal imperatives.

The Government of India has to realize that its policies on Jammu and Kashmir

have only negated the principles of secularism and democracy and accorded an undue importance to separatist variants. And it is this that has led to its failure to defeat terrorism and separatism in the state.

The willingness of the Government of India to continue dialogue with Pakistan despite the international outrage caused due to the latter's involvement in acting as a base for international terrorism will further strengthen radical Jihadi forces in India. The conversion of Kashmiri Muslim masses into radical Salafi or Wahhabi brand of Islam has assumed a new stridency in recent times. It is happening because the Government of India has chosen to accord respectability to radical Islamist leadership in the state. The dithering of the Government of India on the issue of Pakistan being a terrorist State will act as a lease of life for the Jihadis in

the region and it will be at India's own peril.

The American call to India to 'show patience' smacks only of hypocrisy and double standards. It also smacks of deliberate pressures being exerted on India to toe a line which is only in the American interests in the region. India

should not act as a surrogate nation and demonstrate its resolve to exist as a sovereign State.

We once again demand that the Government of India must declare Pakistan as a terrorist State and discontinue forthwith its dialogue with Islamabad.

ATTENTION READERS

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Thanks.

--Editor