

## Giving Away Kashmir

Dr Ajay Churungoo



**F**OR so many years we have concerned ourselves primarily with how Pakistan seeks to take away Jammu and Kashmir. We are perhaps getting too late to intensely involve ourselves with how a section of Indian State and the political class have been, over the years, crafting the giving away of Jammu and Kashmir. The unilateral submission of the report of the Working Group on Centre-State Relations by its Chairman Justice Sagir Ahmad to the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir is only a reflection on the relentless campaign to keep the **Muslim Question** in India alive and transform the vision of secularism into an albatross around the neck of Indian nation, fixing its limbs into inaction so that the Muslim Power continues to inch eastwards through successive partitions of India.

### A Sinister Course Correction

The report submitted by Justice Sagir in the name of Working Group on Centre State Relations was done without completing the agenda of the Working Group; without taking most of the members of the Working Group into confidence; without seeking the opinion of the members on the draft of the report; and last but not the least without formally winding up the proceedings of the Working Group. It seems that the entire exercise is aimed at some sort of a course correction crafted by those who have prefixed the direction and the outcome of the internal dialogue on Jammu and Kashmir. There are pertinent reasons to think so.

The delay in submission of the report by Justice Sagir was certainly causing worry which found expression once in a while in the public sphere. On March 10, 2008 a prominent local daily reported NC patron Farooq Abdullah blaming New Delhi as not being serious towards the resolution of the Kashmir dispute and quoted him making direct and almost indictory references about the Working Group on Centre-State Relations, "appointment of a Muslim Judge to give report on the contentious issue of centre state relations reflects their whimsical approach.... The report could have catastrophic

consequences for Justice Sagir." As per the report of *Kashmir Times* (KT), Dr Farooq maintained that reluctance of Justice Sagir in convening another round of meeting of the working group reflects his understanding of "how the contents of the report could impact his career prospects." KT further quotes Dr Farooq as having said, "...in a country where the minorities are under suspicion all the time, expecting Justice Sagir to give a report which could maintain his image of being a nationalist would be a little irrational." In his expressions Dr Farooq referred to the population dynamics in the country, "If the centre would have been serious, Justice Sachar would have been the best choice" He openly confessed about his resentment on the appointment of Justice Sagir at the time when the heads of the working groups were being chosen and frankly said, "I resisted his name, since I knew the repercussions of (his) heading this crucial working group on centre-

engagement between Pakistan, India, separatists and the so called moderates in Kashmir. He wrote in early October, "An important working group of the Prime Minister on J&K dealt with centre state relations but it was unable to arrive at a breakthrough. This doesn't mean that we have a *cul-de-sac*. There are many proposals on the table including those on autonomy, self rule, self governance and achievable nationhood....These internal discussions must flow into the backchannel which can then attempt to work out a non-territorial India-Pakistan settlement on J&K based on providing a similar political architecture on both sides of the line of control working towards converting the LoC into Line of Peace, that allows free movement of people, goods, services and ideas."

The way Justice Sagir submitted his report has some resonance in the way National Conference submitted the Greater and Regional Autonomy Reports. Like the

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state relationships..."

The statement clearly brings out that persons of the stature of Dr Farooq Abdullah had a clear cut expectation from the Working Group on Centre State Relations and an apprehension whether the person of Justice Sagir be able to deliver the same. Dr Farooq had the full realization that the content of this expectation had a 'catastrophic' bearing on the secular fabric in rest of the country and hence he nurtured a lack of confidence about the wisdom of having a 'Muslim Judge' from outside the State as the head of the Working Group reflecting upon the relationship of Jammu and Kashmir with the Union of India.

It is relevant to quote what Prof Amitabh Mattoo was saying months before Justice Sagir submitted his report given the fact that he has been one of the more visible backchannel actors in the

constitution of Working Group on Centre and State Relations, the Farooq government constituted the Committees on Greater Autonomy and regional Autonomy after coming to power in 1996 giving an impression of adopting a non-partisan and inclusive process. He made Dr Karan Singh the Chairman of the Greater Autonomy Committee and made another non Muslim Balraj Puri to function as Working Chairman of the Regional Autonomy Committee. Sooner than later Dr Karan Singh resigned and Balraj Puri was forced out. The reports of the State Autonomy committee was suddenly finalized, submitted to the government and then pushed into the State assembly for adoption.

The Regional Autonomy report of NC envisaged the division of the State along the same lines as Mushraff did later on. It put the division of Jammu province into



**Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with Kashmiri separatists junta in Delhi.**

Muslim and Hindu majority domains firmly on the agenda for the settlement of the Kashmir issue. Balraj Puri later wrote about the proposed breaking of the existing regions in the State: "Though redemarcation or creation of a region or a district was not included in the terms of reference of the committee, I still sought a clarification from the Chief Minister who categorically ruled out consideration of any such demand..... I sent my report to all members and the chief minister in all humility for favour of their kind consideration, scrutiny and comments. Despite a reminder, I did not receive any comment..... I received a letter from the Chief Secretary on 21 January 1999 that my term had expired on 31 December 1998. Through another order dated 4 March 1999, the term of the Committee minus me was extended in a similar retrospective way w.e.f 31 December 1998 till 31 March....It seems an alternate 28 page report was hastily got drafted and signed by three out of six original members which was tabled in the legislative assembly when it was about to adjourn sine die on 16 April." What made the then Chief Minister Dr Farooq to suddenly abandon the pretensions of accommodation and legitimate consultation taking every body on board, and like Justice Sagir did recently, push through the reports having a bearing on the future of the state?

### Pre- Fixed Destination

The entire peace engagement internal as well as external has a pre-fixed objective for a well entrenched lobby and every process employed by Gol is being judged on the yardstick of this objective. When PDP released its Self Rule document, not in front of the Working Group on Centre State relations, but in Pakistan, NC

president Omar Abdullah openly blamed the Indian High Commission of having facilitated the entire process. The Foreign Ministry chose not to contradict the allegation. There are many a Kashmir analyst who privately believe that the Self Rule document is the creation of some section of PMO. In the recent past, we have many instances which we come across a process, where Gol, acted almost in tandem with the Muslim leadership of Kashmir Valley mainstream and the separatists.

During Vajpayee regime, a USA based Kashmiri secessionist leader, lobbyist and fund raiser, Farooq Kathwari, arrived in India with the full knowledge of Government of India in March 1999 'carrying a series of proposals for the creation of an independent Kashmiri State'. At that time both USA and Government of India underplayed his Jihad connections. His son had died in Chechnya while fighting Russians. He met very important persons belonging to Indian intelligence service and the ruling BJP. On March 8, Kathwari had a closed door meeting with Dr Farooq Abdullah and a group of his top Cabinet colleagues on the premises of Secretariat in Jammu. This meeting induced the urgency into the Farooq Government to come out with its reports on greater and regional autonomy in the State. During his visit Kathwari seemed 'encouraged enough to push ahead with a new version of his blue print for the solution of Kashmir'. The blue print—Kashmir: A Way Forward—later became commonly known as

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

1. Sh. Krishan Ji Langoo S/o Lt. Sh. Lass Ram Langoo R/o Ramgaat, Baramulla Kmr; presently at Qtr. No: 543, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 26/6/2009
2. Payal Pandita (Pavoo). 26/6/2009
3. Smt. Tarawati Raina (Chuda jigri) W/o Lt. Sh. Anand Ram Raina R/o Batapora, Shopian; presently at 80 Gura Barnai Road, Bantalab, Jammu. 27/6/2009
4. Smt. Somavati Kachroo (Arundati) W/o Lt. Sh. Nand Lal Kachroo R/o Basant Bagh Gav Kadal Srinagar; presently at 74, Sector-2 EWS Colony Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu and Notingham UK. 27/6/2009
5. Sh. Triloki Nath Rania S/o Lt. Sh. Ram Chand Raina R/o Sarab Shopian Kmr; presently at Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 27/6/2009
6. Smt. Somawati Kachroo W/o Lt. Som Nath Kachroo, R/o Sathu Bar Bar Shah Srniagar; presently at H.No: 897/E, Chitrnanjan Park, New Delhi. 27/6/2009
7. Sh. Shamboo Nath Mantoo S/o Lt. Sh. Gopi Nath Mantoo R/o Sopore, Kmr; presently at H.No: 367, Lane-14, Rajpura Mangotiran, Jammu. 28/6/2009
8. Sh. Bansilal Sapru S/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Sapru R/o Malayar, Habbakadal, Rawalpura, Colony Srinagar; presently at H.No: 10-A, Bhuta Nagar, Paloura, Jammu. 28/6/2009
9. Sh. Ravinder Kumar Punjabi S/o Sh. Prithvi Nath Punjabi R/o Batapora, Shopian Kmr; presently at Adarsh Nagar, Bantalab, Jammu. 28/6/2009
10. Sh. Radha Krishan Raina, R/o Poshkeri Hugam Anantnag; presently at H.No: 144, Lane-1 Bharat Nagar, Bantalab, Jammu. 28/6/2009
11. Sh. Badri Nath Raina (Ganhar) S/o Lt. Pt. Damodhar Raina, R/o Drusoo Pulwama Kmr; presently at Kaccha Talab, Bahu Fort, Jammu. 28/6/2009
12. Sh. Brij Nath Dhar S/o Lt. Sansar Chand Dhar R/o Budhgair Alikadal Srinagar; presently at Shalamar Garden, Gaziabad. 28/6/2009
13. Sh. P.N. Tickoo S/o Lt. Janki Nath Tickoo R/o 136 Shivpora/Kanikadal, Srinagar; presently at Srinagar. 28/6/2009
14. Smt. Muni Wali W/o Sh. Pran Nath Wali R/o Dukarni Sangeen Srinagar; presently at 13-C, Overseas Apts. Vasundhara Enclave, Delhi. 29/6/2009
15. Smt. Kamlawati W/o Lt. Nath Ji Dervesh R/o Waterkhani Kupwara; presently at Phase-I, Parkhoo Camp, Jammu. 29/6/2009
16. Smt. Durga Ji Fotedar W/o Lt. Sh. B.L. Fotredar R/o H.No: 423, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently at G.H/13, H.No: 673, Pachim Vihar Delhi. 29/6/2009
17. Sh. Damodhar Raina (Tatha Ji) S/o Lt. Sh. P.R. Raina R/o Khayar, Anantnag, Kmr; Nai Sarak Sgr; presently at 109 Imperial Supertech Estate Vaishali Ghaziabad, UP. 29/6/2009
18. Smt. Parmeshwari Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Nath Jee Koul R/o Kherbore Anantnag; presently at Anand Nagar, Bhoori Lane No: 5. 29/6/2009
19. Smt. Kamlawati Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Aftab Koul R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently at 15-A, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 30/6/2009
20. Sh. Dwarika Nath Raina R/o Fidarpora Rafiabab, Kmr Raghunath Mandir Srinagar; presently at Mishriwalla Camp Ramparst Ghaziabad. 30/6/2009
21. Ravinder Gosani; presently at Gurgoan. 1/7/2009
22. Sh. Bal Jee Makroo S/o Lt. Sh. Niranjana Nath Makroo R/o Qaziyar, Zainakadal Srinagar; presently at 25 Colonel's Colony Bhoori Talab Tillo Jammu. 3/7/2009
23. Raghunath Koul S/o Lt. Mukund Ram Koul R/o Chadoora Kmr; presently at Sharda Colony Lane 1 Santra Morh Jammu. 5/7/2009
24. Sh. Omkar Nath Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Jia Lal Raina R/o Kharyar Habbakadal; presently at 324-N Sector-2 Durga Nagar, Jammu. 6/7/2009
25. Sh. Radha Krishen Raina S/o Lt. Sh. Prasad Ram Rania R/o Kharyar/Indira Nagar at present 46 Lane 2 Sham Vihar Gole Pulli, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/7/2009
26. Soom Nath Tickoo S/o Lt. Sh. Ganesh Dass Tickoo R/o Narpristan, Feteah Kadal Srinagar at present 182 Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 7/7/2009
27. Dr. PK Sopory R/o 143/5 Trikuta Nagar at Jammu. 7/7/2009
28. Sh. Prithvinath Dhar S/o Lt. Sh. Nidan Joo Dhar R/o 84/2 Shiv Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 7/7/2009
29. Rattan Jee Sapru W/o Lt. Pran Nath Sapru R/o 107 Ambica Enclave Dwarika New Delhi. 8/7/2009
30. Mayawati Pandita W/o Sh. Dina Nath Pandita R/o Dialogam Batapora Anantnag Kmr; presently at C-II Pocket-VI Kendriya Vihar Sector 82, Noida. 8/7/2009
31. Superna Nehru D/o GL Nehru. 8/7/2009
32. Sh. Shobawati Bhan W/o Lt. Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhan R/o Mohalla Jadeed Baramulla Kmr at present 129 Durga Nagar Sector-2, Talab Tillo Bhoori. 8/7/2009
33. Smt. Roopawati Pandita W/o Lt. Sh. Dina Nath Pandita R/o Pajan Anantnag (Kmr); present at Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 9/7/2009
34. Smt. Gauri Jigri W/o Lt. Amber Nath Marhata R/o Umanagri Anantnag at present at Jammu. 9/7/2009
35. Smt. Sheela Koul W/o Lt. Sh. Soom Nath Koul R/o Khah Bazar Anantnag; presently at 88/2B Shantipuram Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 9/7/2009
36. Prabhaji Bhat W/o Lt. Arjan Nath Bhat R/o Kanikadal Sgr; presently at N-203 New Palam Vihar Gurgoan. 10/7/2009
37. Smt. Madhu Lata Saraf W/o Lt. DP Saraf at present at Pune Maharashtra. 10/7/2009
38. Smt. Shobawati Saraf W/o Lt. Sh. Madhusudan Saraf R/o Kralyar Rainawari Srinagar; at present H.No: E-I Bharat Nagar, Talab Tillo. 10/7/2009
39. Mahraj Krishan Koul S/o Lt. Meheshwar Nath Koul R/o KM Ali Anantnag Kmr; at present Lane 2 Patoli Brahmana Jammu. 10/7/2009
40. Pushkar Nath Mussa S/o Lt. Sh. Darshan Dass Mussa, R/o Mattan Kmr; presently at Paloura Top, Jammu. 10/7/2009
41. Badri Nath Jad R/o Nuzuk Mohalla Anantnag at present 504/5 DLF II Gurgoan. 12/7/2009
42. Sh. Prem Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Ragunath Pandita R/o Chuntipora Verinag Kmr; presently resident of Block-K, Room No: 18, TRT, Nagrota Jammu. 12/7/2009
43. Smt. Indrawati Koul W/o Dr. Sham Sunder Koul R/o Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 461, JMC, Gudha Bakshi Nagar, Jammu. 13/7/2009
44. Sh. Pran Nath Ganjoo originally residndt of Sathu Payeen Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 46, Paloura Dok Jammu. 13/7/2009
45. Dwarika Nath Koul S/o Lt. Shiv Ji Koul R/o Vessu Anantnag at present 135 Tomal Bhoori Jammu. 13/7/2009
46. Sh. Bansilal Nagari S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Nagari; presently resident of H.No: 7, Vasuki Vihar Barnai Jammu originally resident of Fatehkadal Sgr. 15/7/2009
47. Sh. Dawarika Nath Khosa S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Khosa of Sheshyar 2nd Bridge Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 83-A, Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 15/7/2009
48. Smt. Pity Koul W/o Late Sh. S.N. Koul originally resident of 57, Badiyar Balla Srinagar, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 273, Lane No: 5, Colonels Colony Bohri Talab Tillo Jammu. 16/7/2009
49. Sh. Bansilal Bindroo S/o Sh. Zind Lal Bindroo R/o Bage-Sunder Bala Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 30, Mishriwala Camp Jammu. 16/7/2009
50. Smt. Pushpa Wati Koul W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Koul of Batapora Shopian Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 29, Lane-2, Block-D, Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 16/7/2009
51. Sh. Surinder Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Hirday Nath Tickoo resident of H.No: 32, Sector-I, Phase-IIInd, JDA Colony Bantalab Jammu originally residednt of RN Mandir Habbakadal Sgr. 18/7/2009
52. Sh. Arjan Nath Thaploo S/o Late Sh. Srikanth Thaploo R/o Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 34, Lane No: 7, Church Road Muthi Jammu. 18/7/2009
53. Smt. Sham Rani Koul W/o Late Sh. Jagar Nath Koul originally resident of Balhama Kashmir, presently residing at H.No: 103, Sector-I, Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 19/7/2009
54. Sh. Prithvi Nath Kaul S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Kaul R/o Mastgarh Jammu presently residing at C-581, Sarita Vihar New Delhi. 19/7/2009
55. Sh. Rajesh Raina S/o Sh. Piaray Lal Raina originally resident of Bage Sunder Balla Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at 668, Vikram Nagar, Rehari Colony Jammu. 19/7/2009
56. Sh. Amar Nath Pandit S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Pandit originally resident of Gund Jaffer, Vessu Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Muthi Camp, Phase-IIInd Jammu. 20/7/2009
57. Smt. Shanta Miskeen W/o Late Sh. Badri Nath Miskeen resident of 129, Malpura Habbakadal, presently residing at H.No: 154/1, EWS Colony Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 20/7/2009
58. Smt. Parmeshori Ganjoo W/o Dr. C.L. Ganjoo originally resident of Habbakdal Sgr; presently residing at USA. 20/7/2009
59. Sh. Rattan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat R/o Chudrigund Shopian Kmr. 20/7/2009
60. Dr. Bansilal Raina S/o Late Sh. Nath Ji Raina originally R/o Karan Nagar Sgr; presently resident of Nagpur. 20/7/2009
61. Smt. Jai Kishori Raina W/o Late Sh. NN Raina R/o 312-A, Prem Nagar, New Plot Jammu. 21/7/2009
62. Sh Pyaree Lal Koul (Adocate) R/o 370-D, J&K Pocket Dishad Garden Delhi. 21/7/2009
63. Smt. Shanta Ganju W/o Late Sh. Bushan Lal Ganju R/o Kongposh Colony Jain Nagar Delhi. 21/7/2009
64. Sh. Manohar Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Koul originally resident of Ujar Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No:61, Sec-1, JDA Colony, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 22/7/2009
65. Sh. Kesho Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Raghav Ram Bhat R/o 70, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently residing at 2/129 Shant Nagar Old Janipur Jammu. 22/7/2009
66. Sh. Satish Kumar Lala S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Lala R/o Shielteng Habbakadal Sgr. 22/7/2009
67. Smt. Kamlawati Bhatt W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Bhat R/o Wachi Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at Daya Bagh Dhar Road, Udhampur. 22/7/2009
68. Smt. Shanta Pandita W/o Late Sh. Vishwa Nath Pandita R/o Wakura Ganderbal Kmr; presently residing at Lane No: 1, Suryawanshi Nagar Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 23/7/2009
69. Sh. Chaman Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Raina originally resident of Wanigam Tangmarg Kmr; presently residing at JK Colony, Behind BSF Campus, Paloura Top Jammu. 24/7/2009
70. Akriti Koul D/o Sh. T.N. Koul erstwhile resident of Tailwani Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of 17-M, Police Colony, Channi Himmat Jammu. 24/7/2009
71. Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat S/o Laqte Sh. Vishnu Pandit of Chowdhry Gund Shopian, Kmr. 24/7/2009
72. Pt. Niranjana Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Kanth Joo Bhatt of Reshipeer Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of Sector-A/1 Laxmi Puram Chinore Jammu. 25/7/2009
73. Sh. Bansilal Koul S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul resident of Munshichak Gole Gujral Jammu. 25/7/2009
74. Sh. Chuni Lal Tufchi R/o Drabiyar, Habbakadal, Sgr; presently residing at 56-2A, Roop Nagar Enclave, Block-A, Jammu. 25/7/2009
75. Sh. Jawahar Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Rugb Nath Koul originally resident of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 167-B, DDA Flats, Jill Mill Enclaves Vivek Vihar Delhi. 25/7/2009
76. Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Anand Ram Pandita R/o Khargund, Drugmulla Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 31/A, Lane No: 4, Bharat Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 26/7/2009
77. Sh. Ashok Kumar Koul S/o Late Sh. Soom Nath Koul originally resident of Old Post Office, Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at JKTD Qtrs. Katra Jammu. 26/7/2009
78. Smt. Laxmi Dhar W/o Sh. Dina Nath Dhar formerly resident of C-47, Badshah Nagar Natipora Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 126, Lane-2, Saraswati Vihar, Tomal Bohri. 26/7/2009
79. Smt Kamlawati W/o Late Dr. Maheshwar Nath Bhat originally resident of Hari (Ganeshbal) Tral, Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 26, Lane-1, Adarsh Nagar Banatalab Jammu. 27/7/2009
80. Sh. Tika Lal Pandita S/o Late Sh. Govind Ram Pandita R/o 204-B, Colone's Coony Talab Tiloo Jammu. 27/7/2009
81. Smt. Chandamali Mawa W/o Late Nand Lal Mawa of Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 137, Lane No: 1 Anupam Gardens Sainik Farms New Delhi. 27/7/2009
82. Sh. Hirday Nath Tickoo S/o Late Gopi Nath Tickoo R/o Shallakadal Sgr; presently residing at 145 Lower Laxmi Nagar, Justice Bhat Lane Sarwal Jammu. 28/7/2009
83. Smt. Mother Dedi W/o Late Sh. Vishambar Nath originally resident of Chowgam Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 165, Lane-2, Roop Nagar, Block-A, Jammu. 29/7/2009
84. Sh. Niranjana Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Ramnath Raina of Hanand Chawalgam, Kulgam Kmr presdiently residing at H.No: 10/A Sector-6, Jawala Ji Colony Gangyal Jammu. 29/7/2009
85. Sh. Umesh Bangroo S/o Late Sh. Anand Ji Bangroo originally resident of Sathu Barbarshah Sgr; presently residing at TRT, Block-L, Qtr. No: 26 Nagrota Jammu. 29/7/2009
86. Sh. O.N. Koul (Abhay) originally resident of Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 153, Sector-3, Faridabad. 29/7/2009
87. Smt. Asha Jallali W/o Sh. Hari Krishen Jallali R/o 5/1 Upper Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu presently resident of H.No: 3224, Sector-32-A, Urban Estate Chandigarh. 29/7/2009
88. Smt. Roopawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Vesh Nath Bhat R/o Darbagh Harwan Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 26, Lane-5, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 30/7/2009

Editorial

Threshold of tolerance  
Correcting Perspective

**P**UNE blasts have brought to the fore the glaring contradictions of the perspective of the Government of India on National Security. Immediately after the blasts the concerned quarters in Government of India started a concerted campaign of diversion to prevent the derailment of its forthcoming dialogue with Pakistan. No time was wasted in concluding that the attack was an act of Indian Mujahideen from within India, even without a comprehensive investigation. Although many security experts opined that the attack had a typical texture and hue which the ISI or LeT operations have, yet Government of India went with a politically expedient premise.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan had claimed that it was India which was seeking for a dialogue and not Pakistan. He virtually presented a scenario in which India had no choice but to come to the table and continue the dialogue process inspite of terrorism conducted and orchestrated from the soil of Pakistan.

Indian Diplomatic response to Pune blasts, like many other such acts after the Islamabad declaration which Vajpayee Government claimed to be a high achievement of its diplomacy, have once again underlined that terrorism and dialogue have to go hand in hand. Indian claim of not talking under the shadow of terrorist blackmail has once again been put to abject ridicule.

Robert Gates, the Defence Secretary of Government of USA, must be eating his words when he claimed in India that Indian restraint against Pakistan was not unlimited. He must have based his conclusions on unequivocal statements by none other than Union Home Minister, many times in recent past, that India will strike back in case of a repetition of 26/11.

The Union Home Minister has also suffered a setback to his prestige after Pune blast because Government of India has responded in the same way as it has done to so many gruesome Jihadi terrorist assaults during more than last two decades.

India always appealed in the international fora for a comprehensive delegitimisation of Terrorism whatever its motivation and value basis. Yet India has continuously legitimised terrorism by engaging with it and according it political legitimacy. India has always wanted the West and USA to recognise Pakistan as the main epicentre of international terrorism and pleaded to declare it as a rogue state. Yet India has never discontinued the most favoured nation status to Pakistan.

India has always held that all terrorism is same and cannot be compartmentalised. Yet India has always differentiated between indigenous terrorism and Pakistan based terrorism, between the terrorism of JKLF and Hizbul Mujahideen, between the terrorism of LeT and Hizbul Mujahideen or Indian Mujahideen. These contradictions and the brazen display of diplomacy of mendicancy has put India in a very weak position if it decides to continue its ongoing dialogue with Pakistan. India has responded to Jihadi terrorism by dissolving its threshold of tolerance. There is no perspective of deterrence and hence no effective doctrine of defeating terrorism.

It is high time the Indian State resolves the contradictions in its National Security doctrine. If Indian state wants the International Community to take its resolve on tackling terrorism seriously then it has to cultivate a consistency in its outlook. It is also imperative that India clearly declares its threshold of tolerance and demonstrates a firm commitment to adhere to it ■

Uniform desire

Sir,  
I applaud "Panun Kashmir" for its non-violent struggle for Kashmiri Pandit (Hindu) community since 1989 for Homeland.

In medieval days our ancestors had exodus freely to save their lives and faith.

Present exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in 1989 under the soul of socialism, was to save our spiritual heritage, due to steep fall in the value system in the state, when county was under commemoration of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru birth centenary, J&K was silent under uniform desire, by factions who were for or against democracy to harass

Kashmiri Hindus to leave the Valley. It is not new to me as in 1945 at Sopore (Kmr) Pt. Nehru did tell me to "Deserve first and then desire and when I did deserved, I was taken a liability.

Followers of Sheikh Mohd.

From the readers

Abdullaha, peace be to his soul, did not keep the assurance he had forwarded to Smt. Indra Gandhi Prime Minister of India, vide his letter on 11/2/1975.

Under Congress-PDP coalition, spiritual discipline of Accountability was annihilated and under Congress-

NC coalitions, lines appeared on 16 January 2009 in Daily Excelsior like "Jammu and Kashmir has the dubious distinction of being the second corrupt state in the country and can not become an honest State overnight". As such would it not be decent for Home Minister, GoI to have commissioner for Kashmiri Pandit minority displaced to have ex-gratia relief for their torched houses or have compensation against village roads carved over their courtyards or land in their absence, or have lump sum relief, for living in rented buildings since their exodus in 1989 under compulsion.

—Shyam Lal Dhar 'Bahar'  
C/o H.No: 290, Sector-1  
Chhanni Himmat, Jammu.

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By Prof. Hari Om

# Jammu & Kashmir: Noorani worse than Justice Sageer Ahmed

**“NOTED LUMINARY”** A G Noorani has once again been given invaluable space by a magazine of repute (Frontline) to launch a scathing attack on the integrationists and plead the case of Kashmiri separatists and communalists. His latest anti-India essay is on the already-under-attack Justice Sageer Ahmed’s report on the Centre-State Relations and what his outrageous essay contains is nothing but a manifestation of his highly communal approach towards India, as also towards the former Chief Justice of India, A S Anand, former Justice of the Supreme Court of India, Justice R P Sethi, and former Jammu & Kashmir Governor, Jagmohan. It is also a scathing attack on the chairman of the fifth Working Group, Justice Sageer Ahmed.

A. G. Noorani has attacked Justice Anand because Justice Sageer Ahmed studied the Justice Anand’s book on the constitution history of Jammu & Kashmir, “drew extensively on (his) book” and based some of his recommendations on the basis of that study. Noorani criticized Justice Sageer because he based some of his recommendation on a study that opposes the autonomy demand or that rejects the idea of the state going out of the Indian constitutional framework.

A G Noorani has attacked Justice Sageer Ahmed because he not only studied Justice Anand’s anti-autonomy book and based some of his recommendation on that but also because he studied Justice R P Sethi’s book on the constitutional history of Jammu & Kashmir as well. He denounced Justice Sageer Ahmed, saying he committed a grave mistake by studying R P Sethi’s book which, like Justice Anand’s book, is also anti-autonomy or also anti-Kashmiri separatists and rank communalists. He condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because he based some of his recommendation on whom known for their “hostility to Kashmir’s autonomy”.

Jinnah in A G Noorani condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed unheard because the latter did not condemn what he shamelessly called the “Centre’s old and discredited stand” and because he did not

“censure” Jagmohan who “destroyed the state’s residuary powers”. He condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because the latter did not condemn the former Governor during whose rule in 1988 an “entry in the Union List, which did not pertain to the three items, namely, Defence, External Affairs and Communication, was extended to the State of Jammu & Kashmir” which, according to Noorani, was an “improper and illegal” act.

A. G. Noorani condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because his report is no more than “a cruel hoax on the people of Kashmir”; because he “shamed even a slippery politician” by “cowardly evading...crucial issues”; because “the quality” of the “discourse” in his report “on the Constitution (has) “disgraced” (even) an undergraduate in Law”; and because his “report provides no assistance to the political parties who cooperated with him and least of all to those who entrusted so responsible a task to him”. He condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because, according to Jinnah in him, “evasiveness permeates the report interspersed with support to the Centre’s old and discredited stand”.

A. G. Noorani denounced Justice Sageer Ahmed because the latter did not condemn New Delhi for its policy that led to the “erosion” of (the separatist and communal) Article 370; because Justice Sageer Ahmed did not condemn Jawaharlal Nehru who, on November 27, 1963, admitted in the Lok Sabha that Article 370 had been eroded, that “this process of gradual erosion of Article 370 is going on” and that “we should allow it to go on”.

He condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because the latter did not condemn Gulzari Lal Nanda who on December 4, 1964 said: “Article 370 could serve as a ‘tunnel in the wall’ between the Centre and Jammu & Kashmir to increase Central power”; because Justice Sageer Ahmed did not take cognizance of what the Jinnah in A G Noorani says “a provision” that, according to him, was “negotiated for five months (May-October 1949) to guarantee Jammu & Kashmir’s autonomy was perverted to subvert it” and, “hence, the popular protests which the unionists (read

separatists) shared”.

A. G. Noorani denounced Justice Sageer Ahmed because the latter wrote in his report that “in order to find out an answer to these questions (issues relating to Kashmir’s autonomy or Kashmir’s separation from India), it would be necessary to delve into the archives of old records which would reveal the historical and political background of Article 370 of the Constitution of India”. He condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because he did not draw extensively on the “debates in the Constituent Assembly and the Nehru-Sheikh c o r r e s p o n d e n c e , which...provides material enough”.

Noorani condemned Justice Sageer Ahmed because the chairman of the Working Group on Centre-State Relations did not condemn Justice M. Hidayatullah, who “did not refer to the earlier case (in the Supreme Court regarding Article 370 – Premnath VS. State of J&K, AIR 1959 S.C. 749 — that “ruled in favour of autonomy”—while delivering judgment on Article 370 in another case – Sampat Prakash VS. State of J&K, AIR 1970, 1118—that did not favour autonomy for Jammu & Kashmir. (Justice Hidayatullah was also on the bench that delivered the first judgment.)

Pro-separatist, pro-Pakistan and highly communal Noorani denounced Justice Sageer Ahmed because he did not condemn the Congress and its government at the Centre which did not implement the so-called 1952 Delhi agreement and the 1975 Indira Gandhi-Sheikh Abdullah accord in letter and spirit, as also because Justice Sageer Ahmed did not declare as illegal and unconstitutional the otherwise Constitutional 43 Constitution (Application to J&K) Amendment Orders issued by the President of India from time to time with the “concurrence of Jammu & Kashmir Government.

It needs to be noted that all these orders were issued under Article 370 and with the “concurrence” of the successive governments in the state, some of which were led by none other than Sheikh Abdullah and his son Farooq Abdullah. That New Delhi did not impose

any Central law on Jammu & Kashmir against the state’s will could be seen from page number 63 of April 1999 State Autonomy Committee Report – report got prepared by none other than Farooq Abdullah-led government.

The report, inter-alia, says: “Successive State Governments had in the past accorded ‘concurrence’ for various reasons...” Noorani described the State Autonomy Committee Report as “an excellently documented expose of the Centre’s abuse of Article 370”, though he also took to task those, including the present Finance Minister Abdul Rahim Rather, for “omitting the external dimension” (read the Pakistani dimension).

Jinnah in Noorani not only suppressed this important fact in order to keep the people in the dark about the role of the successive governments in the state as far as the extension of various Central laws to the state was concerned, he also did not present an accurate picture of facts about what he called the 1952 Delhi agreement, as also about the 1975 Accord. He deliberately suppressed the hard facts in order to mislead public opinion, policy-planners in New Delhi and the otherwise ever-alert media.

Jinnah in Noorani did not tell the people that there existed no such agreement as the 1952 Delhi agreement – a fact acknowledged by none other than Abdul Rahim Rather in the presence of Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah and all his Cabinet Ministers as well as almost all the MLAs, including the present political Advisor to Chief Minister Omar Abdullah, Devendra Singh Rana. A. R. Rather acknowledged this fact during a seminar on autonomy in Srinagar when this writer told all those present in the seminar, including the then Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, that there existed no such written agreement as the 1952 Delhi Agreement and that what actually existed were statements made by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Lok Sabha on July 24, 1952 and in the Rajya Sabha on August 5, 1953 and by Sheikh Abdullah in the Constituent Assembly of Jammu & Kashmir on August 11, 1952. The then Director

Information K B Jandial was also present in the seminar hall.

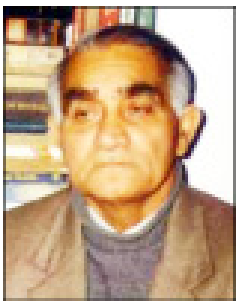
It needs to be underlined that this writer, who had been invited to participate in the seminar knowing it full well that he was bitterly opposed to the kind of autonomy the National Conference had been consistently demanding, had held out a solemn commitment that “he would start writing in favour of the National Conference and against New Delhi in case Farooq Abdullah or any other National Conference leader would oblige this writer by providing to him a copy of the signed agreement”. It was in response to this that Rather said: “Yes, there is no signed Delhi agreement and it was a mere statement” – something which really embarrassed the Chief Minister and all other National Conference Ministers and MLAs, including the then young minister Ajay Sadhotra. Praful Bidwai was then chairing the last session of the two-day-long seminar on autonomy. The situation had turned so tense when this writer was making his presentation that Bidwai had to tell Farooq Abdullah and others “you attacked Professor Hari Om from right and left for two days, now listen to him” – the presidential intervention produced the desired result.

Noorani claims that he is a leading constitutional lawyer. He also claims that whatever he writes he writes on the basis of credible and authentic information. He is a liar. He only reveals things which suit him and which are consistent with his perverted ideology and which help the separatists and communalists and suit Pakistan.

But Jinnah in Noorani not only suppressed this important aspect to mislead public opinion. He also suppressed another truth – action on the 1975 Accord.

He denounced Justice Sageer Ahmed for his failure to reflect on the implementation or otherwise of the 1975 Accord. His denunciation was ill-designed, ill-conceived and communally-motivated. He used filthy language against Justice Sageer Ahmed because he, according to him, did not condemn Indira Gandhi for the reason that her Congress party

(Contd. on Page 8)



Prof. Mohan Krishen Teng

### The nature of the failure of Indian Leadership:

**T**HE Indian leadership did not realize that the partition of India had also brought about the territorial division of India. They were unable to comprehend the importance of princely States in the determination of the territorial borders of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan, the partition of India created. The Indian National Congress, which spearheaded the struggle for Indian freedom, had long before the British decided to quit India, abandoned their commitment to the continuity of the Indian history and the civilizational frontiers of the Indian nation. Congress did so in its abortive attempt to reconcile the Indian freedom with the separate freedom that the Indian Muslims lay claim to.

It was on the instance of the Muslim League leaders that the Indian National Congress refused to integrate the States peoples' movements for the freedom of India. Had the Congress taken a bold stand and integrated the States peoples' movements in the national movement, India would not have faced the disaster that partition led to.

Even after the Indian leaders drew close to the freedom of their country based on two nation principle, they failed to recognize the significance of their national frontiers and their civilizational content. An insight into the outlook of the Indian leaders about the national frontiers of India is provided by their pronouncements in the Asian Solidarity Conference which was held in New Delhi in 1946, a year before India won freedom. Both Gandhi and Nehru reflected a complete disregard of the crucial importance the national borders had assumed with the commencement of decolonization and the emergence of new nations of the former colonial peoples. Except India, most of the newly independent nations of the former colonial peoples guarded their borders jealously.

It has been a historical reality that wherever, in Asia or Africa, the newly independent nations of the former colonial peoples lost their caution and ignored the security of their borders, foreign intervention disrupted their unity. India did not prove to be

an exception. The lack of a systematic policy framework to integrate the Indian political culture and the identification of the national unity of India with pluri-cultural and multi-national composition of Indian social organization negated the process of the national integration. That led to the subversion of the national consensus on national unity in the north-eastern states, Jammu and Kashmir and finally Punjab.

The Indian leadership did not change its outlook about the territorial integrity of India and the consolidation of its civilizational frontiers even after it assumed the reins of power in 1947. The Indian leaders refused, rather stubbornly the necessity to protect the frontiers of India, which the partition had severely impaired and which the recalcitrance of the rulers of several major princely States threatened to erode. Indian leaders failed to evolve policy plans, which underlined the unity of India and the re-integration of the Indian political culture, the consolidation of the civilizational frontiers of the Indian nation with the national borders of the Indian state and the preservation of the Sanskrit content of the cultural configurations in the border regions of the country.

### The Northern Frontiers

The Indian leaders were oblivious of the implications of the territorial divide, the partition of India had brought about, for the northern frontier of India. The Jammu and Kashmir formed the central spur of the northern frontier of India. There was none among the leaders of India who realized the importance of the Jammu and Kashmir state to the security of Himalayas, crucial for the security of whole of the north India and basic to any future balance of power in Asia.

Pakistan launched a surreptitious war of subversion in Jammu and Kashmir to undermine the stability of the State Government and its security organization, right from the day that country was brought into being on 14 August 1947. Within days Pakistan cut off rail and road communications with the State and stopped the transit of all essential supplies to the State. By the beginning of September 1947, Pakistan had begun to smuggle arms and ammunition into the Muslim majority border districts of the Jammu province to foment an armed uprising against the State Government. And by the end of September 1947, the

border districts of Jammu province were embroiled in a civil war.

The Government of India was not unaware of the developments in the State. However, it did not act till Pakistan launched a full fledged invasion of the State on 22 October 1947. Led by Tochi Scouts, a part of the mechanized troops of the Pakistan army, the invading forces could reach Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir in a day. The dogged resistance of the state army kept the invading columns at bay till 26 October 1947. The airborne troops of the Indian army reached Srinagar on the morning of 27 October 1947, five long days after the invading hordes had swooped on the border township of Muzaffarabad. The advance columns of the First Sikh Regiment of the Indian army established contact with the invading forces while the latter were advancing to invest Srinagar. Not many of the soldiers of the First Sikh, who went into action that day, returned home.

The Indian leaders faltered once again. No measures were taken to ensure the defense of the frontier division of Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, and the Gilgit Agency along with the Dardic dependencies of the State, including the strategically important Dardic principalities of Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, Ishkoman, Koh Gizir and Darel. Before the British quit India, the Gilgit Agency was fortified by the British and was garrisoned by the Gilgit Scouts, a military force raised by the British from the local Shiate Muslim population of Gilgit and commanded by British officers. The administrative and military control over Gilgit Agency was transferred to the government of Jammu and Kashmir when the British left. There was an air strip in Gilgit over which the Dakota planes, which carried troops to Srinagar, could have safely landed. Gilgit stood on the precipice for four days. Finally the Gilgit Scouts mutined, took the Governor of Gilgit prisoner, and declared accession of the Gilgit Agency to Pakistan. On October 1, 1947, airborne troops of Pakistan army landed in Gilgit. The Muslim officers and ranks of the State army posted at Bunji in Baltistan also mutined and killed their Hindu and Sikh officers and comrades in arms. As the invading armies began to spread across Baltistan, the remnants of the State army and civil police, Hindu and

Sikh survivors and the elements of local Buddhist population regrouped to organize resistance against them, which eventually saved Kargil and Ladakh for India, till the Indian army scrambled up the Zojilla Pass to join them.

After the cease-fire in 1949, Pakistan consolidated its hold on the territories of the State, which remained under its occupation and which included the Muslim majority district of Muzaffarabad, and a part of the Baramulla district in the province of Kashmir, the district of Mirpur and a part of Poonch in the Jammu province, the whole of Baltistan, Gilgit and Gilgit Agency along with the Dardic tribal dependencies of the State. Pakistan refused to implement its commitments on the withdrawal of the invading army from the occupied territories and instituted a local government, known as Azad Kashmir Government, to administer them. Pakistan raised a Muslim militia of more than thirty thousand men from among the "Muslim deserters of the Dogra army, Muslim ex-servicemen of Mirpur, Poonch and Sudhunti, who had been demobilized from the British Imperial Troops of India after the end of the second World War and recruits from the adjoining districts of Pakistan, who had brought up the rear of the invasion into the State and tasted blood and booty in their adventure". In less than a year the occupied territories were turned into a springboard for a Jihad to liberate the part of the State on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire line from the Indian hold.

Pakistan followed a different strategy in respect of the frontier division of the State, which remained under its occupation. It integrated the Gilgit Agency, Gilgit and Baltistan along with the Dardic dependencies of the State into a separate administrative region, which was placed under the direct control of the Government of Pakistan. Right from 1954, when Pakistan joined the Anglo-American-Muslim alliance system for the containment of Communism, the Northern Regions were fortified into a most formidable military outpost of the Cold War in Asia. As the Cold War receded with the disintegration of the Soviet power, the Northern Regions formed an important centre of the struggle for the rise of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan.

### Territorial Dispute

The invasion of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947 had territorial

objectives. The Jihad, Pakistan has been waging against India in Jammu and Kashmir ever since, is also aimed to achieve territorial objectives. After having swallowed more than one-third of the territories of the State, Pakistan seeks to grab the part of the State on the Indian side of the Cease-Fire Line. The annexation of whole of State of Jammu and Kashmir or the critical portions of it will open the way for the eastward expansion of the Muslim power of Pakistan into the north of India and the demolition of the northern frontier of India. This will enable Pakistan to extend its hold over the Himalayas, which it is frantically craving, to exclude India from any future balance of power in Asia.

Pakistan has already encircled northern India into a pincer-hold of its strategic alliances: the Anglo-American-Pakistan alliance and the Sino-Pakistan axis, both aimed at the reduction of the Sanskrit culture of the Himalayas. The pronouncements of the American President, Barrack Obama during his recent visit to China, indicate the extent of isolation, India has been pushed into.

The dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, between India and Pakistan, is a territorial dispute. Pakistan has succeeded in steering 'peace process' between the two countries to facilitate its territorial gains. Even the Musharraf proposals, which the Indian leaders claim to be a blue-print of a non-territorial settlement, have a territorial content. The most significant territorial stipulation of the Musharraf proposals is the separation of the Muslim majority regions from the Hindu majority regions of the state, situated to the east of river Chinab and the recognition of the Jammu and Kashmir State on the Indian Side as a 'sphere of Muslim interests' in India.

The Congress leaders accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan which envisaged a non-territorial settlement of the Muslim demand for the territorial division of India, in the hope of retaining the unity of India. The Cabinet Mission Plan in essence envisaged a Muslim State within a united India. The Cabinet Mission Plan was ingeniously designed by the British on the advice of the Muslim leaders of the Indian National Congress. The Plan lead straight to the division of India, when the Muslim League repudiated it on the issue of the princely states. However, had the Plan been

(Contd. on Page 14)





By Prof. M.L. Koul

**T**HE Doctrine of **Pratyabhijjna** is a highly significant development in the theory and practice of Kashmir Shaivism. It is neither a school of Kashmir Shaivism nor is it a sub-trend within its matrix. The philosophisation of the vision of Agamas became apparent in the seminal work of Shiva-Sutra authored by Vasugupta, a sage and thinker. The Doctrine of Pratyabhijjna graduates the philosophical vision of Acarya Vasugupta to the stature of philosophy proper. How **Pratyabhijjna** expounded and interpreted the theory and practice of Kashmir Shaivism came to be the essential philosophy of it. It posed philosophical issues, formulated and conceptualised them, forged a system based on required building blocks and used logic to gell and cement the system. It is apt to say that if Kashmir Shaivism is a system of thought, it is because of the rational approach of **Pratyabhijjna** to the issues of theory and practice as expounded by Kashmir Shaivism.

**Pratyabhijjna** epitomises the full thesis of Kashmir Shaivism, its architectonics and architecture and logical exploration of that area of knowledge that subordinates empirical and theoretical learning to the cognition of identity with consciousness supreme or Shiva. Being the Central philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism, it is imprinted with the semantics of a man attaining pratyabhijjna (recognition) of his real identity. Oft-quoted upanishadic 'Maha-Vakyas (great sentences) carry a ring of **'Pratyabhijjna'** hall-marking the identity of man with Brahman, the ultimate reality. 'I am Brahman' (*aham brahmosmi*), 'Thou art that' (*tat twam asi*) & "This self is Brahman" (*ayam atma brahma*) explicitly reveal the identity of self with Brahman. The upanishads are replete with such maha-vakyas (great sentences) which Shaivite scholars of Kashmir and Varanasi acknowledge as **'pratyabhijjna maha-vakayas'**.

The word **'pratyabhijjna'** with its morphological variations travelled to Kalidas, 5th century poet and dramatist, who crafted an epoch-making drama titled as 'Abhijnan Shakuntalam'. The word 'abhijnan' fascinated a scholar

## Pratybhijjna-From Scriptures to Kashmir Shaivism to Lalla Ded Vakh

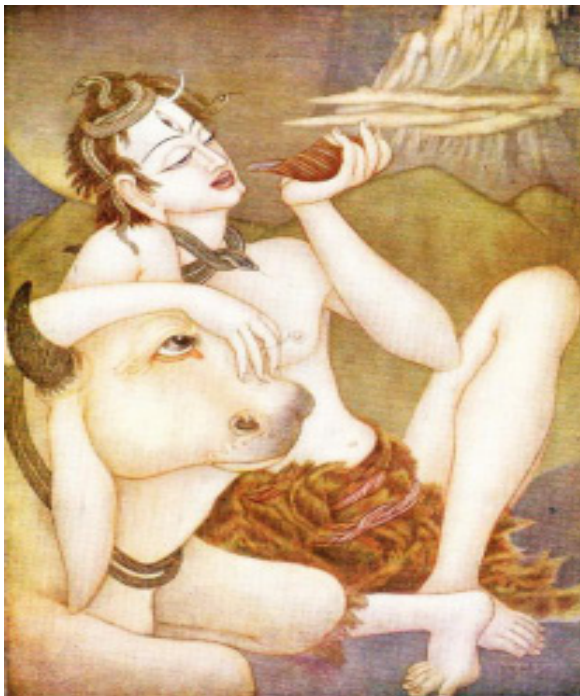
like Dr. Laxmidhar who went whole hog to interpret it as **'pratyabhijjna'**. In his doctoral thesis, the Birthplace of Kalidas, the learned writer opines that 'Abhijnan Shakuntalam' is 'the allegorical representation of the philosophy of **pratyabhijjna'**. In elaboration of his thesis he states that Dushyant, hero of the drama, represents Shiva and Shakuntla, heroine of the drama, represents Shakti. The ring, which is a motif of love, used as a dramatic device is the cause that reminds Dushyant of his marriage to Shakuntala. The same is interpreted by Dr. Laxmidhar as Kalidasa's profound knowledge of the Pratyabhijjna Doctrine central to the philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism.

The conclusive thesis of Dr. Laxmidhar that the Doctrine of Pratyabhijjna had gained wide currency in the times of Kalidas, 5th century A.D., is not historically credible. The galaxy of scholars from Kashmir led by Swami Laxman Joo Maharaja, Dr. Balji Nath Pandit and Prof. Nila Kanth Gurtu are on terra firma of history when they place Acarya Vasugupta in the second half of 8th Century A.D. It was his pupil, Siddha Somanand, 9th century A.D. who was the first philosopher of Kashmir Shaivism to conceptualise the seminal idea of **'pratyabhijjna'** in his theoretical work titled **'Sivadrshiti'**. Siddha Somanand, a seer of tremendous erudition, had received the idea of 'pratyabhijjna' as a legacy from the vibrant Vedantic and Epic sources. It was his feat of genius that he invested the word **'pratyabhijjna'** with a lofty philosophical meaning that gradually morphed as the sublime theme of Kashmir Shaivism at the hands of philosophical seers like Acarya Utpaldev, Acarya Abhinavagupta and a host of their successors in due line of the same tradition.

Besides vedantic and epic sources, Siddha Somanand, was also aware of the Pali version of the lexical word **'Pratyabhijjna'** as 'Paccabhinna' littered over the Buddhist philosophies that dominated the intellectual landscape of Kashmir for a better part of its history. In the Buddhist lexicon the word 'paccabhinna' denotes conceptual knowledge that is recognised through the tool of a sign, symbol or motif. Possessed of an acumen and discernment of a great theoretician Siddha Somanand treated the Buddhist philosophies incisively and critically with a view to laying the foundation of Kashmir Shaivism indubitably non-dual. Logic is Sidha Somanand's excellence. It is manifest from the

conceptualisations and formulations that he has ably framed in his philosophical manual called 'Sivadrshiti'. In the annals of Kashmir Shaivism Siddha Somanand has earned tremendous appreciation and recognition as a logician and rationalist par excellence. His approach and premisses have always been preferred to the mystical treatment that Ksemaraj, a worthy pupil of Bhagwan Abhinavagupta, has given to

**Pratyabhijjna-Karika** is his principal work on the theme of Pratyabhijjna. Written in an aphoristic style he commented on his own 'Karikas' with a view to explaining and clarifying his concepts and 'seed ideas'. This work known as 'Vritti', a commentary, is lost in the holocaust wrought by foreign Sufi-Sayyids on the natives of Kashmir. 'Siddhitrayi', a trilogy of treatises on philosophical issues like 'relation', 'time and



the philosophical issues of Kashmir Shaivism. That is why the vibrant Shaiva tradition of Kashmir has not lent much of credence to his work titled **'Pratyabhijjna Hridayam'** as a work on Pratyabhijjna and its essential theme.

In his ardent quest of source-materials that led to the evolutionary development of the theme of Pratyabhijjna Dr Laxmi Dhar aptly quotes verses from the Nilamatapurana that amply establish the Pratyabhijjna theme, if not in a philosophical sense, but in a sense that appears akin to the theme of Pratyabhijjna. In his doctoral thesis 'The Doctrine of Recognition' Dr. RK Kaw has quoted verses in full from the text of Nilamata purana and has aptly evaluated them as 'seed ideas' that served the philosophical fare of Siddha Somanand who transformed them into a full-fledged concept that shaped the whole course of future development in the domain of Kashmir Shaivism.

The high-ranking philosopher of the Doctrine of Pratyabhijjna is Acarya utpaldeva, the celebrated pupil of Siddha Somanand, who deftly built a coherent architecture on the substratum of the doctrine originally conceptualised by his preceptor **Ishvar**

space' and 'Sankhya as a thought model' is a philosophical work highlighting the 'Pratyabhijjna' perspective.

Acarya Utpaldeva is a philosopher, logician and incisive critic of prevalent philosophical systems. He raises issues philosophical, debates theme thread-bare and architects a theoretical structure where in all categories of thought are cogently synergised. As a seer of exemplary erudition he had comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the Buddhist schools of philosophy, vedantic model of thought, Sankhya and other materialist philosophies. Kashmir Shaivism is a system of thought because of the brilliance of Acarya Utpaldeva as a philosopher having skills in methodologies of debating issues on logical and analytical lines.

In his doctoral thesis 'The Doctrine of Pratyabhijjna' Dr. RK Kaw is all plaudites for Acarya Utpaldeva for his remarkable originality of 'systematising the philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism' which in essentials is the Pratyabhijjna Doctrine.

In his brilliant introduction to the masterly work of Bhagwan Abhinavagupta, Ishavar Pratyabhijjna Vimarsini, Pt. Madhusudan Koul, the then Director of Research Department, J&K

Government, writes, 'the object of Utpaldeva was, first, to canonise the new system of Shaiva monism and to establish it on philosophical lines, second, to check the Buddhist in-roads levelled against it and lastly, to popularise the system as superior to the other prevailing systems of philosophy'.

The Pratyabhijjna Doctrine would not have acquired heightened philosophical finesse and sophistication had Bhagwan Abhinavagupta, the doyen of Kashmir Shaiva thought, not expounded it with his scintillating philosophical insight and sagacity. His two commentaries on the Pratyabhijjna philosophy are outstanding contributions to the domain of philosophy in general and to the domain of Pratyabhijjna philosophy in particular. In his 'Laghu Vimarsini' he dwelt on the semantics of Pratyabhijjna and spelt it out to make it understandable to averages. But, in his 'Brahati Vimarsini' he explained and clarified the vital concepts and formulations which Acarya Utpaldeva had neatly delineated on his own 'Karikas', styled in aphorisms, about the Doctrine of Pratyabhijjna.

A long line of Acaryas in the un-interrupted tradition of Kashmir Shaivism enriched and reinforced the conceptual frame of Pratyabhijjna philosophy through their scholarly works, and elaborate commentaries on the theory and praxis of the Pratyabhijjna philosophy. New concepts were framed, old ones were subjected to revaluation and re-appraisal and new dimensions were added to the main philosophy of Pratyabhijjna. The theoretical frame was made more comprehensive and cohesive and empirical segment of the Pratyabhijjna philosophy was given a new orientation and thrust. The Acaryas who in deed and word were men of form divine included well-known seers like Ksemaraj, Yogaraj, Jayarath, Sivopadyaya and Bhaskaracarya. The list would remain incomplete if the name of Swami Laxmanjoo Maharaj is not mentioned. His immense contribution to Pratyabhijjna philosophy and its wide propagation deserves separate study and appreciation.

**Acarya Somanand on Pratyabhijjna**

In Sivadrsti Acarya Somanand refers to the concept of Pratyabhijjna as 'a simultaneous act of perceiving some aspects of a thing and remembering all aspects of it in totality as perceived or cognised in the past' (V 118-120). He morphs the same statement to the level of philosophy for recognition of Supreme Reality of Shiva, the im-

manence of whom is within the grasp of every ordinary individual. But, the other attributes of Shiva like His omniscience and omnipotence are not within the range of his experience because of the limitations that wrap his being. But, he has heard about these attributes of Shiva from many others within the orbit of his contact who are well-versed in the corpus of scriptures. So, his memory retains impressions of Shiva's inherent attribute of Shiva through his random observations in the world he comes to remember other attributes of Shiva that are already implanted on his memory plate. In Pratyabhijjna two simultaneous acts of direct perception and remembrance are integrated and unified. Says Acarya Somanand-

**tasmat samgraha ekya vastu shaivam vyavasthitam tatha sumran yogat cha samaryate kim tathavidham yadrk drashtam drashtata syat athwa jnanam etat drsta sumanyoke stihe tad-uppadyate tatha sa prabyabhijinat sa eva ayam iti sithiti ( S i v a d r s h t i ) Acarya Utpaldeva on Pratyabhijjna**

In the second and third **karikas of Ishvar Pratyabhijjna Karika Acarya utpaldeva** controverts the polemics of his critic who is critical of Pratyabhijjna thought by informing him that **Maheshvar** (Lord) has the absolute sovereign powers of cognition and action and is in no need of proofs (pramanas) to establish His being as such. But, a Jiva, who is Shiva only, has forgotten his intrinsic powers of freedom to cognise and act because of delusion (moha-vashat). Pratyabhijjna is to realise his inherent powers of cognition and action which otherwise he has forgotten and thus are dormant or unrealised. writes Acarya Utpaldeva--

**Kartari Jnatari sia-atmanya adi sidhe mahesvare**

**ajadatma nishedham va siddhim va viddeht kah kintu moha-vashat drshte anuplakshyate shakhtya avishkarnen iyam pratyabhijjna updashyate**

Karikas-2 & 3 IPK **Bhagwean Abhinavagupta on Pratyabhijjna** Bhagwan Abhinavagupta delineates **'Pratyabhijjna as Maheshwar** (sovereign Lord becoming) manifest now as it was always so before.'

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# Jammu & Kashmir: Noorani worse than Justice Sageer Ahmed

(From Page 4)

withdrew support to the Sheikh Abdullah-led government in 1977. The Congress party withdrew support to the Sheikh Abdullah-led government because the Sheikh had been indulging in anti-national and communal activities.

It bears recalling that Indira Gandhi had handed over to Sheikh Abdullah the State Government on a platter in 1975 itself under the 1975 Accord much against the wishes of the local unit of the Congress party. She took this extraordinary step despite the fact that the Sheikh was neither a member of the Legislative Assembly nor of the Legislative Council. Nor his unpopular and virtually non-existent Plebiscite Front had even a single member in either of the two houses that time.

Jinnah in Noorani should have denounced the National Conference leaders and the Farooq Abdullah-appointed members of the State Autonomy Committee because they did not even once in their 180-page report used the words Indira Gandhi-Sheikh Abdullah Accord of 1975. Noorani should have also taken the members of the State Autonomy Committee to task for the reason that they did not even once in their lengthy report refer to the appointment by Sheikh Abdullah a high-powered three-member Cabinet sub-committee under clause 3 of the 1975 Accord. The task of this Cabinet sub-committee was to look into the implications of the Central laws extended to the state between August 9, 1953 and February 1975 and recommend withdrawal of those Central laws which, in their opinion, were considered harmful for the state's special status.

Clause 3 of the 1975 Accord read: "Where any provision of the Constitution of India had been applied to the State of Jammu & Kashmir with adaptations and modifications, such adaptations and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the President under Article 370, each individual proposal in this behalf being considered on its merits; but the provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the State of Jammu & Kashmir without adaptations or modifications are unalterable".

It would be only prudent to reproduce here what the State Autonomy Committee report says about the 1975 Accord and the recommendations of the three-member Cabinet sub-committee but without actually naming them. The report says: "During the negotiations, an agonizing reappraisal of the

sordid events of 1953 (the Sheikh was dismissed and arrested on August 9, 1953 under the charge of sedition) and onwards up to 1975 — a long period of 22 years was undertaken. There were people who advocated that not only must the clock be turned back but it might be necessary to replace it if the purpose was to stem the rot that had set in after the arrest of Sheikh Sahib" (Autonomy Committee Report, p. 45).

It is also important to note that the Cabinet sub-committee, which was headed by Deputy Chief Minister D. D. Thakur, had submitted two contradictory reports. One report was submitted by Thakur. The other was submitted by the Sheikh's son-in-law G. M. Shah and Ghulam Nabi Kochak. The Thakur report recommended that no Central law should be withdrawn because all the Central laws had benefited the people of the state. "Needles of the clock cannot be turned back" was the upshot of his whole argument. On the contrary, the two members had recommended wholesale withdrawal of the Central laws and institutions on the ground that the extension of the Central laws to the state had deprived it of the special status it enjoyed under Article 370.

It may appear unbelievable but it is a fact that the Sheikh, himself an ardent believer in the concept of greater autonomy, virtually bordering on sovereignty, accepted the Thakur report in full.

That was the reason the members of the State Autonomy Committee did not refer to the 1975 Accord and the three-member Cabinet sub-committee and its contradictory reports. They did it deliberately to mislead public opinion and policy-planners in New Delhi and strengthen their case for greater autonomy overlooking the fact that there were, and are, people who knew everything. Jinnah in Noorani also adopted a similar approach for the same purpose. Had he, like the National Conference, revealed the truth or presented an accurate picture of facts, he would not have the audacity to once again demand greater autonomy or the Kashmir's separation. In other words, he, like the National Conference leaders, is a liar and bluffer. These are not polite words but this writer has no other words in the dictionary to use for this man, who has been denouncing India and its attitude towards Kashmir, particularly since 1954.

Jinnah in Noorani went berserk while denouncing Justice Sageer Ahmed. That he

lost his balance of mind and went beyond the confines of the laws that deal with the constitution of constituent assembly and its functions could be seen for his silly statement that New Delhi could not extend a single Central law after the Jammu & Kashmir Constituent Assembly adopted a new Jammu & Kashmir Constitution and after the said constituent assembly ceased to exist.

And, on whose assertion he based his laughable and childish formulation? He based his irrational and highly illogical formulation on the arguments advanced by the members of the State Autonomy Committee, particularly Abdul Rahim Rather, a lawyer. It was on that basis that Jinnah in Noorani lambasted Justice Sageer Ahmed, writing that he "surely knows that the government's power to accord concurrence was subject to ratification by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu & Kashmir as Clause (2) of Article 370 makes clear and both Gopalaswami Ayyangar (in-charge Kashmir affairs and architect of Article 370) and Sheikh Abdullah emphasized" and that "on page 16 of Justice Sageer Ahmed's report) he (Justice Sageer Ahmed) himself records A. R. Rather's unanswerable argument that the government's power to accord concurrence ended once the State's Constituent Assembly met in 1951 and the Assembly's ratificatory authority ended on its dissolution in 1956".

While making such ridiculous and laughable statements in his seditious essay on Justice Sageer Ahmed, Jinnah in Noorani forgot that constituent assembly is not a permanent institution and that it ceases to function the moment it prepares and adopts a constitution. After the adoption of constitution, it is the assembly/parliament or a similar institution that exercises the amending powers. Take, for example, the Indian Constituent Assembly. It prepared and adopted a constitution, which was enforced on January 26, 1951. After it was adopted and implemented, the Parliament amended the Indian Constitution more than 95 times taking into consideration the needs of the people and exigencies of the time.

Did anybody anytime during all these years of the application of the Indian Constitution even once question any of the these amendments saying that it was the prerogative of the Indian

Constituent Assembly to give or not to give its concurrence? No. Because the Indian law-makers, unlike A. G. Noorani, were, and are, not fool. They know the functions of constituent assembly and they also know the functions and powers of the Parliament and the Assembly, which are supreme law-making bodies.

Noorani, undoubtedly, made a fool of himself by taking a cue from Abdul Rahim Rather and suggesting something that has never happened in the constitutional history of the world. But his compulsion was that he could not take a rational view because it didn't fit in his separatist ideology.

But Jinnah in Noorani not just became a laughing stock and an object of ridicule by saying that Jammu & Kashmir Legislature didn't have the power to endorse the extension of any Central law to the state. He became an object of contempt and ridicule by terming as "unionists" the Kashmir-based National Conference, People's Democratic Party and Congress leaders, including Abdul Rahim Rather of National Conference, Muzaffar Hussain Baig of People's Democratic Party and Saif-ud-Din Soz of Congress party as well. They were also members of the Working group on Centre-State Relations.

Are the likes of Rather, Baig and Soz "unionists"? No. They are not. While A. R. rather and his party stand for greater autonomy or for a dispensation outside the constitutional framework of India or, to be more exact, for semi-independence, Baig and his party stand not only for the state's quasi-independence but it also vouches for a mechanism that makes Jammu & Kashmir an independent economic zone; that introduces in the state dual currency (Indian and Pakistani currency); that renders the borders irrelevant and porous; that demilitarizes Jammu & Kashmir; that keeps the state out of the purview of any anti-terror laws; that empowers Pakistan to exercise co-equal powers with India in the Indian Jammu & Kashmir (sharing of sovereignty or intra-state measures); and that practically severs all the relations between the state and New Delhi.

To suggest that JKPC chief Saif-ud-Din Soz is also a "unionist" would be a cruel joke of the 21st century. Though he has been in the Congress party since 1998, he has at no point of time during all these years talked of the state's full merger with India. In fact, he has been consistently airing views which are more or less similar to the ones being consistently held by the National Conference and

the people's Democratic Party leaders. He has on occasions more than once publicly expressed himself in favour of autonomy and has even gone to the extent of saying that there is no harm if the self-rule doctrine is also considered. Besides, it is known to everyone that he — apart from another Kashmir-based Congress leader and MLC Abdul Ghani Vakil — is the only Congress leader in Jammu & Kashmir who has openly and unambiguously welcomed the Justice Sageer Ahmed report.

Yes, Rather, Baig and Soz are "unionists", Noorani-style. It is a different story that the Congress high command has not taken any cognizance of what the JKPC president has been saying and doing in Jammu & Kashmir to strengthen those demanding autonomy, self-rule, and even freedom from India. It appears that the Congress, like the BJP, has made up its mind to ensure Kashmir's separation from India and give dangerous respectability to the politics based on the pernicious and archaic two-nation theory. How else should one interpret the indifferent attitude of the Congress high command and the Congress-led UPA Government to the activities of the JKPC president?

What exactly does Jinnah in Noorani want? Noorani, who did not write a single word on the age-old complaint in Jammu and Ladakh that these two historically, ethnically, geographically, economically, culturally and politically distinct regions have been consistently discriminated against, as also on the issues related to the refugees from West Pakistan and internally-displaced Kashmiri Hindus, refugees from Pakistan-occupied-Jammu & Kashmir (POJK) and border migrants of 1965 and 1971 as well as the issues confronting the extremely backward Gujjar and Bakerwal Muslims, wants the withdrawal of all the Central laws and institutions extended to Jammu & Kashmir after August 9, 1953.

He wants everyone to condemn Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Gulzari Lal Nanda, Justice A. S. Anand, Justice R. P. Sethi, Justice Hidayatullah, former Governor Jagmohan and everyone, barring the National Conference, the People's Democratic Party and the Kashmir-based Congress leaders. Why because all of them contributed to the process of erosion of Article 370; because all of them subverted Article 370 in order to "erode" the "unique identity of Kashmiri Muslims; because

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# The new phenomenon-Agitational Terrorism in Kashmir

By Ajaat Jamwal

VERY few analysts on Kashmir appear to have taken public notice of the statement of GOC-in-C of Northern Command Lt. Gen. B S Jaswal when he described the present separatist campaign in the Kashmir Valley as “agitational Terrorism”. The conceptual perspective behind this formulation has not been elaborated by the Army top Brass publicly so far. But enough evidence exists on the ground where we are witnessing the graduation of the terrorist war into a more comprehensive assault on the sovereignty of the country where public mobilization campaigns are being harnessed to compliment the calibrated terrorist violence on the ground.

The special Director General CRPF J&K Zone N K Tripathi on February 3, 2010 was candid enough to underline how the Terrorist regimes operating on the ground in the state are crafting Public demonstrations and protests and using them in conjunction with focused violence. Mr Tripathi confided that Pakistan and its secret agencies have been hiring people in Kashmir for stone pelting on security forces. “Our officers have told us that stone throwers are being paid money. All of us know where from the money is coming. Pakistan and its security agencies having failed in sustaining the militancy and have adopted new technique of stoning us. But, we will face this new threat.”. To a question as to whether Hawala money is being circulated for stone pelting, Mr Tripathi said: “perpetrators of the militancy have evolved several ways for funding and Hawala is, of course, one of them”. Mr Tripathi revealed interesting statistics when he said, “During last one and a half year, nearly 1500 CRPF personnel have been injured while performing duty in the State while their vehicles have been targeted 373 times.”

Chief Minister Omar Abdullah also accepted this contention and stated recently that stone throwers are being paid by the forces inimical to peace in the State. The State Government which is yet to fully recover from the “India Ragdo” campaign in Shopian does not seem to have a proper response to this new phenomenon of Agitational terrorism. The Public protests to the killing of a youth during one such protest highlights the vicious loop of self

sustaining protest demonstrations taking place in Kashmir Valley at different places.

There has been a 30% increase in infiltration along the International Border (IB) and the LoC in Jammu and Kashmir in 2009 compared to 2008. There were 342 recorded incidents of infiltration in 2008 and 499 incidents in the subsequent year, according to sources. The security agencies are almost certain that more than 400 terrorists have successfully crossed to this side. This estimate reflects only a bottomline assessment and not a maximalist expectation. If there have been five hundred incidents of infiltration and we presume a minimum of only 4 terrorists were seeking entry into this side in each infiltration bid, the number of terrorists involved in the infiltration attempts is certainly around 2000. As per government statistic (upto November 2009) 273 terrorists sneaked back to Pakistan, 93 terrorists were neutralised and the terrorists killed during 2009 across the state were 157 (Total 250 terrorists killed -93 terrorist neutralized during infiltration), we still get a figure of more than 1400 active terrorists in the state. This number has been only derived by taking into consideration the number of terrorists which might have crossed during the year and not the reserves which already exist and the new recruitment which is taking place locally. The state government figures of 600-800 terrorists operating in the state are a gross under statement, perhaps catering to the political need of projecting an improved security scenario. Basing the assessment primarily on the number of violent incidents taking place in the state is like a process of self delusion.

We have to also take into consideration that 30,000 troops have been withdrawn from Rajouri-Poonch where the security forces accept that around 50 infiltration routes exist.

Taking this security scenario into consideration in which the Multi Agency Centre, a conglomerate of over a dozen intelligence agencies, which has recently reviewed the infiltration activities on the Indo-Pak border in 2009 and cautioned the Centre about the possibility of a more “violent” summer ahead and based on the premise that terrorists are taking about six months to settle down and would gear up by summer to launch attacks, we have to factor

in the agitational terrorism which is rearing its head with alarming frequency.

The Agitational terrorism is a more sophisticated phenomenon than being recognized by the state government. Over ground support structures of terrorism have a crucial role to play in this process than the underground machinery. Political formations, civil rights NGO’s, media, subversive elements within the government, international organizations operating from various countries in West and USA, all have their role in this campaign.

Terrorist violence is employed usually in the prelude or the aftermath of these campaigns. But many times it has been employed during the agitational phases as well. This violence serves two purposes.

One, it acts as a force

multiplier to add more fuel to the public protests and ignite them to explosive proportions. The terrorist killing of civilians during the Shopian agitation in the Pulwama district itself was pinned at the door of government to generate public uproar. Two, the mobilization is described as a widespread revolt against the nation itself and used as a scoring point particularly at a time when “Quite Dialogue” is going on with the separatists and pressures are on to start a formal Indo-Pak level dialogue. The calibrated violence helps in preserving the terrorist cadres in the state particularly when International Jihad is focused in destabilizing American presence in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the Intifada demoralizes the entire state machinery.

The situation on the



Mob pelting stones at security forces in Srinagar

ground takes a bizarre form when the state government appears to be only flirting with both sides, the separatists and the nationalists. The entire agitation in Shopian got crystallised by the killing of two ladies after their alleged rape by the personnel of the state police. But the entire focus of attack was the army as well as the paramilitary

forces. As the campaigns of lampooning of Indian sovereignty in the state is assuming new stridency, the manifest ambiguity in the commitment of the state government to uphold the sovereignty is creating a precarious situation. The non-hoisting of the National Flag at historic Lal Chowk in Srinagar on January 26 this year has

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By Dileep Kumar Kaul

MONTANA is the fourth largest state of USA. Its beauty matches that of Kashmir. The preamble to the constitution of this state reads:

"We the people of Montana, grateful to god for the quiet beauty of our state the grandeur of its mountains, the vastness of its rolling plains, and desiring to secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of liberty for this and future generations do ordain and establish this constitution."

Commenting on this constitution, American thinker Daniel Kemmis says that why did the authors of this constitution pause to express their gratitude

# Place and Placemakers

## Continuing Place Discourse

for the Montana Landscape? They were saying that the way they felt about the place they inhabited was an important part of what they meant when they said "we the people". They had not come to know each other as "we" simply "in order to"; they know each other as "we" in relation to that place. So, in constituting themselves as a people they could not pretend to do it in purely instrumental terms.

This observation by Kemmis compels me to

examine the preambles of the constitutions of India and the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Everybody knows about the Preamble to the Indian constitution:

We the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a S O V E R E I G N SOCIALIST SECULAR D E M O C R A T I C REPUBLIC .....

Political elements like sovereignty etc. have been underlined here. There is no mention of the place. Same is the case with the constitution of Jammu

and Kashmir:

We, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, having solemnly resolved, in pursuance of accession of this State to India which took place on the twenty-sixth day of October, 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the State with the Union of India as an integral part thereof, .....

It underlines accession to the state and defines its relationship with India as an integral part of it, again political

elements.

The preamble to the constitution of Montana demonstrates an orientation of consciousness and care towards the place that is Montana while as the preamble to the constitution of J&K does not even bother to reaffirm the word 'secular' for the state. It is taken for granted and brushed conveniently under the carpet. Last 19 years of turmoil in Kashmir have shown which discourse has been working behind it. The preamble wanted to secure for all social, economic and political justice. The discourse working at present is totally contrary to that. Same is the case with Indian constitution. Secular is the most often repeated word by Indian politicians.

And who but Kashmiri Pandits are the most secular people in India! They were killed tortured and persecuted. There has not been a single case of retaliation by them. Some even call this cowardice. But past nineteen years have been witness to the battles they have fought. They are the truest followers of non violence, the parrot cry of which is uttered almost daily by one or the other leader. But the result has been that they have been thrown out of their homeland and the preamble says that India will be constituted as a secular Republic as well. This again shows that the constitutional discourse is not at work. Some other discourse is active in the minds of people at the helm of political affairs. Kashmir has been vandalized, desecrated and it now remains just as a place of tourism, handicrafts, fruits etc. all economically beneficial for the dominant Muslim community. All other meanings of Kashmir simply have no meaning. Kashmir has become an entity that is to be economically exploited.

You get benefits in it and because of it. Needless to say that terrorism itself is an industry in Kashmir. Such circumstances can only minimize attachment with a place.

Daniel Kemmis further says that a constitution is more than a legal document. It is the single most expressive act, by which separate individual people *constitute* themselves as a *people*." And preamble is the most important part of it which underlines the aim of the people who are giving themselves the constitution. In Kashmiri and Indian constitutions place is not emphasized in this way. They do not demonstrate care for the place but visualize it only as political space. So the attention from the actual context of our lives i.e places is distorted. So these constitutions express themselves as placeless entities. It is completely forgotten that people are the place makers. They give meanings to all the physical entities present in a place. Place, in other words, can be defined as the cultural space. These constitutions just become state mandated standards of behaviour for the citizens not the expression of the people because people cannot be without a place.

It is not difficult to understand that India visualizes Kashmir in terms of Muslim dominance. But what needs to be understood is the meanings Muslims have given to Kashmir. The only meaning I understand is that Kashmir was Islamized slowly and steadily and the process is almost complete now. Today Kashmir is identified as a place from where Kashmiri Pandits have been thrown out through murder and coercion. This is the same as Germany is identified as the place from where the idea of holocaust originated. That is why German poet Bertolt Brecht writes in a poem that children did not play with his daughter saying that she is a German and both of them were happy about it. Some Muslim poets have written poems of guilt but

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Place and Placemakers

The new phenomenon-Agitational Terrorism in Kashmir

(From Page 10)

nobody had the guts to say like Brecht that they were happy to be hated.

Every year the lure of return for Kashmiri Pandits is repeated and their mood is judged. But the question remains that if Kashmiri Pandits return can the Muslims accept the meanings they give to Kashmir, its earth, rivers and trees? These meanings have been there for last five thousand years or more, which have made Kashmir the Place it is. For Kashmir they are the placemakers. Without these meanings going to Kashmir will be just a visit to a symbol, not a place because around it there are conditions and meanings in which it is difficult to choose it as a dwelling place whatever amount of security will be offered. Kashmir as our place is missing from all the dominant discourses in our county. All the politicians have been off and on uttering the parrot cry of Kashmiriyat. Kashmiriyat emphasizes the point that Hindus and Muslims lived in Kashmir with a spirit of coexistence. If so why present situation is there? Basically Kashmiriyat too is a placeless concept. It emphasizes the situation of living together. It does not define Kashmir as a place. It does not give any weight to the cultural labour of Kashmiri Pandits in making Kashmir habitable. The ecology of Kashmir has taken severe beating because nobody has felt responsible. Kashmir for them is a commodity on the basis of which they can bargain with India. How can place attachment flourish under such circumstances?

It must be understood that Kashmiri Pandits, the original inhabitants of Kashmir are the Place Makers of Kashmir. Their definitions of Kashmir as a place have no meaning even with the government of India which all the while drags along the Kashmiri Muslim meanings of Kashmir. That is why demarcating the area of Panun Kashmir in the north eastern side of river Vitasta (Jehlum) is of utmost importance. It is less a political demarcation than the definition of a Kashmiri Pandit place. So Panun Kashmir began as a place conscious movement. Whoever demands less than Panun Kashmir is doing place eroding politics. The major reason to take that area as Panun Kashmir was that most of our sacred places are situated in that area and these sacred places are spread from one corner of Panun Kashmir to the other. This Panun Kashmir is not just a geographical entity but a sacred geography spread from one sacred place to the other. To be very realistic, sacred places are not made holy by an indwelling power. Our cultural labour makes them sacred. Neelmatpurana is a valuable gem from our vast cultural capital. It is basically a place discourse that establishes the ecology and life of Kashmir within the perspective of a place which is Kashmir. When Kashyapa the sage requests mother goddess to come to Kashmir as a river to purify it she says, "That country being my own body is already purified. What is to be done by me there?"(verse: 252)

After many requests she agrees to come in the form of river Vitasta (Jehlum). No place on earth has such a sacred meaning. Our Kashmir is incarnation of the mother goddess and the main lifeline the river Vitasta is also her incarnation. In our Kashmir mother Vitasta too has a birth day, so has the common crow.

A seemingly ordinary ecological entity crow also has a birthday for Kashmiri Pandits and they observe this as an important day. This kind of ecological thinking is the basis of our philosophy of live and let live. Can Kashmiri Muslims digest these meanings of Kashmir? Kashmir is not just geography but a sacred geography for us. It is from this standpoint that Kashmir is to be claimed as our Place.

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been first such incident in the state since India became a Republic and the message has been loud and clear atleast to the separatist constituency and that is INDIAN WILL IS WEAKENING.

The government attitude of HUNTING WITH THE WOLVES AND RUNNING WITH THE HARE has emboldened the masterminds behind the agitational terrorism. The incidents which are taking place on the ground during these agitational maneuvers gets a publicity boost when the state government chooses, as if out of nervousness, to accord them a disproportionate political and administrative attention.

The first press conference after the killing of two ladies in Shopian exploded into public domain was addressed by none other than the Cabinet

minister followed by the Chief Minister catapulting the event into the centre stage. Even during the present unrest in Srinagar none other than DGP J&K Police was especially flown to Srinagar to review the security situation while advisor to chief minister, a cabinet minister and a minister of state clarified the government action on the killing of a youth in the firing of a teargas shell during a protest demonstration. This disproportionate political importance to an event which is taking place not in the entire valley but only in a part of Srinagar city clearly shows that the government is abjectly unprepared for Agitational Terrorism.

The state government at the administrative, police and the propaganda level seems to be groping in air. An interesting photograph published in The Kashmir Times, a local daily, on

February 4, 2010 shows CRPF personnel and Jammu and Kashmir Police catching hold of a stone pelter with a caption: SHO Maisuma rescuing a youth from the clutches of CRPF personnel." The caption reveals the motivation and the objective of the people who handle the propaganda campaign for the separatists.

We have seen that high profile civil right activists with known pro-separatist leanings are making frequent forays into the state and reporting about the condition in such a partisan way that is totally divorced from the ground reality of a government which is not only in disarray but almost retreating. Arundhati Roy while describing the human rights situation in the state qualified the state repression by describing that people are not even allowed to breathe properly in Jammu and Kashmir.

The most glaring aspect of the agitational terrorism has been revealed by the CBI during its investigations on the alleged rape and murder of two ladies in Shopian. The CBI report highlighted the level of commitment of the collaborators wherein a lady doctor is reported to have replaced the vaginal swabs of the murdered ladies in a way which cannot be described here. There have been many reports in the past when the female activists leading the processions in remote areas like Kupwara would raise slogans like –Azad Kashmir Jayenge, Pet main Bacha layenge( We will go to Azad Kashmir and get a child back in our womb). In such a situation of public connivance and government proclivity to accommodate the nation seems to be grossly unprepared for the new phenomenon of Agitational terrorism in Kashmir.

\*(The author is poet and prolific writer)

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# Quiet Diplomacy draws flak"



(From L to R) Prof. Hari Om, Prof. Varinder Gupta, Sh. M.M. Khajuria & Dr. Ajay Chrungoo during the seminar

By S.M. Pandit

JAMMU, Dec 22: Government of India's initiative of "Quiet Diplomacy" came under sharp criticism at a seminar "Quiet Diplomacy—The Nationalist Concerns" organised by Panun Kashmir at Press Club here today. The speakers doubted the sincerity of the GoI as it has undermined its own democratic initiative and is considering Kashmir as a Muslim sphere of influence. The GoI's initiative has generated apprehensions amongst the minority and nationalist forces and the speakers warned the Indian State of serious implications of ignoring the aspirations of the minorities.

In his inaugural address, Prof. M.K. Teng, the distinguished political think tank and Chairman Panun Kashmir Advisory, questioned the wisdom of naming the initiative as "Quiet Diplomacy" and said that the process is gradually leading towards building a separate Muslim sphere of influence on the territory of India. He said that the Government of India shall understand that Kashmiri separatists and Pakistan are supplementing each others cause and the same has now come to the fore in the shape of demand for tripartite talks. He said that for last sixty years Pakistan has been holding the position that any solution that is acceptable to Kashmiris will be acceptable to Pakistan and the Hurriyat and Jehadi forces are also talking of the process that is acceptable to Pakistan. He said that on the eve of parti-

tion Congress was in favour of "Right to Referendum" but Muslim League and the British were opposed to it.

Analysing the so-called Musharraf Formula, Prof. Teng said that it is aimed at consolidation of Muslim influence in the state for its ultimate secession from India and accession with the Muslim Pakistan. Elaborating on the plan he said that the Regional Councils in application means division of Jammu into Muslim Majority and Hindu Majority areas, porous border means integration with PoK and self-rule means transferring power to Muslims and joint control implies questioning the accession of J&K to India. He added that the interesting part of the plan is that it will be reviewed after ten years and by ten years India will not be in a position to hold the referendum as the state will be completely a Muslim state. He warned Indian state of any such compromise as it will uproot the minorities from Muslim majority areas and leave them to the servitude of Muslims.

Speaking on the topic, Prof. Virender Gupta, President of Jammu State Morcha, said that the Home Ministers' announcement about quiet diplomacy has sprouted apprehensions in the minds of nationalist people as they are ignorant about the contours of the dialogue and has come after PM's admission that India had reached a solution with Pakistan but the situation in Pakistan derailed the process. He accused Indian state of pursuing appeasement policy towards Muslims

and Questioned the logic of holding dialogue with the likes of Geelani, who describes Kashmir as part of Islamic Pakistan, a protagonist of self rule or the advocates of greater autonomy who describe accession conditional.

He lamented that after 20 years militancy, GoI didn't issue a white paper to fix the responsibility on the internal and foreign elements. He wondered what will be the future of nationalist forces who are for total integration of J&K with India. Prof Gupta said that JSM demands reorganisation of the J&K state with a secured place for Kashmiri migrants who have been uprooted from the Valley as it is the only solution to the problem.

Prof. Dipanker Sen Gupta of the Department of Economics the University of Jammu, described decentralisation of power and empowering the representatives as prelude to any result oriented talks. He said that he doesn't want

Jammuites to be seen as negationists but for solutions there should be ways and means. He said that holding talks with those who are shying from proving their representative character or those who have not been empowered are destined to fail. Such results are destined to be distorted. Prof. Dipanker Gupta advocated for extension of 73rd and 74th amendment of the Indian Constitution to J&K as Panchayats in the state are a farce. He advocated that before holding any meaningful dialogue the people who are to represent people should be empowered otherwise the solutions will be distorted. The representatives should be ensured of their safety otherwise the talks amount to be between the blackmailer and the blackmailed and the ensuing solutions are supposed to be a failure.

Terming the situation critical, Prof. Hari Om accused the national parties of not discharging their duties and abandoning the minorities and nationalist forces in the state. He said that Indian state has to think whether it has to abandon or empower the 40% minorities in the state. Painting national political parties with same brush, he said that the former Pakistani Foreign Minister, Sartaj Aziz claimed that the two nations had reached a settlement on Kashmir at Colombo during NDA rule but because of the Kargil, the agreement was not implemented. He said that the solution as claimed by Aziz was totally anti-India but BJP has not refuted his claims. He expressed his dismay that during debate on "Quiet Diplomacy" in the Rajyasabha, BJP leader Arun Jaitley wanted to know from the government whether Omar

Abdullah was taken into confidence and P.Chidambaram replied that the two—Chidambaram and Omar Abdullah are on the same page. Accusing India of patronising separatist and communal forces in the state, Prof. Hari Om said that the British Patronised Muslim League thought it was marginalised but the same ended up in creation of Pakistan and the India is committing the same mistake.

Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr Ajay Chrungoo accused Indian state of undermining its own democratic initiative by the launch of "Quiet Diplomacy" and said that deepening of democratic process in the state comes in conflict with the policy of the Government of India. Referring to the initiation of RTCs by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that even coinage of the name had inherent apprehension as the British Government had initiated same process on the eve of Independence. He said that all the nationalist forces in the state had apprehension that by initiating such process, the GoI was accepting Kashmir as a dispute and giving a locus standi to Pakistan. He said that the initiation of such process was a departure from the stated stand of India on Kashmir being the internal or bilateral issue. RTC by implication meant making Kashmir a multipartite issue. The only bright aspect of it, that forced the nationalist elements of the state including Panun Kashmir to join RTCs was that India by implication was identifying the diversity of the state and the platform would give them an opportunity to represent their case in the transparent way. He added that

now India has undermined its own democratic and transparent initiative by replacing it with quiet talks.

He expressed surprise that India was still nursing hope to rope in elements of the likes of Umar, Sajad and Shabir. He accused Indian state of undermining democratic process as the deepening of democratic process in the state comes in conflict with the policy of government of India. He wondered why the talks on delimitation cannot be initiated and added that the phenomenon needs to be understood. Delivering his presidential address, former DG J&K Police MM Khajuria exhorted nationalist forces in the state to come out of the defensive mood and determine and define the national interest in the state.

Mr Khajuria described it a major flaw in the Kashmir policy of the Indian state to give representative character to the secessionist which they have not proved as the influence of even Omar Farooq does not go beyond seven mohallas of Srinagar. Asking the nationalist forces in the state to be alert, he said that we have no idea about the thinking of GoI. He said that earlier a process was initiated in the name of "Insanyat" and now international dimensions are being talked about.

He asked the Indian state to come out of the apologetic mood and withstand its Parliament resolution of 1994. Describing Kashmiri Hindus as the victims, he said that an environment is to be created for the safe, secured and dignified rehabilitation. He said that no solution is possible that does not address the Kashmiri Hindu issue.



View of the audience during the Panun Kashmir on Quiet Diplomacy at Jammu.



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## Indian State Leaning in support of Separatists—PANUN KASHMIR



PK leaders addressing the press conference.

### KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Dec 14: Drawing parallels between the "Quiet Diplomacy" and the political process initiated by the British Government with the Muslim League before 1947, Panun Kashmir has expressed its deep concern on the development and warned the Indian state that any attempt to view Kashmir issue as a Muslim problem or further exclusion of Jammu and Kashmir from the secular organisation of India will lead to the balkanisation of India.

Addressing a press conference at Press Club, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that the nationalist opinion in the state is groping in dark about the content of the dialogue process as they have not been taken into confidence. Expressing concern over the development he said, "Panun Kashmir is deeply conceived over the developments accompanying the secret dialogue between the GoI and the separatists in J&K as the process ironically resembles the political process initiated by the British government with the Muslim League before 1947."

Accusing Indian state of behaving like a mere arbitrator and leaning out in support of separatists forces, Dr. Chrungoo said, "Government of India appears to be satisfied in assuming the position of an arbitrator between the patriotic and nationalist forces in the state and many a times it seems that GoI is leaning in support of the separatist forces to the dismay and

distress of the patriotic people in the state".

Terming J&K as inseparable part of the indivisible unit of India, the Panun Kashmir leader said that the GoI has time and again committed itself to find a settlement between what it calls "the stake holders in the so-called dispute in J&K". "It seems that the forces who are determining the content and the character of 'quiet dialogue' which the government of India has started are actually trying to dilute and destroy the national consensus on the indivisible unity of India of which J&K is an inseparable part," he lamented. He added that Panun Kashmir condemns the attempts to reduce J&K into an extra-national concern as J&K is an inseparable part of indivisible Indian Union and not a combination of stake holders.

Accusing India of undermining the interests of the minorities, that constitute 40% of the population of J&K, Dr Chrungoo said, "For GoI, it seems, peace and reconciliation, has assumed a meaning of only peace and reconciliation with Muslim communal separatism in the state. GoI appears to be blinded more and more with respect of the aspirations of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Buddhists living in the state". Warning Indian state against the secret parleys with the separatists, Dr. Chrungoo said that Panun Kashmir will not accept any dispensation which subjects the Hindus of the state to the servitude of a Muslim

state.

Warning India against any further exclusion of the state from constitutional and secular organisation of India, Panun Kashmir leader said, "Any further strengthening of the exclusion of J&K state from the secular organisation of India by accepting Greater Autonomy, Self Rule or Musharraf Plan will open the way for total balkanisation of India. Any attempt to create Muslim state on the territory of India will ultimately disrupt and destroy unity of India".

Terming reorganisation of the state only solution to the problem, Dr Chrungoo reiterated

that the internal reorganisation of the state with creation of Panun Kashmir to the North and East of the

river Jhelum is the only nationalist solution to the problems in J&K.

Chairman Panun

Kashmir Advisory Dr MK Teng and the PK Secretary Sh. Satish Sher were also present in the press conference.

## The Dissolution of National Frontiers

(From Page 5)  
implemented, India would have been totally balkanized.

The acceptance of the territorial claims of Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir under the cover of a non-territorial settlement is bound to impair the entire northern frontier of India from Kashmir to Arunachal Pradesh. The pressures being built on India to recognize the territorial claims of China in Arunachal Pradesh, is a strategic maneuver to delink India from Himalayas as are the

claims made on Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan. The security of Himalayas is crucial to the unity and the

### CONTINUATION

territorial integrity of India. Non-territorial settlement is a sure recipe to compromise the security of the Himalayas. Indian People must put all the pressures on the Indian government to reclaim and retrieve Gilgit and Baltistan along with the Dardic dependencies of

the erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir. This reclamation will break the encirclement of India in the pincer-hold of the Anglo-American-Pakistan alliance and the Sino-Pakistan axis and give meaning to the 'strategic partnership' the Indian government claims to have established with the United States of America. The strategic partnership has no meaning so long the Americans act as a "laughing balancer" in between Pakistan and China over the northern frontier of India.

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# Jammu RSS helping in Hindu capitulation in J&K

By Ajaat Jamwal

27 January 2010

On Jan. 21, I received a phone call fairly late at night, after 10 pm, from an inmate of the internally displaced camp at Nagrota, a town between Jammu and Udhampur. The caller, a Kashmiri Pandit, was worried, agitated, and extremely distressed. What he told me was both disturbing and significant in the light of so many other straws in the wind...

It seems that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Prant Pracharak (local unit chief) Arun Kumar had visited the camp that day, and had in the course of his speech, as per the understanding of the caller, advocated the return of Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley, when nothing has concretely changed for the better there!

The tone and tenor of Arun Kumar's presentation, as per the understanding of people present at the meeting, from whom I later tried to garner information, indicated an almost-overt though still indirect support to the so-called 'peace process.' It was construed as an attempt to secure even a piece-meal return of Kashmiri Hindus to the Valley, in order to demonstrate the return of 'normalcy.' What upset and irked the listeners most was his expression (actually a kind of insistence) that Kashmiri Hindus have to make this sacrifice in the 'national interest' (phir se Balidan dene ke liye taiyaar ho jaiye).

By design or coincidence, Arun Kumar's visit took place the very same day that Yasin Malik reiterated his commitment to the struggle for Independent Jammu & Kashmir and 'advised' Kashmiri Hindus to return and join the Kashmiri Muslims in the valley! That same day, Chief Minister Omar Abdullah also hinted at the unfolding of the return plan. This convergence of views of RSS officials at the ground in Jammu & Kashmir, the separatist leaders, and the State Government, is intriguing to say the least.

In retrospect, the presence of Madhu Kishwar, a known supporter of a Hindu 'compromise' in Jammu & Kashmir, at the Jan. 19.

Exodus Day function at Constitution Club in New Delhi, organized by RSS think tank, Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee Foundation, reeks of an ugly synchronicity.

What could be the reason or logic for inviting Kishwar? The answer to this question is more crucial than the personality or dubious stature of Kishwar, who at times criticises the separatist leadership to advance her own naïve formulations on Kashmir. Surely the considered decision of an RSS outfit to flirt with persons of her integrity reflects a radical change in the outlook of the Parivar on Jammu & Kashmir.

Some senior RSS activists in Jammu aver that Kishwar's presence was at the instance of the RSS Prant Pracharak in Jammu, and if voices doing the rounds here are true, then the RSS here wanted to signal to the Prime Minister's Office that it is aligned in favour of the PM's perspective on the peace process as well as return of Kashmiri Hindus, even though these have been rejected outright by the community and the nationalist people in Jammu & Kashmir.

Living far from Delhi, it has not been possible to ascertain exact details of what transpired at the Constitution Club meeting, but both PTI and The Tribune reported that a Kashmiri migrant activist interrupted the proceedings and asked Kishwar to clarify some of her writings and positions regarding the separatists. This poor lady was stopped by a person known for his proximity to an RSS stalwart who once dominated Kashmir affairs until popular resentment led to his relocation. This stalwart had cultivated personal loyalties by creating informal posts with a monthly stipend, which was allegedly paid from monies collected for internally displaced Hindus, which caused much angst in the community. The person who intervened on behalf of Kishwar was one of the first beneficiaries of this stipend.

This same person had tried to lobby for the return of Kashmiri Hindus during the NDA regime, and was sharply rebuffed by the Hindu community,

particularly the leadership of Baramulla, whom where he hails. The formulation for which he tried to garner support at that time was:

-India is on the brink of becoming a Super Power

-To become an established Super Power, peace with Pakistan is an imperative

-For peace with Pakistan, a give and take on Jammu & Kashmir is a must

-For a give and take in Jammu & Kashmir, the consent of Hindus of J&K is crucial

-For the consent of Hindus of J&K, neutralizing the resentment of Kashmiri Hindus, their symbolic return, and their

identification with a new order in Kashmir is critical.

Thus, when Arun Kumar supported the "Balidan" of Kashmiri Hindus, he was perhaps talking about a willful and deliberate policy of hostageing Kashmiri Hindus to a Muslim order with the aim of clinching peace with the Islamic power of the region.

A shocking truth about RSS functionaries in the State, which many of us have experienced in the past, is that they have always been distraught at the attention Kashmiri Hindus received at the national and international level. They viewed Kashmiri Hindus as an

extension of the Nehru clan, and hence responsible for the mess in the State. They never accepted Kashmiri Hindus as representatives, much less living embodiments, of the Indian civil and civilisation presence in Kashmir, and would adversely comment: "Yeh kya samajtey hain Kashmir Bharat main inkey karan hai? Woh Bharat fauj ke karan hai. In-hon ne to Musalmaan ke saath poora samjhauta kiya tha." And now senior RSS functionaries have started counselling the Kashmiri Hindus to compromise with Muslims so that Indian civil presence in the Valley is restored.

This approach is not confined to Kashmiri

Hindus only. They are a small community, and in the ruthless game of power politics, they can be readily sacrificed.

This approach has a wider ideological connotation, which I shall try to elucidate with an example. During the course of my interactions with RSS activists in Jammu, Pracharak Arun Kumar was ruffled and angry when Union Home Minister P Chidambaram declared his 'Quiet Dialogue' with the separatists.

Kumar insisted with his colleagues in the RSS to mobilize for an agitation on the lines of the Sri Amarnath land restoration movement. But after being

*(Contd. on Page 22)*

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# The whole nation should apologise to Kashmiri Pandits--Gen. Sinha

KS Correspondent

DELHI, Dec 27: Hundreds of delegates attended the annual national convention of Panun Kashmir at Chinmaya Auditorium at Lodhi Road, New Delhi on Dec. 27, 2009. All the delegates condemned the unilateral submission of the report of the Working Group on Centre-State Relations by its Chairman Retd. Justice Sageer Ahmad to the Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir. The resolution adopted at the Conference condemned all machinations to convert Jammu & Kashmir into a Permanent Sphere of Muslim Interests. All the delegates in a unanimous voice warned the Government of India of any compromise on national sovereignty, integrity and secular nation building with the separatists in Jammu & Kashmir. The resolution stressed the imperative necessity of reorganizing Jammu & Kashmir in a way to empower the nationalist forces in the state. The resolution in particular underlined the necessity of creating the Union Territory of Panun Kashmir to the North and East of river Jhelum in Kashmir Valley for the settlement of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus as a permanent way of reversing their genocide and making separatism in Jammu & Kashmir full of stakes for the future.

Various luminaries of national repute participated in the Convention.



Speaking on the occasion Lt. Gen (Retd.). SK Sinha, who was the chief guest on the occasion, said that he has a long experience of working in J&K State. He said that his association with Kashmir state dates back to 27th October 1947, when British Govt. sent him there. Sinha said that he belonged to the

generation which was thrust to save Kashmir. He was proud that he stood the test and saved Kashmir from tribals.

Gen. Sinha assured the gathering that India was capable to save Kashmir. He said that Pakistan can not grab Kashmir

ous migrant camps in Delhi, Udhampur and Jammu. I was deeply moved by horrible situation in Lajpat Nagar where these displaced people lived in curtain partitions. It was raining on that day and the water was pouring on them.

deeply moved by the prevailing conditions in Muthi camp.. The Prime Minister took on spot decisions that every Kashmiri Pandit family would be allotted a two room flat.

Gen. Sinha praised ex-Chief Minister Gh. Nabi

Yaseen Malik was also operated in India and when he went to Kashmir after operation, he was given a rousing reception. Malik addressed the gathering that and said that Kashmir is in illegal occupation of India and appealed world bod-

the issue. He said, the time is coming when India will understand the importance of creating Panun Kashmir and PK Organisation should survive till that time.

Dr. Subramanyam Swami feared that granting autonomy will create new problems of different dimensions. He added that we must understand the Muslim psyche. It is not the question of Telengana, Nagaland or Assam, he said and added that Bangladeshi Hindus are suffering because they are in minority. In our country Muslims are at liberty to celebrate their religious festivals but the minorities are not allowed to celebrate their festivals in Muslim dominated areas. What happened to Hindus in Afghanistan, he asked.

Dr. Subramanyam Swami stressed the need for demanding reserved quota for employment for poor and deprived people. It should not be granted to Muslims. By granting reserved quota for a particular minority community (Muslim) is not going to settle the problems. Dr. Swami said "Once the Muslims of Australia demanded their own civil code there, the Australian government told them to vacate from their country. This is how nations act. We should learn lessons from there countries who are ruthless in implementing their laws. Dr. Subramanyam said why India was silent in dealing with Muslim separatist politics citing an example of velore, where Muslim are in majority, they force Hindus to get converted. This all happens in our free India.

Encouraging KPs, Dr Swami said that they should not discard their demand as the situation in the world is changing rapidly. He advised Pandits not to dilute their demand. He said, "Pakistan is going to get Talibanised within one year as 70% of army is pro-Taliban where two out of seven corps commanders are pro-Taliban. He warned, "war is imminent and Pakistan will be destroyed..He said, "India should firmly deal with the militants. We

(Contd. on Page 17)



(From L to R) Dr. Ajay Chrunghoo, K. Govindacharya, Gen. S.K. Sinha, Swami Nikhlananda Saraswati, G. Parthasarthy and Sh. Sanjay Suri on the dias while Smt. Lovely Chandra renders Ganesha Stuti at Panun Kashmir Annual Convention in New Delhi.

militarily. Equating India as a Super Power with America, he said that Indian army can fight in other countries to establish peace. Gen. Sinha said that there was no battle fatigue in Indian army. Indian army is capable to hold Kashmir.

Lt. Gen. Sinha said that the world respects India's strength, provided India displays it.

Gen. Sinha said that he was criticised as a proactive governor.. He criticized Mufti Mohd. Sayeed's communal and anti-national attitude. Gen. Sinha said that the whole nation should apologise to Kashmiri Pandits as they were thrown out from their ancestral homes to the plains. He said although KPs being a small community, they have contributed a lot in the national building process.

Gen. Sinha was critical of the government that KPs thrown out of Valley were called as migrants. They have been dispossessed from their homes, Gen. Sinha said. When I took over as Governor of the State, I visited vari-

He discussed the problem with the then Delhi administration

The situation in Jammu was also quite alarming. A family of 4 persons living in 10'x10-room under tattered roofs give a pathetic look. Kashmiri Pandits were not used to extreme heat conditions of Jammu.

Sinha said that he told chief minister Mufti Mohd. Sayeed to improve the living conditions of Kashmiri migrants. Mufti on the other hand said that he would do everything for them provided they return to Kashmir. Mufti's argument was if at all living conditions would be improved they would never return to Kashmir. Gen. Sinha said that he told Mufti that these hapless people would die till normalcy would be restored in Kashmir.

Mufti ignored president Abdul Kalam's suggestion to do something for Kashmiri migrants.

Gen. Sinha said that he waited for Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to come to Muthi (Jammu.) Manmohan Sing was

Azad for his friendly behaviour. He said that he tried to establish Shardapeeth University but it could not materialise as he was branded to bring Hindu culture in Valley.

Criticising the Hurriyat leaders, he said that they were simply leaders of their Mohallas, yet they claim that they are the sole representatives of J&K. He said Mirwaz was desperate to get invitation for 2nd round table conference, which he failed to get.

Gen. Sinha criticised the government for not showing the draft of recommendations of the Justice Sageer to its members.

Sinha said that there was religious fundamentalism in Valley and India should see to it. Hurriyat chairman Syed Ali Shah Gillani wanted to go to America for surgery, but America refused to give visa to him. Sinha said that he thought he would go to Pakistan for treatment. It is irony that he was later operated by a Kashmiri Pandit doctor in India.

ies to impose sanctions on India.

Gen. Sinha advised GoI to shun the policy of appeasement and be proactive in taking hard decisions in dealing with Kashmir problem.

Dr. Subramanyam Swami said that he has been closely associated with Panun Kashmir for last two decades. Starting on a positive note he encouraged KPs not to



lose heart but to strive and strengthen their struggle. He said that if you read the newspapers of 1940, no body had envisaged that India will get freedom and be divided in 1947. The situation changed to such an extent that Britain had to vacate India and at that time it was the Congress Party with whom they settled



## The whole nation should apologise to Kashmiri Pandits--Gen. Sinha

(From Page 16)

have to be on our toes to strengthen our inner structures and ruthlessly act to change the mindset of separatists.

Sh. G. Parthasarthy the former diplomat while participating in the deliberation, said that he feels fortunate enough to associate with Panun Kashmir.



He said that Indian state was capable to protect and defend its borders, what happened in Kashmir is a symptom of the problem. Pakistan wants to destabilise India. He said that he was told by a German journalist that after Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan, Pakistan was trying to extend its borders to Delhi. He said that once a ISI Chief said in a seminar that their aim was to weaken India from within. He felt sorry that political elite of this country does not understand this. He said things began to change after the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan. The Pakistan army began to spread tentacles of Wahabi Islam to Kashmir.. The Pakistanis are using the same strategy in India which they used in Afghanistan.

To face such crisis we should strengthen our internal structures and secondly we should have the leadership strong enough to damage others who try to damage us. Parthasarthy felt sorry saying that India could not produce a leader after Indra Gandhi who had the guts to destroy the enemy..

He said that northern-western province of Pakistan has completely been talbinised. Islamic laws are in force where keeping beard is compulsory, barbar shops are closed, schools, video and films are banned, women are escorted to markets. Radical Islam is creeping in Pakistan.

Sh. Parthasarthy said that Kashmir is a symbol not a cause of our relations with Pakistan. He said that there is no difference between Farooq Kathwari's report of Feb. 2005 and Musharaff plan both seeking division of Jammu & Kashmir on religious lines.. It is an irony that India is toeing the same line.

He said that he was not in favour of buying peace. The solution should come from the people. If India today agree to NC's demand of autonomy, tomorrow they have to fulfil PDP demand asking for more and then the separatists' demand. He advised India to draw a line to stop these things. He said it is ridiculous to think of going to pre-1953 position as it is against the Indian state where the laws of Supreme Court will not be applicable. He advised Indian state not to lower its guard. Musharaff had realised in 2003 that Pakistan has to cool down on Kashmir and the infiltration had decreased. Pakistan Army Chief General Kayani was commander of Murry in 1997 and maximum infiltrations had started at that time. How could India expect something good from the present Army Chief?

G. Parthasarthy stressed that we should understand that Pakistan is hostile to us. We should shun the policy of appeasement to Hurriyat and tell them if you want something first ask Pakistan to give that part autonomy which is under their control. He advised the Kashmiri Pandits never to give up hope and make enough use of e-communications. He advised Pandits to launch their heritage websites so that coming generations benefit from them.

Sh. K. Govindacharya in his usual eloquence, said that Kashmiri Pandits have suffered a lot and tension is gripping them as they are worried about Indian nation. It is natural that all those persons who are nationalists suffer the same pain as Kashmiri Pandits do. He said that being a nationalist, "I too suffer the same pain. He said what he feels in Kanaykumari is being



felt in Kashmir.

He said granting autonomy to Kashmir is one step shot of Azadi. He asked if Israel surrenders Gazas strip and Jerusalem to Palestine, would Palestine stop militancy. Palestine wants to destroy Israel.

Similarly if India surrenders Kashmir, will Pakistan stop infiltration and militancy. Pakistan wants to annex whole of India and push it to 1280 A.D. He said India has been gripped by defeatism and we have to tackle defeatism not in our discourse but by action. He stressed, "we have to stand and show pro-active military diplomacy. We have to destroy terrorist camps. If any solution regarding Kashmir is taken. GoI should take whole nation into confidence". He advised Panun Kashmir organisation to do something concrete by changing political system to favour their aspiration. It needs a political will to do so. For that **Rashtriya Swabhiman Andolan Manch** will work neck to neck with Panun Kashmiri to change the mindset of Indian masses so that a congenial atmosphere is created which will determine the future of Pandits.

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo in his address said that right from 1947 Pandits were taken for granted and told to stay in Kashmir. In 1953, we were told that special status was a temporary thing. It will finish with the gradual democratization. Dr Chrungoo said that Pandits compromised on every point right from 1947. There is no appreciation at the national level.. GoI legitimised Muslim identity politics by appeasing Kashmiri Muslims at every front.

Dr. Chrungoo vehemently opposed the Justice Sageer Report. He

said that we were told deliberations will continue, but unfortunately the report was presented to CM without consulting the members. This is a mockery and nothing else. GoI had been doing all these things arbitrarily. Dr Chrungoo said that there is a contradiction between how these laws are formulated and how are these compatible within Indian secular ethos. Blaming GoI of nourishing such acts, Dr. Chrungoo said communalism developed by doing such acts. He said that the arbitrary and



unilateral submission of the report of the Working Group by Justice Sageer on the Centre-State relations once again proves how the entire spectrum of political opinions in the state are kept hostage to separatist and smacks of a wilful implementation of Dixon's formula for Jammu & Kashmir and its communal division seems in offing. Dr. Chrungoo asserted that the rationale for demanding Panun Kashmir is "the rejection of coexistence by the political class in Kashmir Valley as well as the perpetual compromise of the Indian State with Muslim communalism.

Dr. Chrungoo while, speaking in the second session, warned Pandits of the dangers of decrease in population. He said, "we are bringing end of our existence. We have to adopt three child norm.

He advised the Pandits to convert their diaspora into their strength. It will be suicidal to return to Kashmir and to accept Muslim hegemony. The situation in India is changing an Pandit issues are being debated.

Lauding Pandits for constructing Ashrams and temples, he said that these all things are

meaningful and will help in preserving our culture.

Dr. L.N. Dhar president Kashmir Samiti, Delhi said that there has been a shift in GoI policy towards Kashmir. Now it seems that both India and Pakistan are on the same side. Dr Dhar said, "It is our internal matter and Pakistan has no business to discuss it. There has been no change in the mindset of Pakistan. At present they are facing the internal problems and their attention is towards maintaining peace in Pakistan. Kashmiri Pandits do not feel any positive change as NC, Congress and PDP are behaving in same way as their objective is same.

Dr. Dhar said that Pandits should not feel jubilant in going to Kashmir, rather they should reject these half hearted measures. Govt. sanctioned 3000 posts for Kashmiri Pandits but the state government fixed conditions to the employment which are detrimental to our cause. Warning the Pandits, Dr Dhar said



we should not fall in this trap and reject the return module envisaged by GoI.

He stressed GoI to regularise the teachers in Delhi who are working on contract basis for last twenty years and solve the problems of Teh. Bazaari shopkeepers. Supporting the demand of Panun Kashmir, Dr. Dhar said, "It is the only solution to our 600 years long pain and suffering. He said that GoI should sanction all 6000 posts at the present place of residence and not force them to go to Kashmir.

Dr. S.S. Toshkhani emphasised the need to restore and preserve our ancient culture. He said, "Kashmir was the home of music, citing various examples how Kashmiri music was felt in different states of India, but it



was diluted with the coming of Islam to Kashmir.. At present we see a hybrid music. The music suffered a lot from 14th century in Kashmir. Dr. S.S. Toshkhani said that music has the highest seat according to Bagwat..

The National Convention 2009 started by reciting the holy verse of the Gita by Swami Niklanand Saraswati.



He told the gathering Kashmiri Pandits are the part and parcel of India. It is hurting that Pandits had to leave Valley and live an exiled life in their own country. He said ironically it happened in a free and democratic India, where Kashmir is an integral part of India. He advised Pandits to find solution by following the path of righteousness and not by force.

Sanjay Suri, was the guest of honour during the Convention. He narrated his tale of woe when he had to leave Kashmir. He felt sorry that he was not regarded as a migrant. Getting emotional he said that after twenty years, he has been able to find his roots and for that he



(Contd. on Page 20)



## Giving Away Kashmir

(From Page 1)

Kathwari Proposals. The National Conference reports had 'striking similarities' with Kathwari proposals as the later had with Dixon's proposals. Noted columnist Parveen Swami while commenting about this convergence wrote, "As significant, Abdullah's maximalist demands for autonomy dovetail with the KSG's (Kashmir Study Group) formulations of a quasi Sovereign State."

It was not a coincidence that almost simultaneously the Indian and Pakistani Foreign Ministers would meet in the Sri Lankan capital Colombo in March 1999 and reach an agreement envisaging 'plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir on regional/district basis', 'maximum possible autonomy to Kashmir and its adjoining areas', division of Jammu province along the Chenab River and so on. Significantly, the BJP lead NDA was in power at that time.

The Regional autonomy report of NC advocated dividing the State into its Muslim and non-Muslim domains exactly the same way Kathwari envisaged. Pushing Balraj Puri, the Working Chairman of the regional Autonomy Committee, out of the decision making loop was a course correction applied to see the endorsement of the Greater Muslim Kashmir to which he probably would not have agreed.

It is highly improbable to conceive that Dr Farooq Abdullah, who was also the Chief Minister, was not adequately briefed by Government of India about the purpose and purport of Kathwari's visit to India. Even if he was not, it is more improbable to think that Americans didn't educate him. Kathwari's closeness to US state department and his presence in India with his "Way Forward" proposals on Jammu and Kashmir was more than a hint for NC to move fast enough to finalize the reports of his government on greater and regional autonomy and push it through the state assembly where NC had a two third majority.

To be fair to Justice Sagir, he refused to take into consideration definite signals from the interested quarters in the Government of India to fall in line and took his time. He in fact took undue time, in the view of those, who are in a haste to strike a deal with the separatists and Pakistan. In the very first meeting of the Working Group, to the clarification of a query posed by this author as to whether decisions will be taken in the Working group by a majority vote or total consensus,

Justice Sagir had assured that report of the WG will be finalized only if there was a total consensus. During the deliberations of the Working Group, this author, while making his expositions on the Greater autonomy report of NC attracted the intense attention of the Chairman while making the following comment, "Sir, While coming to participate in this Working Group I was acutely conscious of the fact that I have the responsibility of the very survival of my community on my shoulders, during the deliberations which have taken place here I have come to realize that I have the responsibility of the minorities of the State on my shoulders. Sir I am sure that you will agree with me that you also have the responsibility of the minorities of this nation on your shoulders while conducting this Working Group."

Justice Sagir could not have submitted the report, which he eventually did, if he would have followed the due process of first completing the remaining agenda of the Working Group, then submitting the draft report for acceptance by the members, seeking a total consensus on it as he had promised and then duly winding up the proceedings of the Working Group. When he changed midway the agenda for the fourth meeting of the Working Group and incorporated the presentation of Wajahat Habibullah, he left no one in doubt about his helplessness by offering no answers when the members asked him the reasons for doing so. He looked with embarrassment towards his secretary in the Group, Sh. Ajit Kumar, perhaps telling us that someone else had taken this decision. Justice Sagir could not have submitted the report if he would have listened to his conscience, which he did for sometime. He eventually neither disappointed Dr Farooq Abdullah nor that section in Government of India for whom the unfinished work of the Working Group was becoming a major hurdle. Submission of a report which at least will not come in way of the pre fixed objective of the so called search for peace with Pakistan had perhaps become an imperative necessity.

### Paradigm Shift

When Kathwari was invited to India along with his proposals 'Kashmir: A Way Forward', it marked a major change in the strategic perspectives of Indian state. Kathwari plan was a

rechristened Dixon Formula. It envisaged a quasi independent or eventually independent Greater Muslim Kashmir. To Dixon doing this was completing the 'unfinished agenda' of partition of India.

Nehru from the inception was opposed to an Independent Kashmir. He had out rightly communicated to Muslim leaders of Kashmir that, "he would prefer to hand over the State to Pakistan on a platter rather than support its independence and allow it to be turned into a centre of international intrigue and danger to both India and Pakistan." It is not to say that Nehru and his successors till Vajpayee considered independence or quasi independence for Jammu and Kashmir as a political blasphemy. There is a lot of evidence available to suggest that Nehru and his successors in Congress flirted with these options but predominantly from a tactical perspective. For strategic planners in India counterpoising Independence or Autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir to counter pro-Pak sentiment in the State has always been a very attractive option. They always believed that keeping these options alive, and also nourishing them would provide India leverage to wrong foot Pakistan. Bereft of the profound understanding of the issues involved and oblivious of the implications, they flaunted this manoeuvre more often than less as a strategic necessity. By accepting Independence or quasi independence options as possible concepts for clinching a deal with Pakistan, India has virtually checkmated itself. Pakistanis now publicly claim that they are actually agreeing to India's position and so there should be no delay in a final settlement.

The formulation that Two Nation theory can be countered only by a Three Nation theory is turning out to be a fatal self goal. Both theories are ideologically one and the same. Cutting the Two Nation politics into regional or ethnic denominators does not resolve its basic incompatibility with a state based on recognition of plural diversity on the principle of equality. Breaking away of Bangladesh from Pakistan only solved the problem of power sharing within the frame work of the bigger Pakistan. It did not resolve the conflict with an inclusive secular nation because it defined its separation from India on the same principle of two nation theory.

The symbiotic relation which Pakistan evolved between Pro-Pak and pro-independence/autonomy politics in Jammu and Kashmir could not be properly

comprehended within the framework of the strategic perspective of India. This perspective visualized harnessing of Muslim identity politics and constitutionally fortifying Muslim sub-nationalism in the State as not only an antidote to Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir but also an effective device to mobilize Muslim vote bank in rest of India. It considered Muslim communalism in India as merely a reaction to the tyranny of Hindu majority. The entire approach over the years has become not only a device to circumvent the issue of Muslim communalism in India but to protect and nourish it.

Despite all this, till Kathwari's visit, Indian State had not totally closed its eyes to the incompatibility of an autonomous sphere of Muslim interests in Jammu and Kashmir with the secular nation building. That explains why over the years the process of erosion of article 370 remained alive. Extension of jurisdiction of Supreme Court of India, CAG, fundamental rights and many other central laws was an expression to dissolve this incompatibility. A dominant section of Indian State and the political establishment never agreed to elevate Article 370 from a transitory provision to a permanent feature of Indian constitution. The strategic paradigm of fortifying Muslim identity politics in Jammu and Kashmir and rest of India to negate the appeal of two nation theory has lead to the creation of broadly two sections within Indian State and the political establishment.

One such section always had a subversive motivation and visualized recognition to Muslim Sub-nationalism in Jammu and Kashmir as a space to build a Greater Muslim Kashmir and use this to impair the indivisible unity of Indian Republic from within. This section always wanted Muslim identity politics in Jammu and Kashmir to be alive and kicking to use it as a cardinal insult to balkanize India along its sub-national diversity.

The second segment constitutes of those who gave more credence to the tactical value of harnessing Muslim sub-nationalism but only to weaken the appeal of Pakistan in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. While keeping the affront to Muslim identity politics to the minimum, this section however did try to neutralize the disruptive potential of special status of Jammu and Kashmir to the unity of India. This group nourished a misplaced wish that eventually Indian democracy will prove to be a stronger force and Muslim identity politics in the state will loose its relevance. This group has

premised their approach on the line that Muslim communalism has not to be contested; it has to be given minimum affront and the best choice is to circumvent it.

Over the years there has been a ping pong battle between these two mindsets, one seeking to delegitimise the religious identity politics, the other doing everything to consolidate Greater Muslim Kashmir. When Muslim majority Doda was carved out of the Hindu majority Jammu province in 1948, followed by carving out of Shia Muslim majority Kargil out of Buddhist majority Ladakh, we were witnessing the counter responses to the process of fuller integration of Jammu and Kashmir unleashed not from Pakistan but from within. Nehruvian strategic paradigm kept this internal conflict in the nation building process alive.

The promotion of Kathwari plan by Vajpayee government marked the demise of this strategic perspective. The new paradigm recognizes the three nation proposals of independence or semi-independence of Kashmir as a solution to Indo-Pak conflict rather than a tactical antidote to the two nation vision. Recognizing Pakistan as a partner in settling the future of the only Muslim majority state of India has not only made the settlement on Jammu and Kashmir as the unfinished agenda of partition but opened afresh the Muslim question in India. The support extended by eminent Muslims like AG Noorani or Shabana Azmi to the separatist cause in Kashmir have the sinister forebodings of the new confidence of a section of Indian Muslim elite to question the very unity of the nation. Vajpayee's strategic vision underlined that the frontline Muslim state of Pakistan can live in harmony with a secular and Hindu majority India. This shift in India's strategic perspective is of the nature of a mutation. From visualizing the creation of an Independent Greater Muslim Kashmir as more dangerous than its secession to Pakistan and a potential hot bed of international intrigue, the new perspective seems to view the creation of the same as a bridge of peace between Pakistan- a confessional ideological State- and India a secular state.

### Giving Away Kashmir

Manmohan Singh's tenure has carried the strategic shift further away from the Nehru – Gandhi era. The peace with Pakistan at any price seems to be getting internalized in a way that it has become more than a strategic necessity— an ideological imperative. The subversive entrenchment within, emboldened by its

increasing reach and sway, is gradually succeeding in harnessing the might and wherewithal of the State itself to mount a concerted attack on the Nation.

The three Round Table Conferences and the meetings of the various Working Groups and the conclusions there of are manifest examples of how Indian State is made to invest in creating a Greater Muslim Kashmir.

A section of pro India participants, invited to the First Round Table Conference, did debate the wisdom of participating in it. They had legitimate apprehensions that the conduct of such a conference was in fact an exercise to accord democratic legitimacy to certain concessions that Government of India was ready to make to Pakistan and the separatists in the Valley. The Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had already had series of very high profile meetings with a section of Separatist leadership. These meetings, lasting for hours, along with the top most officers of Government of India had catapulted the separatist leadership into the national and international limelight once again at a time when their credibility on the ground was at the lowest. The Chenab Solution, which had prominently come to the public realm after Vajpayee invited Kathwari and sent his special emissary Sh.R K Mishra to start a dialogue process with Pakistan, had attained the stature of a possible solution considered more by the Government of India than by Pakistan. Was the participation of pro India leadership in Jammu and Kashmir in the Round Table Conference along with the separatist leadership sought to give an impression of involving everyone so that the compromise already worked out could be presented as a fate accompli to the wider national opinion? Retrospectively this apprehension seems to have been well founded. At that time however the opinion that Round Table Conference accorded legitimacy to the diversity of political opinion in the State and presented an opportunity to show the separatists their position in over all political environment of the state clinched the argument against dissociating from the RTC.

Through The Three RTC's and the Working Groups, GOI pushed through all such proposals, which have critically strengthened the processes for the creation of Greater Muslim Kashmir. A process of reconciliation with separatism on their terms

(Contd. on Page 19)



## Giving Away Kashmir

(From Page 18)

has by now been firmly grounded through a series of administrative, quasi legal and political maneuvers. These measures are such that they do not need a legislative sanction of the Parliament and as such are not dependent upon the political consensus.

The deliberations in RTC's and Working Groups amply reflect a deliberation in implementing an agenda which had already been unleashed. The very architecture of the RTC's was developed in a way were Government of India was placed as a neutral arbitrator between pro India opinion and those who wanted the change the status quo of the relation between Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India. Many times Government of India seemed to facilitate the separatist agenda by maintaining stoic silence even when the Muslim leadership of the valley put forward misplaced constitutional arguments or historically unfounded and false propositions undermining the very accession of the state with India and attacking its sovereignty. When none other than Omar Abdullah said in the very first RTC that, "we have signed only instrument of accession and not instrument of merger," the statement had profound implications needing a proper response from the highest in the Government of India. In the same meeting the leader of PDP and then Cabinet Minister in the state government, Sh Muzaffar Beigh said, "Article 370 had a treaty status". He opined that this treaty had developed after an understanding between Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir and Constituent Assembly of India both of which as per him were sovereign bodies. This blatant falsehood and sinister twist was never contested by Government of India.

A section of Indian State and political establishment seem to be allowing blatant falsehoods aimed at wrecking the sovereignty of the nation in Jammu and Kashmir in such a way so that public at large not only in Jammu and Kashmir but in rest of India as well as Internationally is convinced that India has no Case in Jammu and Kashmir. The deliberations in the Working Groups were also conducted in a manner to undermine all legitimate imperatives of National interests. Government of India is mirroring the attitudes adopted in the build up to the partition of India.

The Working Group on Confidence Building Measures never discussed

anti- terrorism measures as an important confidence building measure for the return of normalcy in the state. It did not at all debate the relevance of anti terrorism laws in the state in the light of the ongoing terrorist campaign. It did not even cursorily address the human rights violation in the State due to terrorism. The Working Group focused primarily on the State specific aspects of Human Rights Violations just as Amnesty International and Asia Watch used to do in 90's.

The mindset employed can be understood by the written admission of the Working Group on Confidence Building Measures while dealing with the question of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus, "the Working Group concerns itself with the rehabilitation and improvement of conditions of the militancy victims and did not go deeper into the causes or the genesis of the militancy in the state." The Working Groups followed a clear cut direction to ignore all issues which would bring into focus the issues of ideologically motivated violence in the state and bring the ugly side of armed Muslim separatism in the state to light. Their recommendations were meticulously in line with the separatist demands.

WG on Confidence Building Measures recommended abrogation of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), relief not only to the victims of terrorism but the families of the killed terrorists, create conditions for the return of persons to Jammu and Kashmir, who had gone to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir and Pakistan for training and organizing support for armed separatism etc. etc. Only lip service was rendered to all other issues including the problems faced by refugees, who had come from West Pakistan, while as PoK refugees of 1947 were not even mentioned in the report. The political motivation at work from behind can also be clearly understood by reading some recommendations of the same Working Group. The recommendations state, "To start unconditional dialogue process with militant groups for finding sustainable solutions to the problems of militancy....To examine the role of media in generating an image of the people of the state as to lessen the indignity and suspicion that the people face outside the state". WG on Strengthening Relations across LoC never even considered the issue of illegal economy in the state and impact on it by cross LoC trade. It never discussed the issue of Middle East based

business mafia seeking to suck up Jammu and Kashmir into its lap even when the leaders of the business committee in Kashmir have been openly canvassing with their fraternity that cross LoC trade would integrate Kashmir valley with the economy of not Pakistan but Middle East.

The WG recommendations strengthened the processes already unleashed to bring about economic and political integration of the Muslim majority areas of Jammu with the overwhelmingly Muslim Kashmir valley. Mughal road connecting Poonch-Rajouri with Kashmiri through Shopian-Pulwama, and Sinthan top road connecting moutaneous Kishtwar district with Anantnag, construction were given further impetus. The handing over of the national power projects to J&K government assumed new stridency during the RTCs and WG meetings and the subsequent recommendations have already created an agenda for developing the infrastructure economic, legal and political for the Greater Muslim Kashmir..

During the deliberations of the 3rd RTC the Muslim representatives from Kargil vehemently opposed the concept of demilitarization and brought to light the humane role played by Indian security establishment for the people living in Kargil, Drass and other remote areas. The entire exposition eventually was ignored and never allowed to be known in the rest of the country primarily because Gol had already embarked upon the process of demilitarization. In the same RTC the then MLA from Bandipore addressed the PM and said, "Sir, why was the All Party Hurriet Conference Chief Syed Ali Shah Gilani was released from Jail before this conference. What was the assessment of Govt of India? If he was released why was he allowed to address a public rally at the airport itself? What was the assessment of Gol about this? Do you know Sir that Lashkar-e-Toiba flags were flaunted in this rally? Do you know sir what were the slogans raised in the rally? Sir, they raised the slogans- **Lashkar Aayi, Lashkar Aayi, Manmohan ki Maut Aayi, Azad ki maut Aayi.**"

The release of the radical pro-Pakistan Hurriet leader retrospectively seems to have a purpose. Gilani was perhaps released to raise the din of radical demands outside so that the proposals of Self Rule, Greater Autonomy raised by Peoples Democratic Party and National Conference within RTC appear to be moderate options and could be endorsed.

The attitude of



**Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee with Nawaz Sharief during the Lahore visit.**

Government of India to Jamaat, Ali Shah Gilani and Dukhtaran-e-Millat (DeM) appears to have a purpose when we see that it is Gol which is investing in pushing through the Kathwari/Dixon plan as a solution. While all other separatist leaders have lost their credibility and potential to mobilize public, it is only Syed Ali Shah Gilani, DeM and Jamaat-e-Islami which can keep the pot boiling in the public and providing the required pressure and momentum to the Govt of India for giving concessions. It is well known that whenever Govt acted firmly on the ground, the Intifada never took off. And it assumed the proportions of an uprising when Govt of India publicly declared retraction of its authority from the ground. Omar Abdullah asked the Prime Minister in one of the RTCs as to why has been Government of India always befriending and encouraging such elements in the State who have a manifest anti India stand on Kashmir.

Giving away of Kashmir is basically a process of recasting the concepts of sovereignty of Indian Nation, its frontiers and its secular vision. The Self rule Document of PDP, which many believe has been prepared by government of India, openly talks about redefining the concepts of nation, sovereignty, ethnicity, regions etc etc. When Gol India talks about porous borders, rendering borders irrelevant, settlement between stake holders it is talking about a fundamental ideological shift in the nation building vision. To qualify them as tactical interventions or strategic imperatives right or wrong will be a gross misjudgment.

To those who pose serious questions about the gradual process of capitulation in Jammu and Kashmir conducted and calibrated by sections of the State, the argument put

forward in the back channels is the intense international pressure brought about by USA and China. It is not incidental that one of the first public expressions of a 'Two Front' situation for India has been given by none other than Brijesh Mishra the National Security Advisor to Vajpayee Government and one of the brains which set the peace process with Pakistan rolling. Prodded and patronize by the State a voluntary censorship seems to be in vogue not to discuss the content and quality of this pressure. It is true even after 9/11 USA has not given any indication that it has changed its policy on Kashmir or Pakistan vis a vis India. But it is also true that at a time when it is being parroted from within India that Gol has been forced to enter into a dialogue with Pakistan under US pressure, American government has publicly released the information about terrorists arrested in USA which link the 26/11 terror attacks in Mumbai directly to serving officers in Pakistani Army. The Statement of Robert Gates that India may loose its reserves of restrain in case of one more terrorist attack on Indian soil was less a prodding in favour of a dialogue and concession to separatists and more a warning to Pakistan.

This is not to say that USA is not seeking such cooperation from India which addresses US concern more than Indian concerns. The fact is that USA has a lesser leverage to exert pressures on India than it had before 9/11. Before the terror attacks on twin towers in New York, US government had its relations intact with Pakistan and rest of the radical Muslim countries around the Middle East. It had not entered Iraq and was exploring a relationship with Taliban. Now the situation is different. USA, by the admission of its own experts, is over stretched and needs India more in an

atmosphere of global recession than any time in history. Why is Government of India more than willing to accommodate American view now than it has been ever before? Not only that, why are propaganda campaigns like the suspension of aid to Jammu and Kashmir by World Bank because it has suddenly woken up to recognize Jammu and Kashmir as a dispute, left uncontested? That too when the representative of WB has clarified that they are continuing to finance many projects in India including Jammu and Kashmir.

The bogey of increasing international pressure is being crafted from within to target Indian public opinion at a time when dialogue with separatists is going on and Pakistan is unraveling from within. A section from within the government and the political establishment wants to present a compromise in Jammu and Kashmir as a deliverance to the nation from a perpetual confrontation, even if it means abandoning its frontiers, its people in the State, its civilisational responsibility, central features of its eco heritage, secularism and everything which India stands for.

I participated in the first SAFMA conference in New Delhi immediately after a group of Pakistani Journalists had for the first time visited Jammu and Kashmir. During the lunch session of the Conference I overheard a conversation between the visiting Pakistani journalist and an official of the Pakistani embassy in India. The journalist was telling the official in Urdu that Indians while talking about settlement of Kashmir issue always say that they can not allow second Partition of India. The official said that Gandhi and Nehru also used to say like this before the partition.

**\*(The author is Chairman of Panun Kashmir)**









## The whole nation should apologise to Kashmiri Pandits--Gen. Sinha

(From Page 17)

thanked Panun Kashmir. He felt peace after twenty years. He stressed the need to educate young about our culture. He volunteered himself to take this mission forward.

Referring his recent visit to Kashmir, he said that he asked a Kashmiri Muslim boy, who was 16, that why these houses were empty. The boy replied that Pandits left Valley of their own. These children were wrongly educated, Mr. Suri informed.

Sanjay Suri said that he belonged to a generation which bleeds for Kashmir but the next

generation will be ignorant of Kashmir. He stressed the need to do something about preserving the culture.

Dr. Shakti Bhan artfully gave a slide presentation as to how the population of Pandits was decreasing. She stressed Pandits to adopt at least two child family norm. She presented the data based on a survey done by Jamia Millia Islamia in 2003.

The survey reports that there is decrease in the young population of Pandits due to low percentage of birth in these twenty years. There are many reasons for it, as

there is no privacy in



camps. There has been many unusual disease like diabetes, high blood pressure and early menopause. This has also been authenticated by ML

Koul report of 2006..

A felicitation ceremony was also held to honour persons of immi-

### CONTINUATION

nence who contributed to the welfare of Displaced Kashmiri Hindu Community in their respective fields. They included famous Bollywood Actor Sanjay Suri, late Padamshri Sh. J.N. Kaul, Sh. C.L. Gadoo former president Kashmir Samiti, Dr. Ashwani Pandita, Smt. Lovely Chandra and Sh. Dhananjay Kaul.

A colourful devotional renditions of Kashmiri

Bhakti, folk songs presented by leading community artists including Sh. Pran Nath Koul, Sh. Raj Kumar Kachroo, Smt Lovely Chandra and Sh. Dhananjay Kaul enthralled the audience.

The resolutions were presented by Panun



Kashmir Vice Chairman Sh. Vijay Tickoo and the proceedings of the convention where ably conducted by Sh. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary Panun Kashmir.



## Jammu RSS helping in Hindu capitulation in J&K

(From Page 15)

called to Delhi for a briefing, he returned a different man and began to advocate a mainly academic approach to the policy of compromise unfolding in Jammu & Kashmir. The directive to him was perhaps on the lines of - Make noises but do not involve in building public resistance.

The process of dividing Jammu to carve out Greater Kashmir is now clearly unfolding. When the resolution to carve out Chenab Valley Hill Council was passed in the upper house of the Jammu & Kashmir Legislature, the BJP MLAs ignored it. When the Prime Minister hinted about a final settlement on Jammu & Kashmir, BJP legislators in Jammu did not

even indulge in symbolic breast-beating.

Parivar leaders explain this away in terms of their incompetence, not connivance. But they fail to explain why RSS has over the years willfully cultivated incompetent people in leadership roles in Jammu. The cognoscenti in Jammu say this is being done deliberately so that the possibilities of a people's resistance to a 'compromise' between the Government of India and entrenched Muslim Communalism are kept within manageable limits.

Unfortunately, the most sustained campaign to lure Kashmiri Hindus into a compromise is being undertaken by designated RSS persons in Kashmir. Worse, over the years such

persons have been encouraged to flirt with intelligence agencies and the government establishment. This is believed to serve a twin purpose for the RSS – one, the organisation remains close to power echelons in the government, and two, it is free to play strategic games.

The Parivar's compliance with Muslim communal imperatives to stifle Hindu resistance and its hostaging of Hindus to Muslim supremacy is rooted in the fond, or vain, hope that RSS' friendship with the Pakistani establishment will help win Indian Muslim votes for the BJP.

Arun Jaitley, Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha, recently tried to

explain to a select Jammu audience that the Centre's accommodating approach towards separatists was due to escalating international pressure. Earlier, NDA National Security Adviser Brijesh Mishra had undertaken the same exercise, referring to a 'two front' situation for India for the first time. These utterances have less significance in terms of projecting the foreign policy failures of the Congress, and are far more important in building a rationale for a compromise (read abject surrender) on Kashmir.

Persuading the Displaced Hindus to accept the government perspective on their return to the Valley by calling it a 'Balidan' in the national interest reflects either a

perversion of an ideological movement, or its subversion.

When Washington has begun to recognize the potential of linkages between Lashkar-e-Toiba and Al-Qaeda, and their intention to foment terrorist activities in India, to even provoke a war, and when terrorist activities are showing a sudden flip in the state, the Jammu RSS leadership has embarked on a campaign to blunt the opposition of Kashmiri Hindus to the so-called peace process and government manoeuvres to force their symbolic return. They have chosen to ignore the lessons of massacres of Kashmiri Hindus at Sangrampora, Wandhama, and Nadimarg, to similar return moves.

For the realization of Greater Muslim Kashmir,

forcing Kashmiri Hindus to return has two purposes: one, to camouflage the creation of a Muslim state within the boundaries of India by providing the compromise a secular texture; and two, to create a pedestal for the division of Jammu along its Hindu-Muslim demographic divide.

After all, if Kashmiri Hindus are showcased as having accepted to live in a radically Islamized Valley, forgetting their genocide, what rationale will Hindus living in Muslim majority areas of Jammu have to oppose the creation of a Greater Kashmir? Has RSS chosen to be a facilitator in the capitulation of Hindus in Jammu & Kashmir before the advance of Islamic order and power?

*\*(The writer is a senior journalist)*

## Jammu & Kashmir: Noorani worse than Justice Sageer Ahmed

(From Page 8)

they brought Kashmir practically at par with other regions of the country. Noorani not only wants the exclusion of Jammu & Kashmir from the constitutional and political organization of India. He also wants to link the political future of the non-Muslim minorities in the state with the separatist, communal and highly biased Kashmiri Muslim leadership. You may put in any amount of effort to find if Noorani has in his seditious essay even once talked of the political aspirations, urges and needs of the non-Kashmiri Muslim minorities, you would come out of the exercise minus everything.

But Noorani is not content with all this. He also wants that the Union Government should apologize for the "crimes it has committed in Kashmir". Not just that. Noorani, in addition, wants the Union Government to apply the self-rule doctrine in its original form so that Jammu & Kashmir becomes independent for all practical purposes and Pakistan accomplishes what it has been striving to accomplish since 1947 through regular and conventional wars as well as through the ongoing low-intensity proxy war, which has already consumed thousands of lives in the state.

The extent of the loss of lives during the ongoing low-intensity proxy war can be gauged from the fact that it has consumed more lives as compared to the loss the nation suffered during the four Pakistan's full-scale wars on India in 1947-48, 1965, 1971 and 1999. Noorani, in short, wants liberal India to quit Jammu & Kashmir forthwith; wants the Kashmiri Muslim identity politics to flourish; wants the Talibanization of the state's polity, society and economy; wants the non-Kashmiri Muslim minorities in the state to lead a life of third grade subjects; wants another partition of India on the basis of the pernicious and out-dated two-nation theory; wants the Government of India to reward those who have been firing on and killing our valiant soldiers and punish those with no blood on their hands because they are irrelevant; and wants Pakistan's presence in Jammu & Kashmir so that it could avenge all the humiliations and defeats it suffered at the hands of the brave Indian Army, particularly the defeat it suffered in 1971.

It is indeed shocking and disgusting that there is a section of media that allows the likes of Noorani to pour venom on India and Indian laws, preach sedition and promote the cause of foreign countries. It is also disturbing to note that the Indian authorities do not rein in such rebels who roam about freely as distinguished and respectful peace-mongers, trouble-shooters and secularists. Enough is enough. New Delhi must behave. It must discharge its constitutional obligations by taking on the likes of Noorani. The sooner it does the better.

I conclude with the comment that no Justice Sageer Ahmed because this writer has already written a comprehensive write-up on him and the nature and implications of the recommendations he has made.

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## Concessions to Separatists will jeopardise security of minorities

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Jan 29: Describing the advocates of concessions to separatists and Pakistan as the overground workers of separatism in the state, Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo and reputed political analyst Prof. Hari Om said that any such concessions will not only jeopardise security of minorities in the state but also fuel the *Jihad* and violence. They also welcomed the attempts of defining threshold of tolerance vis-a-vis Pakistan by a section of GoI and the US appreciation of the same and said that the absence of the definite threshold nourished the caldron of genocide of Hindus.

Addressing a press conference alongwith Dr. M.K. Teng, Chairman Pak Advisory and political think tank, the two leaders decried attempts to seek concessions for separatists and Pakistan under the garb of international pressure.

Asking GoI to make public what national or international pressure is prompting it to appease Pakistan and separatists, Dr. Chrungoo said that there is no international pressure on the issue of Kashmir but on the other hand there is more understanding of the machinations of terrorism across the globe. "We want to know from the Government of India which pressure national or international is prompting it to appease Pakistan and engage in a dialogue with separatists undermining almost every aspect of National Security in the state and the country on the whole," asked Dr. Chrungoo. Rejecting the Contentions of those in GoI or the US Govt. that concessions to separatism in J&K will help douse the fires of Jihad in J&K, Pakistan and Afghanistan, Dr. Chrungoo said, "the concessions to separatism in J&K will lead to a flare up of Jihad in the region, particularly in Jammu and Kashmir state and jeopardise the survival of Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists living in the state as well as those Muslims with a liberal opinion". Lashing out at those political quarters in the state which are advocating concessions in J&K to separatists and Pakistan, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo described them as overground workers of Armed separatism in the state.

Referring to the recent statement of the US Defence Secretary Robert Gates that Al Qaeda and Leshkar-e-Toiba are hell bent upon to crystalise a bigger conflagration between India and Pakistan and the repeat of 26/11 may fuel Indo-Pak war, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo described it a welcome development. "We welcome the opinion of Robert Gates that Al Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Toiba have a linkage and are working in tandem. It seems the world opinion is gradually rising to the reality that anti-American component of terrorism in the region and anti-India component are essentially the same," Chrungoo observed.

Welcoming the attempts of a section of GoI to make threshold of tolerance vis-a-vis Pakistan public and appreciation of the same by the US, Prof. Hari Om said, "It seems Robert Gates and the Union Home Minister Chidambaram are on the same page as the latter has many times stated the resolve of the nation to strike back in case of repeat of 26/11 type attack". "We have constantly maintained that the policy of the GoI of having a vague and almost dissolved threshold of tolerance has nourished the cauldron of genocide of Hindus and other minorities in Jammu and Kashmir" he said.

Referring to the Pakistan President Asif Ali Zardari's reported statement in PoK that struggle for Kashmir is ideological and will continue for 1000 years, Prof. Hari Om said that it has ended any ambiguity but it unfortunate that our political leaders don't recognise it and are ready to give concessions under the garb of terrorism. Referring to so-called international pressure, Prof. Hari Om said that no sovereign nation works under



Dr. M.K. Teng, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo and Prof. Hari Om in a joint press conference held at Jammu .

pressure. He described India a strong nation and asked the GoI to recitify the mistakes made in

last 60 years.

He said that the minorities in the state have not given mandate to

anyone in New Delhi to decide about their future outside the framework of Indian constitution as they want to strengthen

India Union in the state.

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By Upender Ambardar

**T**HE Shivratri rituals structured down the generation are precious legacies of our forebear. In addition to the chronicled account, the rituals also interpret the socio-cultural evolution of our community, asserted Sh. Amar Nath Koul (Miya), an erstwhile resident of Kocha Nidan Sahib, Rainawari Srinagar and presently putting-up at Anand Nagar Bohri, Jammu. Refreshing the festival related memories, Sh. Miya recalled that even on 'Vagur Bah', i.e. a day prior to Shivratri, the ritualistic food preparations were that of fish and meat. The pooja utensils installed in the '*Vatuk Kuth*' comprised earthen utensils of '*Gagar*', a wide mouthed '*Doul*', two '*Sanivarees*', one '*Sounipatul*' and an additional pooja vessel called '*Ram Goud*', which was in the form of a narrow mouthed clay pitcher '*Nout*'.

Interestingly, on '*Vagur Bah*', the ritualistic pooja was performed only for the '*Sanivaries*' and not for the '*Ram Goud*'. The pooja utensils were taken to charihaenzpur yarbal, which was adjacent to Vetal Bhairav Shrine for getting them filled-up with water usually in the morning.

As per his family reeth, the traditional dish offerings to the '*Bhairav Doul*' comprised '*Rogan Josh*', combined dish of fish and *nadru*, performed after midnight. The walnut pooja on Amavasya i.e. '*Doon Mavas*' was performed at home and not on the river bank. Sh. Miya also disclosed that as per his family '*reeth*', it was ordained to put the oil lit earthen *diya*'s only on the enclosing courtyard wall and the nearest road crossing.

The Shivratri rituals represent the multiplicity of our cultural and social ethos and also depict our religious ethnicity, declared Sh. Kanya Lal Saproo, an erstwhile resident of Gulab Bagh, district Ganderbal and presently residing at

Bhagwati Nagar Jammu. Reminiscing about the festival of yesteryears, he revealed that fish, '*roganjosh*' and mixed dish of meat and *nadru* were the ritualistic cuisines offered to other '*Bhairav Doul*' on Shivratri. In contrast to it, on '*Doon Mavus*' the mixed dish of *palakh-nadru*' was cooked. During the ritualistic 'knock at the door' or '*Thuk Thuk*' rite, it was customary for his family to say to have come from Tulamulla and Vicharnag in reply to a query about the specified place from where journeyed. It was probably said to emphasize the nearness of the holy shrines of Tulamulla and Vicharnag to his abode at Gulab Bagh.

During the said symbolic conversation, health wealth, good produce, overall prosperity, wisdom and knowledge are symbolically wished and granted. The Shivratri rituals having exceptional diversity and variety are proud expressions of our ancient social set-up and value structure, observed Sh. Moti Lal Raina (Razgaroo) an erstwhile resident of Drabiyar, Habbakadal Sringar and now putting up at Shivratri Jammu. He also stressed that centuries old treasured rituals share a history, which have stretched into legends as they take us through the splendoured journey and glory of bygone ages. Counting his conversation Sh. Raina opined that rituals should never outlive their utility even under the heightened pressure of time and hurried life style of the present times. The Shivratri rituals are not only the cultural and religious accessories, which reassert our distinctive identity but also reveal the depth of our adoration and surrender to our most favoured Isht Dev and God of Gods Lord Shiva. With nostalgia weighing heavily on his mind, Sh Moti Lal Raina (Razgaroo) recounted vividly that the ritualistic offering to '*Bhairav Doul*' used to be water fowl cooked with *nadru*, locally known as '*Pachin or Shikar*' meat preparation of '*maech*'.

He also disclosed that '*Vatuk Parmujan*' ritual was performed even during the heightened winter chill at the Vitasta Yarbal Ghat of Drabiyar, with the river embankment coming alive during the pooja.

During the immersion ritual of '*Doon Mavus*', the flowing river water was cut crosswise seven times with

a knife. '*Thuk Thuk Thuk*' was an integral part of the said ritual. Making an addition to the said conversation, Smt. Krishna Raina (Dhar) stated that Shivratri rituals endorse our earthly adoration and personalised devotion for Lord Shiva and His celestial spouse Goddess Parvati. She divulged that delectable dishes of yellow meat mixed with turnip and 'Nadeer moka' were traditional offerings to the '*Bhairav Doul*' in her parental house at Bana Mohalla, Sringar, where '*Doon Mavus*' pooja was performed in the '*Vatuk Kuth*' or pooja room instead of the Yarbal Ghat. Sh Moti Lal Raina also revealed that offering of liquor to the '*Bhairav Doul*' by some families having '*Sahib*' surname of Kharyar Habbakadal Srinagar was an unusual and uncommon Shivratri ritual. A good quality liquor used to be specially procured for use in the sail ritual in Shivratri pooja.

The Shivratri rituals having metaphorical meaning and veiled wisdom are products of careful thought and insight gathered during the successive waves of proceeding times, affirmed Sh PN Tikoo, an old resident of Kralkhud/Peer Bagh Srinagar and now a resident of Vijay Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. Sharing the '*Hayreth*' related imperishable memories, Sh. Tikoo recapitulated that on Phagun Krishan Paksh Duvadashi, locally known as '*Vagur Bah*', a flat bottomed earthen utensil locally called '*Aaneut*' was reverentially seated amidst pooja on the back-side space of the mud herth called locally as '*Daan*' in the kitchen. The ritualistic combined dish of yellow meat and turnip was put in it amidst elaborate pooja. However, strangely enough on the next day of Shivratri the most sought after vegetarian dishes of yellow cheese, dumalu, nadir yakhni, cauliflower, nadru-palakh and mixed dish of potatoes and peas formed a part of the kitchen repertoire as per the family reeth as meat was a taboo in the family '*Vatak Kuth*' i.e. the family pooja room on Shivratri day.

Making an addition to the conversation, Sh PN Tikoo further revealed that Vatuk or Pooja utensils comprised '*Nout*', one '*Bhairav Doul*', one '*Resh Doul*', two small sized earthen pots called '*Machivari*' and four more small sized clay pots, locally

known as '*Sanivari*', one '*Sanipotal*' and a dhoop holder known as '*dhupjoor*'. As per the family reeth, four walnuts were put in each of the two '*Machivari*', whileas only one walnut was put in each of the four '*Sanivari*'. All the cooked dishes after having been mixed with the rice were put inside the designated '*Bhairav Doul*' amidst elaborate pooja, while as only rice mixed with unboiled milk was offered to '*Resh Doul*', Curiously enough, there is no symbolic representation of the Goddess Parvati among the pooja utensils of the said Tikoo family. '*Doon Mavas*' pooja was performed at home and not at the river bank. On Tila Ashtami, oil lit earthen lamps were placed on the stepping stone stair, locally called '*Brandh*', the courtyard wall the adjacent lane and the Yarbal Ghat.

The rituals are real life expressions of undying love and adoration for the great God Lord Shiva affirmed Sh. Madhusudhan Raina, an original resident of Seer Jagir, tehsil Sopore, district Baramulla and presently putting up at Trilokpur, Gole Gujral Jammu.

He also advocated total commitment and steadfast loyalty for the observance of the Shivratri rituals. Thick with the cherished memories, Sh. Raina disclosed that '*Vatuk*' comprised '*Nout*', a small sized earthen utensils, locally called '*Choud*' three wide mouthed clay utensils called '*Doulji*', and a '*Sonipotal*' and four clay pots called '*Varie*'. During Shivratri pooja, cooked rice and meat delicacies were put in one of the '*Vaer*' while as only milk and water was ritualistically offered to the remaining three earthen pots called '*Vaers*'. Out of the three '*Douji's*' only milk was offered to one of them, whileas in rest of the two water and a few walnuts usually in odd number were put in them. As per the reeth of the said family, it was customary to offer snow to the '*Nout*', the symbolic representation of Lord Shiva. Sh Madhusudhan Raina also disclosed that many a times snow had to be procured from the snow copped mountains of the adjacent village of Chanad, Delina. All the pooja utensils were decked with '*Baelpattar*' leaves, the coloured Virkam and '*Bredmushik*' flowers gathered from the nearby forests. The said family would also offer *pooja* to

'*Parthishor*', the home made figurative earthen linga, for which the soil was collected from chanad forest range.

In addition to the electric lamp, an oil lit earthen diya was also kept burning throughout the night of Shivratri in the '*Vatak Kuth*'. Sh Madhsudhan Raina also disclosed that Pooja utensils locally called '*Vatak Bhane*' were in first instance stored in the out-house store room, locally called '*Kuch*' from where they were taken inside the house only on the Shivratri day. Adding to his conversation, Sh Raina also stated that during the process of filling up of the Pooja utensils with water and walnuts, the ladies of the house would attire themselves in new outfits and also wear new '*athhoar*'; in the ears. On the day of '*Salam*' the Kul-Brahman would invariably come early morning to apply chandan *tilak* to the house inmates, which as per family belief would spell auspiciousness for the ensuing year. During the ritual of '*Thuk Thuk*', only an elderly lady of the house would tap the door and during the course of said conversation in reply to a symbolic query about the identity of person, the answer was that of '*Vatak Raza*'. In confirmity with the family reeth, about three dozen oil lit earthen lamps filled with a sprinkling of black sesame seeds were placed in all the rooms, yarbal ghat, charcoal ash heap, livestock room, cowdung heap and the enclosing compound wall in tune with the family belief that no space should remain in shade on that day. It was also disclosed that after the end of '*Doon Mavas Pooja*', all the ladies of the village would collectively perform a sort of circular dance on the Yarbal Ghat with their hands drawn towards the sky. It was akin to the ritual dance performed by Kashmiri Pandit ladies during the Yaegnopavit and marriage ceremonies.

Sh Raina also revealed that fried pounded moong tikki was also a part of the walnut '*prasad*', distributed among near and dear one's. All the Raina families of the village would also cut the flaming river water seven times crosswise with a knife. It was also disclosed that some families of the village Seer Jegir had the reeth of performing pooja of fried Nadru or potato slices alongwith the walnut kernels on '*Doon Mavus*'. A curious and unusual fam-

ily reeth was that '*Thuk Thuk*' ritual was not performed on Amavasya evening but on the day of Shivratri itself after the pooja utensils were filled up with water and walnuts. Their entry inside the house was allowed only at the end of the 'knock at the door' ritual.

**The multitude of Shivratri rituals are our prized inheritance, which demonstrate our boundless and immense devotion and love for the Supreme God Lord Shiva,** observed Sh. Triloki Nath Pandita, originally hailing from the village Hutmulla, district Kupwara and now putting up at Trilokpur, Gole Gujral, Jammu. He also stressed that festival related rituals need to be faithfully observed so that we become recipient of His grace. It was also disclosed that in addition to an uncooked and uncleaned fish, blood collected in a flat earthenware (Toke) after slaughter of a sheep in the courtyard were ritualistic offerings to the designated pooja utensil called '*Bhairav Doul*' during the Shivratri pooja. As per his family custom, a small earthenware known as '*Vagur*' was also reverentially installed in the '*Vatak Kuth*' on the evening of '*Vagur Bah*', i.e. a day prior to the main festival of Shivratri. Meat preparations were the usual offerings to the '*Vagur*' also. The '*Vatuk*' comprising pooja utensils were ushered inside the house only after the completion of '*Aalath*' by waving around of a water filled pot around them.

Sh. Triloki Nath Pandita also revealed that (figurative-images) of only potter and potteress, locally known as '*Kral*' and '*Kraej*' were made-out from the kneaded rice flour. They were baked dry without oil on a pan and eventually offered to the '*Bhairav Doul*'. The '*Doon Mavus*' pooja was performed collectively by all the families of the village on the rivulet bank. In place of earthen lamps, about 30-40 oil lit walnut shells having a sprinkling of black sesame seeds were also placed in all the rooms, rivulet bank, dry cowdung heap, stored charcoal ash mass, and livestock room in the evening of Tila Ashtami. It was also customary to perform '*Jattu Toun*' by rotating the ignited old and damaged fire pots i.e. '*Kangris*' in the evening of '*Tila Ashtami*'.

—To be continued.





By Mohan Kishen Tikku

A famous Chinese pilgrim and scholar "Heun Tsiang" reached Kashmir from Urausha (Hazara) now in Pakistan in about 631AD. He stayed here for more than two years to study the Buddhist and Sanskrit lore. He travelled for more than sixteen years (629-645 AD), through India and Central Asia. His reputation as a great religious man and as a scholar preceded his actual entry in Kashmir.

Heun Tsiang had to face many hardships in the way to reach the desired place, which passed through many rocky places.

When he was about to enter the boundary of Kashmir, he was received with a great honour by the king's maternal uncle, sent there in advance. The visiting dignitary was provided with all necessary conveyances and a special horse from Royal stable.

While proceeding towards the capital of Kashmir-he passed through several Buddhist Monasteries, where he offered worship. He also spent a night at Hushkara Vihara.

Heun Tsiang along with his party reached a place Dharmashala, which was just about 7 KM from the city. The king of Kashmir was waiting at this place to receive Heun Tsiang and his party personally and conducted him to the city. The city streets were decorated with flowers etc; king's nobles and Buddhist monks received him near the entry of a monastery known as Jayandra-while seated on one of the king's elephant. Next day after spending a night in the Monastery, the king took him to his palace

as special guest.

At the palace the visiting dignitary was granted all possible comforts. The name of the king who ruled the Kashmir during the visit of Heun Tsiang is not known from any records till date. As per a Chinese text *Varahamula* (Modern Baramulla was the capital of Kashmir those days. Heun Tsiang has recorded that Kashmir was "a good agricultural country and produced abundant fruits and flowers etc. It is also yielded horses. Saffron, Lenses and medicinal plants. The lenses were probably

*Sanskrit Dahanopala-fire-stones burning gems. The crystal lenses. "The climate is very cold in season with much snow and a little wind," "The people wore serge and cotton. They were good looking. They were fond of learning and have a faith".* All facilities were extended to him so that he could fulfil his mission to India and Kashmir in particular. Scores of Buddhist heads waited for the Chinese royal guest. The king appointed more than twenty clerks for copying out the Buddhist MSS under the direction of their head. In addition to this, five more men were appointed to act as whole time attendants to the visiting Chinese scholar. He was daily invited by the king to expound and read Buddhist scriptures.

Heun Tsiang remained in Kashmir for more than two years. During this period he devoted himself to the study of selected *sutras* and *sastras*. He also tendered his homage to Buddhist holy places in Kashmir. The Buddhist Monasteries were about hundred in number, and there were above 5,000 Buddhist residences. There were four Asoka Topes, each containing a portion of the bodily relics of the

Budha.

The Chinese scholar has also put on record the tradition regarding the introduction of Buddhism into Kashmir. There are many references in the literature of Buddhism describing the beauty of the Kashmir Valley. King Ashoka while holding 3rd Buddhist Council sent special invitation to the Buddhist Chiefs of Kashmir to attend the country's council.

Heun Tsiang records that during Ashoka's rule about 500 Arhals from Pataliputra migrated to Kashmir. As per records left by the visiting Chinese scholar

Emperor Kanishka held his 4th Buddhist council in Kashmir. He further states that the work of this Council was the composition of 100,000 stanzas of commentaries on each of the three classics of canonical literature: a) *Vinaya*, b) *Abhidharma*, and c) *Sutra*.

After his stay Heun Tsiang left the Valley in 633 A.D. by way of T.Samidan route and reached Pun-nu-tso, Modern Poonch.

*\*(The writer is a journalist and presently lives at Mahinder Nagar, Jammu.)*



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By L. C. KAUL

It is not often that leaders of some political parties and ministers and others, in India and Pakistan and other countries, put forth suggestions, to resolve Kashmir imbroglio. Unfortunately they do not take into consideration, basic issues and facts and historical events which have taken place, from 1947 till date. These issues, facts and historical events are as under:-

1. In accordance with the provisions of Indian Independence Act 1947, passed by the British Parliament, the subcontinent of India was partitioned into India and Pakistan. The rulers of 600 and odd number of princely states of British India Empire were given option to accede to India or Pakistan or assume independent polity, keeping in view the geographical realities.

2. From 15th August to 26-27th October 1947, the Maharaja of J & K State, remained independent. Pakistan had signed a 'standstill' agreement with Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of the state.

3. Sheikh Abdullah was released from prison on September 29, 1947. At that time he had not made up his mind on whether J & K state should accede to India or to Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah deputed G. M. Sadiq to go to Pakistan and find out how much internal autonomy Mr. Jinnah was willing to give in case J & K decided to accede to Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah himself also planned on visiting New Delhi to gauge how much autonomy India was ready to provide J & K.

4. Despite Pakistan having signed a 'standstill' agreement with Maharaja Hari Singh, Pakistan dispatched tribesmen in October, 1947, assisted and guided by its army to invade the valley and thereby forcibly annex the sovereign state.

5. To repel the unprovoked invasion from Pakistan, the Maharaja requested the Govt. of India to help the State. That was possible only after accession of the state to India.

6. The accession took place on 26th October, 1947 which was endorsed by the State's premier political party, National Conference, led by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. Thus J & K state became an integral part of India.

7. Consequent upon accession, the Indian army rushed to the rescue of the

## ACCESSION OF J&K STATE TO INDIA IS IRREVOCABLE

state, to repel the Pakistan sponsored aggression. The Indian army could have taken the war into the territory of Pakistan but at that time, under the influence of the then Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten, the issue of aggression by Pakistan was referred to the U.N. by India.

8. Subsequently India and Pakistan accepted U.N. cease-fire call in January 1949 which left the State of J & K divided into two parts viz (i) Kashmir as part of India, (ii) Kashmir under Pakistan's illegal occupation (PoK).

9. The PoK was divided by Pakistan into a region called 'Azad Kashmir' having an area of 13,528 Sq. Kms. While the remaining area of 72,595 Sq. Kms. Were labelled together into what is called its "Northern Areas" which is controlled and ruled directly by Pakistan, through Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in Islamabad.

10. The people of Northern Areas have been demanding separate entity to themselves. In October 1990, residents of Northern Areas filed a petition in the "Azad Kashmir" High Court, demanding clarification in respect of the status of the Northern Areas, pleading that if they were part of the State of J & K on 15th August 1947, they should be reverted to the control of the Govt. of "Azad Kashmir".

11. On several occasions Pakistan acknowledged Northern Areas (comprising former Gilgat Agency, Gilgat Wazarat, Baltistan, Asotor Wazarat, Skardu Tehsil of Ladakh Wazarat) as parts of J & K State.

12. The people of Northern Areas has Shia majority. Azad Kashmir has sunni majority.

They have been emotionally separated from each other by occasional Shia-Sunni riots. The people of Northern Areas have been subjected to a variety of atrocities and discrimination under the Pakistan rule. People of this region have strongly resisted their absorption into Pakistan. The stand of Azad Kashmir has been that Northern Areas were ruled by Dogras on lease but never actually removed from the ownership of Maharaja. The lease had reverted after the British left.

In 1993, the Azad Kashmir High Court had declared that the Northern Areas was legally part of the State of J & K and should be reverted to the control of Govt. of Azad Kashmir.

13. According to latest reports, Pakistan P.M. Yusuf Raza Gilani has announced renaming of the Northern Areas as "Gilgit-Baltistan", by virtue of the "Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self Governance Order 2009",

aimed at giving the Northern Areas "full internal autonomy" as approved by Pakistan cabinet. The newly formed province will have rights akin to those of Pakistan's four provinces, with an elected assembly as well as a Governor and a Chief Minister.

14. Another area (comprising Shaksgam Muztag valley), about 10,000 Sq. Kms. was illegally ceded by Pakistan to China in March 1993.

15. Resolution 47 (1948) on the India and Pakistan question, submitted jointly by the representatives for Belgium, Canada, China, Columbia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America and adopted by the Security Council at its 286th meeting held on April 21, 1948, regarding restoration of peace and order in the valley which postulated that "the Govt. of Pakistan should undertake to use its best endeavours to secure the withdrawal from the State of J & K, of tribesmen and Pakistani Nationals, not normally residents therein who have entered the state for the purposes of fighting and to prevent any intrusion into the state of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State".

16. U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) stated in August 1948 that occupation of territory in Kashmir by the Pakistani troops constituted material change in the situation.

17. Within a decade of the plebiscite resolution having been adopted by the U.N., its representative Gunnar Jarring, opined that with the passage of time and changing circumstances in the state, U.N. resolutions were obsolete. This view was endorsed by the U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, during the course of his visit to Pakistan and India, during May, 2001.

18. From January 1948 to December 1957, the U.N. passed 14 resolutions when the Kashmir issue was first referred to the U.N. In December 1947, the G O I wrote to the Security Council... "But in order to avoid any possible suggestion that India had utilised the State's immediate peril for her own political advantage, the G O I makes it clear that once the soil of the state had been cleared of the invader and normal conditions restored, its people will be free to decide their future by the recognized method of plebiscite or referendum which might be held under international auspices".

19. Pakistan failed to comply with U.N. resolutions by not withdrawing from the occupied area of J & K. In

consequence the plebiscite proposal remained unimplemented and as time has gone by, the proposal got consigned to the dust-bin of history.

20. India has the 2nd largest Muslim population in the world, enjoying equality of status, opportunities and fundamental rights, as a result of which members of the minority community are holding high positions in various fields in India. Our civilization has its foundations in the concept of harmoniously co-existing cultures, faith in the vision of the country, enshrined in the constitution of Indian Republic.

21. There are numerous examples of centuries old shining communal harmony between various communities in India and Kashmir. In particular Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims have a distinct identity, cultural, linguistic and otherwise. The common heritage of Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nooruddin or Nund Rishi, is the cornerstone of Kashmiriat. The present trauma imposed by forces inimical to the concept of harmoniously co-existing cultures, is a passing phase and is bound to come to a close sooner or later. Kashmir has a unique place in the cultural and religious mosaic that is India. The State of J & K with a predominantly Muslim population, is an ode to secularism. Mahatma Gandhi considered Kashmir's ethos as a shining example of pluralism.

22. It is pertinent to quote the following extract from Mir Qasim's autobiographical book 'My Life & Times':

"The Sheikh told the Times (in London in March 1972) that there is no quarrel with the G O I over accession; it is over the structure of internal autonomy. One must not forget that it was we who brought Kashmir to India; otherwise Kashmir could never have become a part of India'. Earlier on 5/2/1972, in New Delhi, Mirza Afzal Beg, President of the plebiscite front had declared, "We are willing to talk to the Centre on the basis of internal autonomy for J&K. We want to the Centre on the basis of internal autonomy for J&K. We want the accession to be put on a lasting foundation. The question of accession has become irrelevant to us; we no more insist on plebiscite".

Kashmir is, and always has been, an integral part of India. Kashmir was never divided by the British. It acceded to India by an Instrument of Accession in October 1947 which is recognised valid under international law.

India is a secular democracy. India has more

Muslims than Pakistan and minorities in India enjoy incomparable privileges. Two of India's Presidents have been Muslims.

Pakistan never complied with UN resolution requiring it to withdraw from Kashmir and to hand over entire territory back to India which was a prerequisite to any plebiscite in Kashmir.

Since then there have been several elections in the state of J&K on the basis of universal suffrage.

Under the Simla Agreement of 1972, India and Pakistan are required to refrain from use of force and to sort out bilateral issues by negotiations and not by internationalization of the issue, and as such the UN has no jurisdiction on Kashmir. President Bush had also called for negotiation under Simla Agreement.

The root cause is the ongoing conspiracy of Pakistan to grab forcibly Jammu and Kashmir from India. Over the past many years, Pakistan has engaged in inciting religious frenzy among the Muslims in the Valley and supply then with all sorts of sophisticated arms to wage a 'jihad' against India.

The militants are running a campaign of terror in the Valley by indulging in arson, kidnapping, bombing, murders and religious blandishments. The Pakistan sponsored international terrorism has been targeting victims that include not only ordinary has been targeting victims that include not only ordinary citizens but also top personalities in academic, journalistic and government echelons.

Since the United States provides military aid and sophisticated weapons to Pakistan, it is shocking to most US citizens to learn how their hard earned tax money is being used to support the Pakistan government that sponsors and supports terrorism, preaches religious fundamentalism and is involved in drug trafficking.

Pakistan's tirade against India revolves around certain UN resolution concerning demilitarization and plebiscite in J&K. Pakistanis have been propagating that India had failed to fulfil the UN resolution. The facts are quite to the contrary. It is Pakistan that has never fulfilled its obligations under the UN resolutions.

Though the ceasefire came into effect on January 1, 1949, Pakistan failed to implement part II of the UNCIP resolution. The failure to hold a plebiscite was entirely the result of Pakistan's default to carry out, within a reasonable time, the obligations imposed upon her by the UN resolutions, as conditions precedent for holding a

plebiscite. Subsequently, the international context has changed completely. Accession of J&K to the Indian Union has been confirmed by an elected J&K Constituent Assembly. A number of elections have also been held at the national, state and local levels and the people of the state have repeatedly and freely exercised their democratic choice. Any talk, of plebiscite is obviously meaningless. The only issue which remains to be settled is vacation by Pakistan of its illegal occupation of parts of J&K.

The 1972 Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan united with reference to J&K: "In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 shall be suspected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it laterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it ....terally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat on the use of force in violation of this line".

The Simla Agreement does not permit taking any bilateral differences to international fora without mutual agreement. Despite this commitment, however, Pakistan has repeatedly sought to internationalize this issue.

Pakistan must realise that it cannot afford to remain perpetually at variance and daggers drawn against India but reconcile to arrive at an amicable settlement for peace and progress in both the countries.

The seeds to a solution of the J&K problems are inherent in the Simla Agreement which implies bifurcation by treating LoC as the international border, a considered view, often reiterated by Dr Farooq Abdullah.

It is also pertinent to draw attention to the unanimous resolution, adopted on 22/2/1994, by the Parliament of India which declares unambiguously and firmly that the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been, is and shall be integral part of India.

In the light of the above background, it is thus abundantly clear that the state of Jammu and Kashmir, is an integral part of India and accession of the State of J&K to the Union of India, is irrevocable.

*\*(The author is Chairman AIKS Trust).*



By Sanjay Godbole

## The journey of pilgrimage for Baba Ramdev as followed in Sindh

**B**ABA RAMDEV, the most venerable for the majority of Hindus in the Sindh Province of Pakistan, has relationship with the Rajputana Province in India. In the Tomar dynasty of Delhi, which is also called Tunvar, there was a king called 'Anangpai'. In the year 1412 A.D. at 'Runecha' in Rajasthan 'Ramdev' was born in the ancestry of this king 'Anangpai'. The name of Ramdev's father was Ajmal and the name of his mother was 'Mainade'. 'Ramdev' had a brother named 'Viramdev'. Once 'Ramdev' and 'Viramdev', while playing with a ball wandered and drifted forwards a place called 'Pokhran'. After some time 'Viramdev' returned home but Ramdev went further and further and reached directly to the cottage of "Siddha Yogi Balaknath". [Siddha Yogi means he who has attained or achieved Siddhi in Yogic science] Balaknath favoured Ramdev and became Ramdev's Guru [mentor] and in that capacity gave him a wise counsel in the form of a Mantra [A codified matrix adoring a deity]. Ramdev slew a cruel and wicked person called 'Bhairav'. Due to the atrocity and oppressive behaviour of 'Bhairav' people addressed him as a demon. Ramdev set free the area around Pokhran from the clutches of Bhairav. Under instructions from Balyogi Ramdev and his father populated this deserted area once again, around Pokhran.

Ramdev practised ascetic exercises and successfully attained many achievements [feats]. Due to these Godsent powers achieved by Ramdev both Hindus and Muslims became his followers and devotees. Ramdev, in 1458 A.D. or around it through profound meditation achieved permanent trance [In Yogic terms, body and soul getting Separated by will power.] This was at 'Runecha' and Runecha

therefore was known and called as 'Ramdevada'.

At the place of the mausoleum of Ramdev (Where he entered into the state of trans, that is) a big fair is held in the month of Bhadrapada and Magha (the sixth and the eleventh month as per the Hindu calendar). Innumerable devotees flock here from Gujrat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The priests who perform the worship and other allied rituals in the Ramdeva's temple are called 'Rikhiya' or Bhagat'. Some devotees sport the Gold or Silver pendants with the image of Ramdev carved on them as pendants or necklaces. Some spiritual and religion oriented booklets, such as 'Ramdev Leela', 'Ramdev Chalisa' have been written & published for 'Ramdev'. At the time of pilgrimage' his devotees recite the devotional Hymns praising Ramdev throughout the night and remain awake. Such devotional songs pertaining to Ramdev Baba are plenty. Ramdev whom the Hindus call Baba Ramdev is called 'Ramsa Pir' by the Muslims. The lines of the devotional song are on the tip of the tongue by all

devotees. The above lines mean "Oh the Pir of Runecha, kindly accept our respectful greetings. You only are our master." The reason as to why this great saint, who always spoke out against injustice and was engaged in the devastation of the wicked, was called, 'Ramsa pir', has an interesting story always circulated. Having heard much about the name and fame of Baba Ramdev five Pirs [Muslim saints] from middle east Arabia, came down to 'Runecha' to have glimpses of him. When they were felicitated, they remarked that they had left the utensils at their home only, inadvertently, in

which they ate. So Baba Ramdev at that very moment, brought to light those very same utensils and fed those pirs. At that time these five Pirs addressed Ramdev as 'Bado Pir' and thus Baba Ramdev became a symbol of Hindu - Muslim unity.

Baba Ramdev lived in a town called 'Jujal' in Marwad [a portion of Rajasthan]. Ramdev had made his nephew alive by his supernatural power. So also his pear "Saathiya". Baba Ramdev, was a devotee of lord, Shri Krishna and believed that Truth always prevails'. Every year many hundreds of thousand of devotees visit 'Runecha' [about one lakh] from different places for having Darshan [glimpses] of Baba Ramdev. As to the form of Baba Ramdev, it is believed and agreed upon that Baba Ramdev, when alive was always seen, riding a horse. All the pictures of Baba Ramdev, therefore are seen as riding a horse only. Those whose desires, have been fulfilled by the blessings of Baba Ramdev, present, while returning the commitment which they made, while making a vow, small replicas of horses made from cloth and also distribute food to the needy.

Like in Rajputana, Baba Ramdev is a symbol of faith and devotion in the minds of thousands, of devotees. There is a special temple of Baba Ramdev at a place, called Tando Allahyar' in the province of Sindh in Pakistan. This town is always in the limelight on account of the fair for pilgrimage for Baba Ramdev. In the year 1709 A.D. One Mir Allahyar khan constructed a fort in earth and clay as a protection to his territory, such a fort is called 'Kachho Qilo' in Sindhi language. Due to this fort a town near this fort at a distance of three kilometers was called "Tando Allahyar". The remains of the walls of this fort do exist even to day. The famous folk poet 'Vatayu' Fakir of Sindh has his sepulcher near this town only.

In the year 1933 A.D. the British constructed a canal here resulting into Tando Allahyar being an affluent town in agriculture since water of the river Indus became freely available. The special thing about this town is that prior to partition, Hindus were in



Kindled lamp of Tando Allahyar Sindh

majority. After creation of 'Bangladesh' many people from Sindh migrated to India even then as on today, Tando Allahyar' a town of three hundred thousand head count, the Hindu community have sizable quantity of houses and other real estate.

The Hindus, here, are mostly engaged in agriculture. Some, however, profess other professions too. The famous mango grove of sindh is situated here only. Hindus, some of them here communicate in 'Kachhi Marwadi' language also. The town of Tando Allahyar is only thirty five kilo meters from Hyderabad (Sindh). There is a long story as to how this temple of Baba Ramdev came into being at Tando Allahyar. One Roopchaud Khatri resident of Tando Allahyar had no issues. This is one hundred fifty years back; he went to Runecha in Rajasthan and prayed in the temple of Baba Ramdev with a request for getting a son. He brought along with him a kindled lamp from Temple at Runecha. In course of time, he got an offspring. As per the directive, which Mr. Khatri received in his dream, he erected a temple of Baba Ramdev at Tando Allahyar and placed the lamp in the kindled state in the temple. From that day onwards, that lamp has been burning in the same kindled state, for almost one hundred fifty long years. The trustees of the Temple here, say "Our ancestors have never allowed this lamp to be put out." The people of Tando Allahyar have a firm belief that 'The lamp shall continue to be lighted and kindled till the Moon and the sun do exist and this world continues to last. A replica of the letter 'Om' has been artistically erected

above the flame of the lamp. After the incidence of Babri Masjid, at Ayodhya in India, this temple at Tando Allahyar in a retaliatory reaction in Pakistan was demolished. The lamp, however, continued to be in the kindled state, untouched. The residents of Tando Allahyar consider this fact as heavenly miracle. The temple which occupied only twenty square meter, has now, after renovation, expanded to an area of one hundred square meter.

Just as Warkari's (Pilgrims who visit Pandharpur in Maharashtra every year without fail) from all nooks and corners of Maharashtra, flock to Pandharpur for glimpses of lord vithal, similarly Hindus of Sindh in Pakistan come to Tando Allahyar for Pilgrimage of Ramdev. People in Pakistan address Baba Ramdev as 'Ramapir'. Since majority of people are peasants or agriculturists by profession, they conveniently leave for the above pilgrimage at Tando Allahyar in groups, after finishing their major operations such as sowing etc for their harvesting. People of various casts and communities congregate here such as Bhils, Koli, Bagdi, Sanyasi, Menghwad, Khatri Luhar, jogi for the pilgrimage. I was acquainted with Mr. Ishwardas, the head priest of the temple and trusty of the Hindu community over here. He told me that every pilgrim has to follow in all, twenty four rules. The important rule is that flags on which, symbolic foot prints in vermillion or Red lead are made and such flags are dedicated to the temple. Such flags are erected in a room near the acme and displayed there. All pilgrims come to the temple barefooted. Such white flags, in Sindhi language are called "Dhajja". After dedicating and erecting the flag, certain religious rituals are required to be performed. After that some people give copious donations as per their capacity. The festival begins on the tenth day of the Shukla Paksha of the month of Bhadrapada [the sixth month as per the Hindu calendar]. In the temple of Ramdeva, there is an equestrian idol of Ramdev. This idol has been newly established in the temple. There are pictures

of Goddess, lord Shiva, lord Vishnu and even Sai Baba displayed the devotees break coconuts and give it to the temple when worshipping, Sweets are also distributed. Incense is burnt before the Idol. Every evening 'Pooja Aarati' - a worship where devotional songs are recited in front of the deity, with many participating in this Aarti. People reaching Tando Auahyar from all corners of Pakistani cities have the glimpses of this sacred lamp with faith and utmost belief. There is a very big fair, organised under the banner of the festival of Ramdev, during which an open market for clothes, toys & various articles is held.

Some times ursine shows of bears and animal circuses are also arranged here. Mr Haji Ali Bakhshi, the leader and the head of Magsi Baloch community, from Tando Auahyar has kindly given permission to make free use of his fifty acres of land at the time of this festival. At the time of festival under the auspices of District collector (Nazim) services are provided and security is arranged. Many devotees come saying devotional songs and praising the deity to the temple and stay in the empty space overnight. All the pilgrims are given food free of any charges from the community kitchen. Shri Ishwardas informed me that during the fair of Ramdev in the year 2009, about 50000 devotees attended the fair of Ramdev. This fair and the pilgrimage of Baba Ramdev or Rama pir is a living example of Hindu Unity, religious fervour and cultural tradition of Hindus in Pakistan. Many Hindus in Pakistan are not aware of the history of Baba Ramdev. For them, Ramdev is a divine and supernatural personality. All people have deep love for Ramdev. As the date of festival approaches near and near, all Hindus are full of Joy and enthusiasm, and they flock the temple at Tando Auahyar in Multitudes. The devotional songs rhymed in India and Pakistan are almost similar. All the traditions and cultural practices are identical. Hence one could easily surmise, that Mela (fair) Ramdevda and the Pilgrimage of Ramdev in Pakistan are the two facets or dimensions of the same cultural tradition.



Ramdev Temple n Pakistan



By Dr. B. N. Sharga

## A great protagonist of Hindi language Pandit Brij Nath Sharga

**S**ANSKRIT is the mother of all the languages of the world. It is being regarded as the divine language with perfect grammar. According to the learned scholar Sir William James (1747-1794) Sanskrit is more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than both of them. In the words of famous lexicographer Sir Monier Williams (1819-1899) Sanskrit represents the Indian mind and India's true national character. Sanskrit was the medium of instructions in ancient India. But the regular Muslim invasions destroyed the rich Sanskrit literature to a considerable extent. *Sultan* Zainul Abideen (1420-1470) of Kashmir was the first who replaced Sanskrit with Persian as his court language. Then Mughal emperors made Persian as their court language and in this process Sanskrit lost its pride of place.

During the reign of king William IV (1830-1837) of England a British national Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) introduced the English education in India in 1835 to train the young Indian minds to suit the British needs and to cut the very roots of India's centuries old cultural heritage and civilization just to make Indians rootless people like a *dum kata gilahra*.

Hindi is an offshoot of the Sanskrit language. It was being regarded as the language of homely women belonging to the cow belt of the country during the British period as all the government work was done either in the English language or in the Urdu language. Mahatma Gandhi had a dream to make Hindi as the national language of free India, but even after 62 years of our independence it is yet very difficult to say that Hindi has acquired that status in the country.

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was a great protagonist of the Hindi language and it was due to his untiring efforts that Hindi was introduced as a subject in the curriculum of the Lucknow University both at the under graduate and post graduate level inspite of heavy opposition from all the quarters. He left no stone unturned to see to it that Hindi should get its due place and proper recognition in the society. Being a true Gandhian his contribution for the cause of Hindi language can never be forgotten.

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was

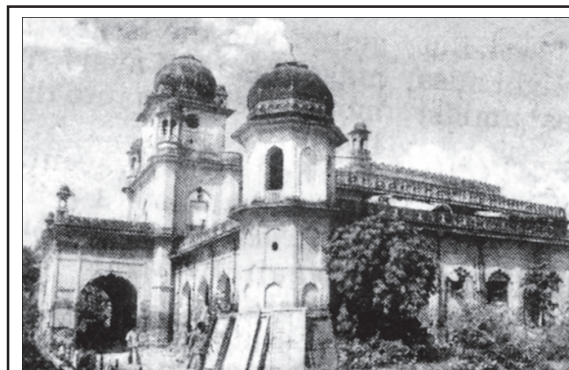
born in 1884 in his ancestral *Haveli* at Khet Gali of Rani Katra locality. When he was hardly four years old his mother expired so he was brought up by his grandmother. As per tradition in those days in the Kashmiri Pandit families *Maulavis* taught him Urdu and Persian language at home. He then did his matriculation from the Government Jubilee High School in 1900 in first division. He then took admission in Canning College, which was then affiliated with the Allahabad University and did his B.A. in 1904 in first division. He then scored highest percentage of marks and topped in the final examination of M.A. in English literature in 1906 which was a great feat for an Indian student among the Europeans at that point of time. For achieving this academic excellence Chancellor's Gold Medal was awarded to him.

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga then did his LL.B. in first division by scoring very good percentage of marks and started his legal practice in the Oudh Chief Court. But he never took his legal profession very seriously. He instead concentrated all his energies towards selfless social service to uplift the down trodden in the society and to bring happiness in their otherwise morose life. The British started Mohammad Bagh Club in Lucknow Cantt, which was exclusively meant for the recreation of British army officers and civil servants where the entry of Indians and dogs was not allowed. As a counter to that the *tallukedars* of Oudh established the Rafahe Aam Club in 1877 in Golaganj which subsequently became a nerve centre for the activities of the Congress Party.

Initially Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was greatly influenced by British professors. But after listening to a speech by Mahatma Gandhi when he visited Lucknow in 1916, to attend Congress Party convention a great change took place in the personality of Pt. Brij Nath Sharga and he became a true Gandhian and started wearing hand woven clothes. He then adopted the principle of simple living and high thinking in his life to set an example for others.

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru drafted the Lucknow

University Act in 1919. It was passed by the Legislative Council of the state in 1920. The Lucknow University started functioning from 1921 in the campus of old Canning College where the first class of the Persian language was taken on 17 of July. The then Chancellor of the university and Lieutenant Governor of U.P. Sir Harcourt Butler nominated Pt. Brij Nath Sharga to the Lucknow University Court as well as its Executive Council as their, honourable member. Pt. Brij Nath Sharga along with Vice-Chancellor Pt. Jagat Narain Mulla played a key role in the growth and development of the Lucknow University in its



**Rafah-e-Aam Club of Lucknow**

formative years.,

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga used to go to the Lucknow University daily on his private *buggi* wearing *achkan* and *chooridar pajama* with gold pocket watch and gold framed spectacle to supervise the construction work of various departments of the university. The British professors used to come to the campus either on horses or horse driven carts. For their horses a stable was built in the campus where now stands the P.G. Block behind the Tagore Library. Due to meticulous planning and farsightedness of Pt. Brij Nath Sharga the Lucknow University became a centre of academic excellence with in a very short span of time and its academic standards became at par with that of Oxford and Cambridge Universities of London. Students from far off places in the country started coming to the university for their studies and its faculty of law was regarded to be the best in the country. In that era Rani Katra locality of Lucknow was the nerve centre of Hindi enthusiasts and its literary figures like Pt. Radhey Krishna Bajpai, Pt. Roop Narain Pande, Pt.

Vishal Bajpai, Pt. Nand Kishore Awasthi and Prem Narain Tondon who used to edit the *Madhuri* magazine brought out by the famous Newal Kishore Press. Many outstanding Hindi literary magazines and books used to be published regularly from the Vidya Mandir Publications in Rani Katra. In the company of such Hindi stalwarts Pt. Brij Nath Sharga also became a great Hindi protagonist though he never studied Hindi language at any level althrough his academic career as Hindi was looked down upon in those days to be the language of homely women. It was due to the untiring efforts of Pt. Brij Nath Sharga that the

teaching of Hindi literature became possible at the under graduate and post graduate levels in the Lucknow University inspite of big opposition from every quarter for the same. He always took personal pains to solve the problems of teachers and students to build up a healthy academic life in the campus for smooth functioning of the university so that it may not be disturbed for any reason. For all this he used to command a great respect from all the quarters in the university.

Impressed by the teachings of Swami Vivekanand some youths of the city having nationalistic views formed an organization known as Ram Krishna Pratishthan and opened its office in 1914 in a renewed room in Marwari Gali of Aminabad. Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was made its President and Shri Kripa Shankar Sinha became its secretary respectively. Due to the efforts of Pt. Brij Nath Sharga very soon this organization had its own office building. In 1925 this organization became a part of the Kolkata's Ram Krishna Mission at Belur and Pt. Brij Nath Sharga became the chairman of the

Lucknow branch. He remained on this post for a very long time and through it did a lot of social work for the poor and down trodden in the society.

It is alleged that surgeon Bhatia of King George's Medical College, Lucknow was a very greedy person. Once he was performing an operation for appendicitis on a 16 years old boy. Suddenly he came out from the operation theatre and said to the relatives of the patient anxiously waiting outside that if you want Bhatia's knife then put 5000 rupees on the table. When this higling was going on outside the boy died on the operation table due to an overdose of anesthesia. This news captured the headlines in the local news papers the very next day. When Pt. Brij Nath Sharga read this news in the morning while taking his break fast he lost his temper. He used all his influence in the Executive Council of the Lucknow University to get that corrupt and greedy doctor dismissed from the service to save the reputation of the noble medical profession and to instill confidence in the patients for a fair treatment.

Once Pt. Brij Nath Sharga went to Hyderabad in connection with some case to appear in the court of Nizam Osman Ali Khan. In those days train journey for highly orthodox and superstitious persons believing in untouchability was an arduous task. So elaborate arrangements were made much in advance for the same. In lighter moments he used to share his experiences with his close friends and relatives about his encounter with the Nizam of Hyderabad Osman Ali Khan and how he won the case by his oratory and forceful legal arguments.

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was elected as the member of the executive of Oudh Bar Association on 28th August 1935 for three years. He worked with all sincerity and devotion to enrich the Bar with his valuable suggestions. He was in the managing committees of many educational institutions of the city and was actively involved with a number of social, literary and cultural organizations of the city in different capacities. The well known personalities of the city like Justice Gokaran Nath



**Pt. Brij Nath Sharga**

Misra, Justice Wazir Hasan, Justice Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Sir J.P. Srivastava, Brij Krishna Dhaon, Pt. Sidh Nath Misra Acharya Narendra Dev and Babu Ganga Prasad Verma etc. were his close friends.

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was married around 1910 with Jai Kishori the daughter of Pt. Brij Krishna Wattal of Agra. He had one son Hari Mohan besides two daughters Brij Kumari married with Pt. Omkar Nath Muttoo of Varanasi who was a chemical engineer and Shyam Kumari was married with Pt. Praduman Krishna Hukku of Jodhpur who was a Sales Tax Officer in UP.

Pt. Brij Nath Sharga was a fair complexioned person with impressive personality. He was a versatile genius with command over English and Persian language. He was a great social reformer, a selfless worker, educationist, visionary and a great political thinker. The former Chief Minister of UP. Shri Chandra Bhanu Gupta always regarded him as his political mentor and used to touch his feet. He was a staunch Arya Samaji and never believed in wasteful expenditure on performing various religious rituals. He authored two books on the life of Mahatma Gandhi and Swami Ram Krishna Paramhans. He was a voracious reader and used to read books on varied subjects due to which in the fag end of his life he completely lost his eye sight and became blind. Even then the people used to come to his residence to seek his advice on complicated issues. This saintly person left for his heavenly abode in 1958 at the age of about 74 years leaving behind a large number of his well wishers to mourn his death. Thomas A. Edison said long back that nonviolence leads to the highest ethics which is the goal of all evolution until we stop harming all the living beings, we are still savages.



# Remembering Padmashri Jagan Nath Kaul

By Gopal Krishna Gurtu

**H**OW swiftly the time flies. Padmashri Pt. Jagan Nath Kaul, affectionately addressed as Papaji by all, has faded away from the world's stage after a long and successful innings on 16-12-2008 at Faridabad. My thoughts go out to this towering personality of our time to recapture his aura. I had the opportunity to meet him thrice. First, when he presided over a meeting of Kashmiri Samaj in Faridabad. Next, when he visited SOS Varanasi in about 2003 and I met him at the residence of my sister's husband Pt. Shashinandan Lal Dar and lastly, at the seminar on Kashmir Culture And Heritage for Global Harmony organized by the Kashmir Education, Culture and Science Society, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi on 04-04-2006 where my paper Banaras Hindu University And Kashmiri Pandits was also read. Our interaction was short but it made on me a deep and lasting impression.

Since Varanasi has been introduced above it may be mentioned here in passing that SOS Balgram, Kheer Bhawani (Daniyalpur), P. O. Chaubepur, Varanasi which is about 16 kms. from the city on Gazipur Road and is spread over thirty acres of land, was inaugurated by the founding father Dr. Harmann Gmeiner and Kashi Naresh His Excellency Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narayan Singh ji on 23-02-1985 and started functioning with about 120 children and about 18 residential quarters. Now there are about 270 children in the SOS Balgram. Besides this quite a large number of children from the neighbouring villages also avail of the various benefits provided by the Institution and receive education up to 10+2 level under CBSE Board. The association of Major Prof. Shivanandan Lal Dar (1907-992) son of Rai Saheb PL Raghunandan Lal Dar (1880-1959), OBE, Deputy Collector, began in 1984 and he was made Member, Board of Directors, SOS India (National Collaborating Office New Delhi) in 1985 and remained till his end in 1992. His son, Pt. Shashinandan Lal Dar joined as a Manager SOS Balgram School in 1994 and is continuing. Papaji last visited Varanasi in about 2007. A lesser known but an interesting fact about the land on which SOS Balgram Varanasi is constructed is that the land, which had an old Devi Mandir and a large Talaab on it. originally belonged to the King of Nepal who gifted it to one of his trusted person who, in turn, sold it to the present owners in about 1984. Papaji was so much enchanted by the temple and its

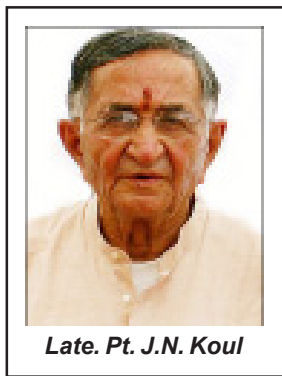
surroundings that he desired that the name of the place Daniyalpur be changed to Kheer Bhawani. Now the place is known in the Revenue Records as Kheer Bhawani.

Papaji was born in Rang Teng Srinagar on 13-10-1924 to PL Neelkanth Razdan and Smt. Vishmali Razdan but was given in adoption to his maternal uncle PL Shankar Kaul and his wife Smt. Rukhmal Kaul. He had his early education in Srinagar but graduated from Punjab University in 1944. He did his M. A. (Economics) from Rajasthan University and had a PG Diploma in Management. He worked for some time as an Assistant Director in Social Welfare Department. Then he proceeded overseas for higher studies in social welfare and childcare.

Papaji married Indira Kaul, respectfully addressed as Mimi Ji, and sired three daughters namely, Girija Kaul who is married to Prof. Dr M. K. Bhan; Sadhana Kaul who is married to Pt. Shiv Khazanchi Kalpana Kaul who is married to Prof Dr. Omesh Kini and one son Pt. Siddharth Kaul who married Ramma Kaul.

Papaji had an impressive personality. He was tall, slim and fair-complexioned. He was handsome and looked elegant in his spotless white churidars and kurta with a matching *wasket* and a shawl thrown over his shoulders. He was soft-spoken, a patient listener and had a welcome smile for everyone. He expressed great concern for the suffering mankind and spoused the cause of the unprivileged children and the orphans. He was deeply religious and had a broad and liberal outlook. He extended a helping hand towards the needy and the neglected irrespective of their caste, creed or sex. He was an unparallel leader.

Papaji embarked upon a lifelong career in social service and upliftment of the unprivileged with full dedication and total commitment when he associated himself with Dr. Harmann Gmeiner and established first SOS Childrens' Village, with about two hundred children on roll, at Green Fields, Faridabad in 1964 and became its Director. Today, there are about forty SOS Childrens Villages all over India with about 15,000 children under its wings. He was Secretary - General when Mrs. Tara Ali Bog was the President of SOS, India. Later on he became Chief of SOS Childrens' Villages Organization of India Besides this, he was deeply concerned with and agitated about the plight of his own community members who were displaced in their own country during 1989-1990 as



Late. Pt. J.N. Koul

both the State as well as the Central Government failed to protect them. He was keen to ameliorate their conditions and to provide succour to them by setting his heart on attending to their problems and solving them. Many a displaced persons remember him with gratitude for his well - needed and timely assistance.

Papaji, in order to serve his community well, took up the reins of All India Kashmiri Samaj as its Presi-

dent and remained at the helm of affairs from 1994 to 2003. He was President. Kashmiri Sewak Samaj, Faridabad also for about ten years. He was instrumental in and played a pivotal role during this period, in the construction of Sharika Bhawan Complex, Sector 17, Faridabad a replica of Hari Parbat temple of Chakhreshwar in Village Anangpur, Faridabad \ three co-operative Group-Housing societies, namely, Lalleshwari Vatika, Sabzaar and Gayatri, also in Faridabad, besides Kashmir Education, Culture And Science Society and Lai Ded Cultural Centre at B-3 6, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi. Presently, he was Chief Patron of Kashmir Sewak Samaj,, Sharika Bhawan, Sector 17, Faridabad.

Papaji was a recipient of a number of awards in recognition of his dedicated and selfless service to mankind like Raja Ram Mohan Roy Teacher's Award (1984), SOS ring & medal, Austria

(1984), Appreciation Award Mexico (1995), Rajiv Gandhi Manav Seva Award (1995), G. D. Birla Award (1996), Twentieth Century Achievement Award, USA (1998) by the American Biographical Institute ; USA Dadabhai Naoroji New Millennium Award (1999), Satpal Mittal National Awards Vayoshrestha Award (Ministry of Social Justice), Annual Award for Excellence in Community Service by Kashmir Overseas Association, Georgia (2006) and the prestigious Padmashri in 2000.

Papaji was a social activist, a philanthropist and a great visionary. He worked tirelessly for the welfare and progress of the community. His greatest contribution to the contemporary Indian society was that despite being a member of the displaced and rootless community fighting a lone battle of existence he could single - handedly provide security of home warmth of love, an oppor-

tunity to lead a decent and respectful life and above all bring an endearing smile on the innocent faces of thousands of the orphans and the unprivileged. He was a true Karmyogi and a saintly soul. In his passing away both the SOS Movement and the struggling Kashmiri Pandit community suffered a great setback and an irreparable loss. We miss his physical.

A presence but he lives in our hearts forever. People like him never die. They go away only to return to serve the humanity better. His noble soul, shining like a bright star, blesses and guides us.

*\*(The author: whose ancestors were the resident of Tankyapora (Amiya Kadal) Srinagar belongs to that group of migrants which settled in Kashmiri Mohalla Lucknow (UP) around 1780. He lives in sector-8, Faridabad and pursues creative writing and helps the needy.)*

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# YOGA-In Indian Scriptures, Kashmir Shaivism and Lal Ded Vakh-II

By Prof. M.L. Koul

IN Shaiva-Yoga the guidance of a sat-guru, a perfect soul, is a must. The Shaiva-texts describe a sat-guru as one who initiates, teaches and showers grace (Shaktipat). For the disciple a sat-guru is Shiva Himself. Guru, to Khemraj, is the means to realisation (Shiva-Sutra). A disciple has to be insightful and receptive to what sat-guru teaches him. Sat-guru and disciple are in a relation of identity.

Reason in Shaiva-Yoga is not at all considered as extraneous. Right reason is a real aid in learning and grasping the subtleties of Shaiva-thought. It plays a positive role in cleansing the head and heart of a seeker. Sharp intellect tempers an aspirant for the quest. The world-view that Kashmir Shaivism projects as its essence needs a reason-based comprehension and appreciation. Hence, reason, to Kashmir Shaivism, is a valued asset for a seeker undertaking a spiritual journey.

Scriptures pertaining to the domain of Shaivism and other forms of thought-structures are receptacle of all the distilled knowledge that has come right from Shiva Himself. As per **spand-pradeep** 'God reveals Himself through them (scriptures). They are one of the forms in which He, (Shiva) is directly apparent in this world'. The scriptures teach, reveal, delineate and describe what is worth to be sought after. The scriptural knowledge as wisdom has to be translated into experiential knowledge through the Shaiva-praxes.

What is highly significant about Kashmir Shaivism is that it is so inclusive that it does not reject any method and form of spiritual discipline of indigenous origins that helps in the expansion and heighening of consciousness (unmesh) of a seeker. Any method that suits the abilities and psychic-frame of a seeker can be practised to cognise his

original status of Shiva. Methods or means are many in number. Their worthiness and usefulness as a tool are determined by the spiritual goals that a seeker pursues. Shaiva-Yoga recognises as many as twenty-four means (upayas). **Vijnan-Bhairav** is a known compendium of 112 dharnas which can be put into practice for realising the spiritual goal of pretibijjna.

The Shaiva-Yoga has offered '**samavesh**' as a new concept that rivals, equals or surpasses '**samadhi**' as a supreme practice stipulated in the Patanjali-Yoga. In his voluminous work **Tantralok** Abhinav Gupta explains that '**samavesh**' is mergence of a seeker's consciousness into the consciousness of Shiva wherein he feels that he is omni-present, all-powerful and all-knowing.

**A a v e s h a s h c h a - s v a t a n t r a y a s e s v a t a d r u p a n i m a j n a t !**  
**p a r t a d r u p t a s h a m b o r a d h y a t s h a k h t y a v i b h a g i n a h ! !**  
T.A.-1/173-74

Again in his commentary on utpaldev's Ishvarpretibijjna Abhinavagupta describes '**samavesh**' as the state of **turiya** or still a higher state of **turiyatit**.

In Shaiva-Yoga **Shambhavopaya** is the highest practice. In it all mental activities cease and mind glitters without a stir of thought. The seeker with his mind calmed and stilled turns inwards. Inward light shines and flashes. With regular practice such a state is to be prolonged. It results in going beyond the time-space limitations. The seeker with highly intuitive qualities gets a feel of his Shiva-like powers and ultimately cognises himself as Shiva.

**' S v a t a n t r y - s h a k h t i m e v a d h i k a m p a s h y a n n i r v i k a l p a m e v a B h a i r v a s a m a v e s h a m a n u b h a v a t i** (Tantra-Sar-Abhinavgupta).

**Shakhtopaya** is the second practice that Shaiva-Yoga prescribes for seekers who do not

have the ability to take to sambhavopaya. It is based on a regular practice to imagine oneself as Shiva. It dispels all other thought currents that disturb the mind. The act of imagining oneself as God is called **bhavana**. The regular practice awakens the pure consciousness of a seeker who starts feeling that he has shiva-like powers and potencies. Shakhtopay is based on the element of Jnan (knowledge). It can be called a technique of auto-suggestion or self-hypnotism.

**Anavopaya** is the last of the practices. It is better known as kriya-yoga because it is based on meditation and other practices. A seeker focuses on an object, an icon, a picture or a part of his body with the impression that it is Shiva or is permeated by Shiva. It helps in purification of thought known as '**vikalp samskar**'. All forms of external rituals are included in anava-yoga. Anava-yoga helps in going over to the next stage of Shakta-Yoga.

**Yoga in Lalla Ded Vakhs**

The general perception that a lay reader of Lalla Ded Vakhs forms is that she was a yogini of the highest order. Being shaivite to the core she had deeply penetrated the spiritual imagination of Kashmiris as a **shaiva-yogini**. In his voluminous work 'The Word of Lalla' Sir Richard Temple bafflingly characterises her as **Shaiva-Yogini** on the basis of contents of her vakhs which he has admirably translated into the idiom of English.

What I gather from my diligent study of Lalla Ded Vakhs is that she had first tried her luck with a guru other than Sidda Srikanth. His prescription and spiritual discourses somehow failed to lead her far on the spiritual highway. It was in a vein of sheer dismay that she poured out '**abakh chaan pyom yath razdanay**'. **Sidda Srikanth** whom she calls 'omniscient' subsequently phrased her spiritual evolution through debates

and discourses coupled with all grades of shaiva-practices. Her initiation and consecration in the theory and practice of non-dual Shaivism marked her absolute break from hazy spiritual goals and the very manner she conducted herself in normal life and its affairs. '**gora sund vanun ravan tyol pyom**'.

The bija-mantra through which **Siddha Srikanth** initiated her was the vedic symbol **oum** and Shaiva symbol **aham**, apparently two divergent **bija-mantras**, but in a synthesis connoting and denoting the same Reality of Shiva in transcendence and immanence. Lalla sings—

**d a m a d a m a o m k a r m a n n p a r n o v u m p a n a i p a r a n t a p a n a i b o z a n s u h a m p a d a s a h a m g o l m t e l i L a l l a b a v a c h u s p r a k a s h a s t h a n**

Lalla Ded though an instinctive seeker faced a catastrophic crisis in life when her marriage got fractured. As a result, agitation, conflict, despair, anger, anguish and uncertain future must have been the dominant weaves of her mental and psychic frame. She being in critical doldrums could not have direct tryst with the Shaiva path of '**pathless path**', **anupaya**. She could not have begun her spiritual journey even with **shambhava-yoga** that features the predominance of divine consciousness as a result of stilling and silencing of 'chita'-mind, a pre-requisite for it. Her vakhs affirm and establish that she engaged herself with **jap, tap, dhyan, laya and pretyahar** as the common place yogic-practices to calm her mind which was deeply agitated and extremelly disturbed. In a good number of vakhs she positively refers to '**abhyas**', regular practice of yoga for concentration and chita-samskar (purification of mind), thus enabling herself to go over to other levels of **Shakta Yoga and Shambhava Yoga**. The intensity of her yoga-practices that

steeled her for spiritual elevation is revealed by the vakh:-

**m a l a v o n d i z o l u m j i g a r ( k a m ) m o r u m t e l i l a l l a n a v d r a m y e l i d a l a t r a v i m a s t a t i**

Three dirt, **mayiya, karma and anava**, are to be consumed and removed in the blazing fire of yoga. **Anava mal** as such cannot be removed through any form of Yoga. It needs Shiva's unreasoned **shaktipat** (grace). That is why Lalla Ded says that she surrendered herself in totality to His grace.

Lalla Ded initially was not introduced to the yogic practices. It was her Shiva-guru who introduced such practices to her and over a period of time she came to realise their vital role and efficacy in attaining identity with Shiva. Through practices (abhyas) of controlling her fickle mind and managnig the nerveplexi Ida, pingla and sushmana and tearing and pulverising the bunch of klesas disturbing the mind she learnt how to jell the alchemy of yoga for spiritual destination of unity with Shiva. Lalla Ded conveys:

**Z a n i h a n a d i d a l m a n n r a t i t h c h a t i t h v a t i t h k u t i t h k a l e e s h z a n a h a a d a a s t a r a s a n g a t i t h s h i v a c h u y a k r u t h t a i c h e n v o p a d e e s h**

Lalla Ded must have undergone **sham and dam** as very essential practices for making over from **anava yoga** to other higher levels of yoga. Having steeled herself through vigorous practices she pacified her chita (mind), cleansed it of impurities of distraction, gloom and despair and made over to higher levels of **Shakta Yoga and Shambhava Yoga** that would ensure her self-cognition. She conveys that Shiva (sahaj) does not need **sham and dam** for identity with Him. He needs to be accessed and attained through **Iccaha** which means **Iccaha** **shambhava yoga**, sure path to spiritual fulfil-

ment. Lalla says:

**s a h z a s s h a m d a m n a g a c h e y a c h i p r a v a k h m u k t i d h a r s a l i l a s l a v a n z a n m e e l i t h g a c h e t o t i c h u a i d w a r l a b h s a h a z v y a c h a r**

The navel-region (nabisthan), technically called kand-pura, is the sun-region where heat glows incessantly. The vital air (prana) rising from navel along **pingla nadi** is warm when exhaled from nose. The air gets warmed up by the heat glowing at the navel region. Lalla Ded asserts that **brahmand** is the **moon-region** at the extreme end of **sushmana nadi** and is naturally cold. A cold current coming down the **sushmana nadi** cools the breath carried by **Ida** during the process of breathing in. Lalla Ded explains the whole process of **pranayam** in the **Vakh** as under:-

**n a b i s t h a n s c h a i p r a k r a t h z a l v a n i h i n d i s t a m y a t i p r a n v a t a g a t b r a h m a n d a s p y a t h c h a i n a d v o h v a n i h a - h a t a v a t u r u n h a - h a t a v a t o t**

Lalla Ded is unequivocal in proclaiming that she was born in the world for meditation (**tapasya**), a known yogic practice of wide acceptance. It was through intense meditation that she attained the divine light of consciouenss (**bodh prakash**), a state of **turiya** which is the state of Shiva (Shivahood), She is liberated as liberation while living (**jeevan-mukhut**) as a perennial state of Shiva-consciousness is beyond the condition of gyrations of life and death. Lalla says:-

**s a m s a r a s a a y a s t a p s y a b o d h a p r a k a s h l o b u m s h a z m a r y a m n a k a n h m a r n a k a n s i m a r a n e c h l a s a n e c h**

Lalla Ded in essence is a Shaiva-Yogini par-excellence. Her varied mystical experiences are, vividly revealed through her prismatic vakhs couched in coherently brilliant language of indigenous origins.

—(Concluded)





By Prof. S.S. Toshkhani

**T**HE first thing Sayyid Ali Hamdani did in Kashmir was to admonish Sultan Qutbu'd-Din for having married two uterine sisters against the Islamic law and for dressing himself after the fashion of the Hindus. The Sultan quickly divorced one of the two sisters, and abandoned the Hindu costume to wear Muslim dress Hamadani he then set upon his proselytizing activities to fulfil Allah's command to him. He is said to have converted as many as 37,000 Hindus to Islam. He probably wanted Qutbu'd-Din "to make the persecution and torture of Hindus as state policy" as Prof. K.L. Bhan writes in his book *Paradise Lost: Seven Exoduses of Kashmiri Pandits*. But as the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* says, "Sultan Qutbu'd-Din failed to propagate Islam in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of Amir Sayyid Ali Hamdani, he decided not to stay in Kashmir any more and left via Baramulla under the pretext of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca". But he left for the Sultan a mandate in the shape of 'Zakhirat-ul-Mulk' which made it imperative for every Muslim ruler to treat his non-Muslim subjects (Zimnis) according to the convenient of Caliph Umar. Sayyid Ali's mandate divides the subjects under a Muslim ruler into two categories- Muslims and Kafirs- and lists 20 most humiliating and degrading rules for the infidels to comply with absolute obedience. The mandate forbids non-Muslims to construct any new places of worship, to reconstruct any existing place of worship that may

## Early Kashmir Society—Social Life-An Analysis--II

fall in to ruin to ride horses with saddle and bridle, to carry weapons, to wear signet rings, to openly practice their customs and usages among Muslims, to carry their dead near the graveyards of Muslims to mourn their dead loudly, to build their houses in the neighbourhood of Muslims, and to prevent Muslim travellers from staying their place of worship or temples. They are also required to receive any Muslim traveller in to their houses and to provide him with hospitality for three days and to wear humble dress so that they may be distinguished from Muslims. Sayyid Ali does not mention any rights which non-Muslims could expect in return for obeying these twenty conditions, but concludes with the note that if they infringe any of them then Muslim shave a right to kill them. An open licence to kill those who do not believe in Islam!

It was Sayyid Ali Hamdani who got the temple of Kalishri near Fatehkadal in Srinagar demolished and converted into a Khanqah, now known as Khanqah to Maula "Sayyid Ali's proselytizing activities", writes Prof. A.Q. Rafiqi, "are highly extolled by both medieval and modern scholars. But none of them gives any details of the method adopted by him at his work" Rafiqi adds. "There is no doubt, however, that Islam received great impetus because of Sayyid Ali and his followers. He left his deputies at a number of places which were great Hindu centres of those days, such as Pompur, Avantipura and Vijabror. These followers of Sayyid Ali established Khanqahs, and the network of branches which gradually emerged became important centres of preaching and proselytization".

The proselytizing frenzy of the Sayyids reached a crescendo in Kashmir during the reign

of Sikandar Butshikan or Sikandar the Iconoclast. At the behest of Sayyid Ali Hamadani's son Sayyid Muhammad Hamdani who came to Kashmir in 1393, Sultan Sikandar let loose a reign of unprecedented terror against the Hindu population. "To him", writes the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, "goes the credit of wiping out the vestiges of infidelity and heresy from the mirror of the conscience of the dwellers of these lands", adding that "immediately after his arrival, Sultan Sikandar, peace be on him submitted to his religious supremacy and proved his loyalty to him by translating his words into deeds". One of the first to be converted by the Sayyid was Sikandar's minister Suha Bhatt, who was given the Muslim name of Malik Safu'd-Din. The two at the instigation of Mir Sayyid Mohammad Hamdani committed the most barbaric atrocities on Kashmiri Hindus, giving them no option but to accept Islam, exile or death. Hassan writes: "Sikandar meted out greatest oppression to the Hindus. It was notified in the city that if a Hindu does not become a Muslim, he must leave the country or be killed. As a result, some of the Hindus fled away, some accepted Islam and many Brahmanas consented to be killed and gave their lives. It is said Sikandar collected by these methods about three *khirwars* (240 kilograms) of sacred threads (from Hindu converts) and burnt them...All the Hindu books of learning were collected and thrown into Dal Lake and were buried beneath stones and earth".

Sikandar imposed the Jiziya on Hindus, prevented them from applying *tilak* on their foreheads and prohibited the selling of wine, dancing of women, music and gambling. He derived a peculiar sadistic pleasure from destroying Hindu temples and

smashing their idols, from which he got his notorious nickname, Hassan says:

"This country (Kashmir) possessed from the times of Hindu kings many temples which were like the wonders of the world. Their workmanship was so fine and delicate that one found himself bewildered at their sight. Sikandar goaded by feelings of bigotry destroyed them and levelled them with the earth and with their materials built many mosques and Khanqahs. In the first instance he turned his attention towards the Martanda temple built by Ramadeva (it was actually Lalitaditya who had built it) on Mattan Karewa. For one full year he tried to demolish it but failed. At last in sheer dismay he dug out stones from its base and having stored enough wood in their place set fire to it. Gold gilt paintings on its walls were totally destroyed and the walls surrounding its premises were demolished. Its ruins even now strike wonder in men's minds. At Bijbeahara three hundred temples including the famous Vijayaeshwara temple which was partially damaged by Shahabu'd-Din were destroyed and with the material of the latter a mosque was built and on its site and a Khanqah which is even now known as Vijayeshwar Khanqah".

Like some possessed maniacs, the iconoclasts went on destroying one magnificent temple after another, one splendid image after another— Martanda, Vishaya, Ishana, Chakrabhrit, Tripureshwara. Sureshwari, Parihaspur, Mahashri, the temple built by Tarapida all became targets on their frenzy. Jonaraja, the contemporary historian says with anguish: "There was no town, no village, no wood where Suha and the Turshka left the temples of Gods unbroken". Adds R.K. Parmu: "Then they

rebuilt the Jamia Masjid in Nowhatta, and the mosque of Khanqah Maula was built in commemoration of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. Two other big mosques were built in Bhavan and Bijbeahara. All these mosques were built from the material of the demolished Hindu temples; and the spacious courtyard of the Lokeshwari temple in Srinagar was converted into the Mazar-i-Salatin."

Parmu blames it on the "fanatical zeal" of the "malevolent" Sayyids who in their fiendish exultation gave Sikandar their most coveted title of "Butshikan", the iconoclast.. Prof. A.Q. Rafiqi is clear that Sikandar's orthodox policy was not dictated by political reasons but on the advice of Mir Muhammad Hamdani. Genocidal attacks and barbaric decrees created so much terror and panic among the defenceless Hindus that they fled for their lives—across the Smithan Pass to neighbouring Kashtawar and via Batote (Kashmiri '*Bhatta Wath*' or the path of the *Bhattas*) . This, as Prof. K.L. Bhan points out, was the first mass of exodus Kashmiri Hindus from Kashmir.

The orgy of violence and proselytizing frenzy continued unabated into the reign of Sultan Ali Shah (1413-1420). The renegade Suha and the demoniac Sayyids went berserk in their attempt to destroy Hinduism, root and branch. The whole Valley was bathed in the blood of the innocents. Jonaraja draws a heart-rending picture of the plight of Hindus, in particular Brahmins of Kashmir comparing them to fish tormented by a fisherman in a closed river. He says that their religious ceremonies and processions were banned; heavy taxes were levied on them; and to starve them their traditional allowances were stopped, forcing them to become beggars. For a mouthful of food, "they went from

house to house, lolling out their tongues like dogs". Some roamed in the streets in the disguise of Muslims to save their emaciated families from hunger. To escape oppression and to preserve their religious identity, many of them ran away from their land through bye-roads as the main roads were closed, "the non leaving his father behind and the father leaving his son". Passing through difficult terrain, many of them died of scorching heat and illness, many of starvation due to scanty food. But not all succeeded in escaping. Many of those who remained behind committed suicide by taking poison, many by drowning self-immolation. Many hanged themselves, many jumped from precipices. Numerous Hindus were killed brutally while many were forced to convert to Islam.

Deeply disturbed by the suffering of his co-regionalists on the even of Zainu'l-Abidin's ascension to throne, Jonaraja laments: "As storms do with trees, or locusts with paddy crops, wicked people belonging to his (Sikandar's) faith worked havoc with the traditions and usages of Kashmir. His lament viewed against the background of Suha Bhatta's role in the misery heaped up on Kashmiri Hindus raises a significant question: how to explain the behaviour of the neo-converts towards their erstwhile co-regionalists? Purna, the barber who instigated Zainu'l-Abidin's on Haidar Shah to commit barbarities against the Hindus is another case of the rabidity of the neoconverts. He got their limbs amputated, their tongues and noses chopped off and had them impaled. Other neo-converts too joined the orthodox Muslims to provoke the king to commit inhuman atrocities on Hindus, to desecrate and loot their temples.

—(Concluded)

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Nov 1: An LeT Comdr was eliminated in Mahore, Reasi. Four children were injured as they fiddled with an explosive device at Noona Bindi in Poonch. Two cops were killed as terrorists struck in Srinagar city. Union Home Minister said that any more terror attack from Pakistan will be retaliated and attempts to send infiltrators will be foiled.

Nov 2: Two terrorists have been reportedly mauled to death by a bear at Mahore-Kulgam border. Two jawans were injured in a grenade blast near LoC in Gurez sector. Union Defence Minister AK Antony said that Pakistan is still pushing terrorists.

Nov 3: Three infiltrators were killed in Tangdhar sector while a terrorist was killed in an encounter in Karnah, Kupwara. Army Chief warned of 26/11 like attacks. NC Patron Farooq Abdullah said that NC is ready to work with anybody for Kashmir solution.

Nov 4: Home Minister P.Chidambaram grilled the state government for delay in Jagati Project and added that KPs will be taken into confidence on return issue. Chidambaram described ban on pre-paid mobiles a 'considered decision'.

Nov 5: Terrorists have reportedly activated training camps in higher reaches of Jammu region. G.N. Azad said that Pak is paying price for promoting terrorism.

Nov 6: Six top terrorists were arrested as police claimed to have busted an HM terror module in Doda. Geelani was detained as police foiled his rally in Kulgam. Mirwaiz Umar asked Centre to come up with unambiguous and concrete policy for resolution of Kashmir issue. India and EU ask for international action to combat terrorist.

Nov 7: Maisuma residents protested against the murder of a civilian. Two grenades were seized in Sunderbani.

Nov 8: Terrorists gunned down a terrorist turned BSF jawan and his wife and injured their minor son in their house at Khandi Gali in Koternka. A woman was killed while his husband died and twenty others were injured as their house top collapsed at Kasan Nag in Kishtwar. An LeT terrorist was killed at Koti Nallah in Doda. Prime Minister decried growing terror threat to India. The seizure of arms and explosives in Krishna Ghati suggest of fresh intrusion as Pak violates ceasefire to push infiltrators.

Nov 9: An LeT terrorist surrendered in Reasi. Omar Abdullah said that Quiet diplomacy will work.

Nov 10: Two LeT terrorists were killed in an encounter in Rafiabad, Baramulla. An LeT Comdr and his associate were killed in Kalwa, Mahore. Farooq Abdullah asked for common document to resolve Kashmir issue.

Nov 11: Security forces recovered huge haul of arms and ammunition and arrested two OGWs of terrorists in Reasi and Rajouri districts. Omar Abdullah described J&K safe destination for world tourists. Mirwaiz asked for triangular talks.

Nov 12: Plot to target police Hqtrs in Doda was foiled as five more LeT and HM cadres were arrested.

Nov 13: An Army jawan committed suicide in Kupwara. Mirwaiz asked for involvement of all stake holders for result oriented talks. MoS Defence MM Pallam Raju said that troops are keeping strict vigil on terrorist activities.

Nov 15: Union Home Secretary GK Pillai said that KPs' displacement shouldn't have happened as one cannot imagine Kashmir without Kashmiri Pandits. PDP leader Muzaffar Hussain Beigh described demand for Azadi unrealistic and said that referendum in J&K is not binding on India. State government conveyed its concern to the Centre on silence of WG on Centre-State relations.

Nov 16: An infiltrator and two Army jawans were killed near LoC in Kupwara. An HM terrorist was killed in Pulwama. BSF DIG was killed and his driver and bodyguard injured as terrorists detonated an IED at Maluchak in Ramgarh sector. The IED was reportedly implanted after infiltration and detonated with a remote-control on IB.

Nov 17: An infiltrator was killed and one another captured as an intrusion bid, third in past four days, was foiled in Tangdhar sector. BSF chief accused Pak Army and Rangers of backing intrusion bids. India described terror as hindrance in regional cooperation. President wishes early peace in J&K.

Nov 18: Hectic activity reported across Ramgarh sector as Pak Army reportedly shifted 25 terrorists from launching pads. Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor said that there was marked improvement in J&K situation.

Nov 19: A Ranchi youth Muzaffar Hassan was held on IB in Ramgarh sector. There was no consensus on talks in moderate Hurriyat.

Nov 20: Pakistan again violated cease-fire in Balakote sector in an effort to push infiltrators. An SPO was injured in a grenade attack at a CRPF bunker in Kishtwar. An IED was defused on Rajouri-Thannamandi road. Accusing Pakistan of using terrorism as state policy, Prime Minister said that terrorists were planning Mumbai like attacks.

Nov 21: Two intruders were killed and others forced to retrieve as troops foiled yet another intrusion bid in Balakote sector. An Army jawan lost his life while two others were injured in the operation. A Pakistani father son duo were arrested in Italy for alleg-

edly managing transfer money for Mumbai attacks. DGP said that violence was down but 700 terrorists were still active.

Nov 22: An NC activist was shot at and injured in Sopore, Baramulla. A youth of Poonch who escaped from a training camp in PoK was apprehended on LoC. Farooq Abdullah advocated for including all communities in peace-process. Prime Minister said that Taliban terror in Pakistan will badly effect India's security.

Nov 23: Tufail Hussain of PoK became first cross LoC visitor to be held for terrorist links. A satellite phone for LeT Comdr was seized from his possession. An LeT operative was held with one lakh hawala money. Amidst differences on talks, Hurriyat suspended organisational setup.

Nov 24: Two terrorist hideouts were busted in Gulabgarh area of Reasi. Army chief said that 2500 terrorists were waiting across the border to infiltrate. India and the US to cooperate in counter terrorism. EU said that Kashmir is integral part of India.

Nov 25: Two LeT terrorists were held in Doda. Two Army jawans were killed in accidental fire in Handwara, Kupwara. An IED was recovered in Pulwama.

Nov 26: Two top HM terrorists were killed at Krandi Dhar in Dessa, Doda. Two LeT terrorists, arrested in Doda, have confessed many grenade attacks. Two OGWs of terrorists detained under PSA.

Nov 27: An IED was detected and defused at Nowshera. A CRPF jawan died of bullet injury in Budgam district. Four terrorists were reportedly trapped in Dachan, Kishtwar. Two more PoK visitors turn out to be ISI agents. Accusing Pakistan of not changing its attitude, P.Chidambaram said that there had been several attempts to repeat 26/11.

Nov 28: An Army jawan died in suspicious circumstances in Ladakh. The terrorists, trapped in Dachan, remained untraced. An SPO died in a accidental fire in Rajouri. BSF DIG said that Pakistan was building defensive bunkers along IB.

Nov 30: A terrorist hideout was busted in Gulabgarh, Reasi. The US President Obama asks Pakistan to stop using insurgents as strategic tool.

Dec 1: Cross LoC visitor Mudassar Hussain, arrested in connection with terrorist links has been sent to JIC. A bakery owner Manzoor Amed was arrested in Sopore and an amount of Rs 3 lakh hawala money was recovered from his possession. 395 bids of infiltration were reported so far in the year as infiltration has been found on rise.

Dec 2: Former JKLF financial Chief Sirajudin Mir was among three terrorists arrested in Kashmir Valley. P.Chidambaram claimed response of "Kashmir Groups" to talks positive and said that significant chunk of forces will be withdrawn from J&K. Farooq claimed that quiet talks wil not fail.

Dec 3: A CRPF jawan was killed in accidental fire in Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar. PoK visitor Mudassar was booked for terrorist links. Lt. Gen. Shankar Ranjan Gosh took over command of western command. India described LeT real engine of terrorism in South India.

Dec 4: Moderate Hurriyat leader Fazal Haq Qureshi was shot at outside his residence in Soura, Srinagar. Three LeT operatives were arrested and AK rounds recovered from their possession. Security forces recovered an ammunition haul in Mendhar, Poonch.

Dec 5: Army recovered arms and ammunition including four AKs and three pistols from LoC in Balakote sector. Lauding Mirwaiz Umar's stand on talks, Farooq asked people to be aware of anti-peace, satanic forces.

Dec 6: An LeT terrorist was nabbed in Gandoh, Doda. JK Police is to seek custody of an IM terrorist Tadiyantavide Nazir allegedly brain behind exfiltration bid of four Keralites through Kupwara from Kerala Police. BSF claimed that terrorists were using tough routes for infiltration.

Dec 7: An NC worker Gh. Qadir Lone was shot dead by terrorists in Baramulla district. After the use of cross LoC visits for terrorist activities, Police has unearthed ploy to fund militancy through cross LoC trade. Two persons Abdul Hamid Lone and Hussain Dar were arrested in this connection as they have been found linked to the hawala money recovered from Sopore recently. Russia asked Pakistan to punish 26/11 perpetrators. P.Chidambaram and Omar Abdullah discussed peace process and security scenario in the state.

Dec 8: A retired Pak Major Abdul Rehman Hashmi Sayeed has emerged as key link between headlay and terrorist leaders.

Dec 9: Two LeT OGWs were arrested in Kishtwar. IGP Jammu Ashok Gupta claimed that there were no mobile training camps in Jammu region and majority of the infiltration bids have been foiled. Terming India vulnerable to terror attacks, Union Home Secretary GK Pillai described software industry, schools and hotels on hit list.

Dec 10: US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that Pak is training terrorists. Hurriyat leaders were put under house-arrest to foil protests on International Human Rights Day. Army ordered probe into Bearwah incident.

Dec 11: Four Army jawans were injured in a grenade blast in Krishna Ghati, Poonch. A terrorist hideout was busted in Mandi. Mirwaiz Umar asked people to remain united. More than 100 people including 59 police men were injured in protests as Valley observed strike on Geelani's call for withdrawal of troops. Union Home Secretary

said that talks would be held with all sections of the society.

Dec 12: An Army jawan committed suicide in Rajouri. G.K. Pillai said that Pak will be affected by his own terrorism. He claimed that Quiet Diplomacy will remain quiet till substantial progress.

Dec 13: A released terrorist was shot at by terrorists in Bandipore. LeT Comdr Shah Din and three others were reportedly trapped in an encounter in Doda. Another infiltration bid was attempted in Ramgarh. 12 terrorists are to become tech savy as they will be provided computer education in jails.

Dec 14: An HM Comdr and his associate were killed in Gandoh, Doda. Four OGWs of terrorists were arrested in Kishtwar and Reasi districts. A PoK visitor Munwar Shah has turned out to be an ISI official. In much hyped Shopian case, CBI claimed that the women died of drowning as there was no evidence to suggest rape or murder. The organisation chargesheeted 13 persons five doctors, five lawyer and two civilian for fabricating the case to implicate police personnel.

Dec 15: An LeT terrorist was killed in Kupwara and an HM terrorist was arrested in Srinagar. Valley observed shutdown against CBI's Shopian report. Gh. Nabi Azad claimed that 95 pc terrorists are outsiders. Two PoK visitors were sent to Poonch jail. Somnath temple and Shiv Sena leaders were claimed to be on LeT hit list.

Dec 16: A recycled HM terrorist was arrested in Baramulla. Rajya Sabha was informed that 700 terrorists are active in J&K. GoC 16 Cops Lt. Gen. Roy said that Pak Army resorts to massive human rights violatinos.

Dec 17: An infiltration bid was foiled as security forces killed a terrorist in Uri sector. An Army soldier was injured in an encounter with terrorists at Dangerpora, Pattan. An arms haul was recovered in Poonch sector. Two HM terrorists with Kashmir links were arrested in Hyderabad. Three ultras are reported to have infiltrated into Banihal after a decade in Pak. P.Chidambaram described rejection of CBI report on Shopian bizzare.

Dec 18: Five persons were injured in a grenade attack in Sopore. Defence Minister AK Antony said that 30,000 troops have been withdrawn from J&K. Mirwaiz demanded withdrawal of troops from cities and towns. SVO challaned 18 in multi-crore Hill Kaka scam.

Dec 19: A BSF jawan was killed and two others injured as terrorists opened fire after intruding from Krishna Ghati sector. A terrorist hideout was destroyed and ammunition recovered in Mendhar Poonch. Terrorists shot dead a shepherd Nazir Chopan in his house at Kadipore Pulwama and kidnapped an NC worker Iqbal Dar from Dogri, Awantipora and subsequently killed him by slitting his throat. A Delhi Court acquitted a Mendhar terrorist for lack of prosecution sanction. HUUJ's letter reveals new infiltration plot.

Dec 20: Mehbooba Mufti was denied visa to visit Pakistan to attend a conference there. Farooq Abdullah described talks with Pakistan necessary.

Dec 21: An alert has been sounded along national highway and border villagers after third infiltrations bid in four days. Two terrorists surrendered alongwith their families on return from PoK.

Dec 22: Terrorists shot dead two cops in Pampore, Pulwa. An infiltration bid was foiled in Ramgarh sector. DGP said that no let up was expected in infiltration in winter. Ruksana gets Rs 2.5 lakh cash award.

Dec 23: In the back drop of continued infiltration bids, BSF and Rangers held flag meet in Ramgarh sector the 5th WG report was submitted to Omar Abdullah.

Dec 24: An powerful IED was defused in Sabjan, Poonch. Most of the groups barring NC reject Justice Sager Committee Report.

Dec 25: Two terrorists were arrested in Rajouri. Seven people including two CRPF jawans were injured in a grenade attack in Sopore. A Pak national was held on IB in Akhnoor sector.

Dec 26: Five BSF jawans were injured as terrorists yet again set off IED after infiltration in Samba sector. An LeT hideout was destroyed in Poonch. Muharram mourners and police clashed resulting injuries to 50 person.

Dec 27: Protests continued on second day in Valley against police force.

Dec 28: An army jawan was injured as gunbattle erupted between Army and terrorists at Dera Ki Gali, Poonch. Ten Bangladeshis were held in IB. Jammu observed near total bandh against 5th WG report.

Dec 29: An NCP leader was fired upon in Kishtwar. A Pak Army regular was arrested in Keran. A consignment seized by BSF in RS Pura was reportedly thrown across fencing on IB from terrorists.

Dec 30: Terrorists killed four CRPF jawans in Sopore, Baramulla. An IED was defused on highway in Banihal area. Omar Abdullah submits working Group Report to Prime Minister

Dec 31: P.Chidambaram described fool proof verification must for lifting ban on pre-paid mobiles in the state.

Jan 1: An LeT operative was held in Srinagar and Rs two lakh hawala money recovered from his possession. After unearthing Taliban plot to attack evening retreat ceremony, BSF stepped up vigil at Wagah, Mirwaiz asked India and Pakistan to resolve Kashmir in 2010.

Jan 2: Terrorists shot at two BSF jawans and injured them in

(Contd. on Page 35)



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Soura. Old explosives, possibly of 1965 or 1971 war, were recovered from a field at Chowkichoura, Akhnoor. Red alert has been sounded after three convicted Pak nationals escaped from police custody in Delhi. BSF issued warning in flag meeting as Pak tried hunters to push infiltrators.

Jan 3: India described cross-border terror a major challenge and said that China's involvement in PoK projects is illegal.

Jan 4: Terrorists again made an abortive bid to infiltrate from Ramgarh sector.

Jan 5: An MHA team visited Kashmiri Migrant Camp sites. Omar Abdullah called for resumption of talks with Pakistan and wants centre to initiate talks on autonomy.

Jan 6: A cop was killed and nine others injured in a *fidayeen* attack at Lal Chowk, Srinagar, the encounter was on as the *fidayeen* took shelter in a hotel. Security has been intensified in Jammu city ahead of Republic Day.

Jan 7: 22 hour long gunbattle at Lal Chowk ended with killing of two terrorists. Pak Rangers set grass on fire near LoC as a deliberate attempt to push infiltrators.

Jan 8: Two terrorists were killed in Khrew. Masuma continued to protest. An infiltration bid was fated in Balakote sector. Arms and RDX were again thrown from atop fencing. P.Chidambaram described J&K vulnerable to terror attacks.

Jan 9: Terrorists shot dead their two former colleagues at Qaimoh in Kulgam. Srinagar witnessed protests over the death of a youth, allegedly in security forces action in Lal Chowk. Three IEDs and heroin was seized in Doda. Terrorists made an abortive bid to infiltrate after cutting fencing in Pargwal sector. Terming Kashmir situation matter of concern, AK Antony said that terrorists were waiting across the LoC for infiltration.

Jan 10: Top HM Comdr was among two terrorists killed in an encounter in Arnas Reasi; an Army Subedar and an SPO were injured in the encounter. Terrorists attacked police station Qoimoh, Kulgam. Two terrorist hideouts were busted in Kupwara and an Al Badr terrorist arrested.

Jan 11: Pak Rangers fired shells in two infiltration bids and fence was blasted to fail alarm bells.

Jan 12: An HM Comdr was killed in an encounter in Pulwama. There was a mysterious blast at the residence of an Employees Union leader Khursheed Alam at Channi, Jammu. AK Antony said that CRPF will take over highway security from Army and Para-Military and Police will do away with combat dresses. Two LeT terrorists were awarded seven years Rigorous Imprisonment by a Delhi court.

Jan 13: An Army jawan and a cop were killed in an encounter in Kulgam. One infiltrator was believed to have been killed as terrorists made two attempts to intrude from Kanachak sector. AK Antony said that forces across border were jittery over normalcy in J&K.

Jan 14: An Army jawan and two HM Comdrs were killed in an encounter in Kulgam. A terrorist hideout was busted in Baramulla. A Pakistani was arrested in Hiranagar. Army Chief said that troop cut won't effect security situation. He said that 110 terrorists infiltrated in the state last year.

Jan 15: Two persons including a policeman were killed and four others injured as terrorists made an abortive bid to blow up Sopore Police Station. Terrorists ruled two grenades toward a CRPF bunker in Kawdara but the grenades failed to explode. An ED was defused in Pulwama. An Army officer and a jawan were killed in accidental fire in Udhampur.

Jan 16: Two PoK visitors were detained under PSA while three more were arrested for ISI links. Two infiltration bids were foiled in Mendhar. Chief Minister said that government will provide security to KPs who are ready to return.

Jan 17: JeM Chief Poonch and Pak national Dawood Khan was killed in an encounter at Mendhar. A Pakistani infiltrator was killed in Arnia sector. Police and Intelligence agencies have traced that the terrorists of Lal Chowk encounter were in touch with LeT's Zaffarwal Control Centre in Lahore.

Jan 18: Troops foiled two more intrusion bids even if Pak violated cease-fire in KG sector in an attempt to push in infiltrators. Three rifles, six anti-tank rockets and explosives were seized in Kishtwar district.

Jan 19: Six cops were injured in an IED blast in Pulwama district. An SPO was injured as terrorists, travelling in a Tata Sumo, opened fire on a naka party at Sangam on Srinagar-Jammu National Highway. Another cease-fire violation was reported in Poonch. An alleged Al-Qaeda terrorist Ghulam Rasool Khan carrying a Pakistani passport was arrested in Bihar. BJP said that autonomy will divide country.

Jan 20: A powerful IED was defused by Army outside Dak Bunglow in Mendhar. A mine was detected and defused in Hiranagar. An SPO was among six arrested and the accused Havaldar Devinder Kumar Singh was absconding for their involvement in selling weapons to LeT. Defence Secretary warned that LeT in league with Al Qaeda can trigger Indo-Pak war. Omar Abdullah advised Pakistan not to act as hostile neighbour.

Jan 21: The ban imposed on pre-paid mobiles in J&K amidst

security concerns has been lifted. Devender Kumar Singh has been suspended and six people arrested in connection with sale of weapons to terrorists have been sent to JIC for further interrogation'. Intelligence agencies have detected another ploy of terrorists to smuggler AK bullets mixed with almonds, Omar Abdullah said that government would restore sense of security among KPs.

Jan 22: An HM terrorist was killed in an encounter at Marwah, Kishtwar. A gun battle erupted between security forces and terrorists at Koimoh, Kulgam. A high alert has been sounded in Jammu as terrorists succeeded in cutting fencing in RS Pura sector. Union Minister Prathvi Raj Chowhan said that there was no set back to peace process with ceasefire violations. Alert sounded for air borne suicide attacks as LeT acquires para-gliding equipment.

Jan 23: The holed up terrorists in Koimoh encounter managed their escape. Four persons including two policemen were injured in clashes in Batmaloo. Terrorists escaped from an encounter in Mendhar, Poonch. Two CRPF Bns have been mobilised for National Highway security from internal resources. BSF asks Rangers to check terrorist movement near their posts after yet another infiltration bid in Samba sector.

Jan 24: Even if terrorists managed their escape from an encounter at Kalampora in Pulwama a civilian was killed in the encounter triggering protests in Pulwama. Huge cache of arms and ammunition was recovered in Baramulla. Explosives were also recovered in Rajouri-Poonch ahead of R-Day. A youth was injured in mine blast in Akhnoor.

Jan 25: Mortars were fired on LoC in Poonch. In her ceremonial address on the eve of R-Day, President Pratibha Patil

said that government was committed to high vigil and action against terror. Governor NN Vohra favoured conciliation and dialogue while Omar Abdullah favoured internal and external talks.

Jan 26: A terrorist was killed and a Havaldar injured as IB was rattled by heavy Pak firing in Kanachak sector. The Republic Day celebrations passed off peacefully in the state and no flag hoisting ceremony was organised at Lal Chowk Srinagar.

Jan 27: SHO Ganderbal escaped bid on life while a constable was injured as terrorist targeted their vehicle with a grenade in Lar, Ganderbal, BSF lodged protests over R-Day intrusion bid.

Jan 28: A CPM activist and his nephew were shot at and critically injured by terrorists in Kulgam. Arms and ammunition was recovered in Sabjan, Poonch and a terrorist arrested. Eight youth on way to PoK were arrested at Parimpora, Srinagar. Omar Abdullah said that firing on borders will stop once Indo-Pak talks resume.

Jan 29: Two Army jawans were killed but terrorists managed their escape in an encounter in Dachen, Kishtwar. A terrorist and a criminal were detained under PSA in Udhampur. India ruled out composite dialogue but said that 'measured contract' will continue with Pakistan.

Jan 30: An HuM terrorist was reportedly holed up in an encounter in Baramulla. Farooq Abdullah said that Pakistan must punish 26/11 accused.

Jan 31: The terrorist Basharat escaped from the encounter in Sopore, Baramulla. 11 kg RDX was recovered from a hideout in Kupwara. A protesting youth was allegedly killed with a teargas shell at Gojwara, Srinagar.

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## Panun Kashmir condemns conditions imposed on employment package

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: Panun Kashmir conducted a series of public meetings in different areas of displaced Kashmiri Hindu localities of Jammu to apprise them of the conditions linked with the application forms for seeking employment in the recently declared so called employment package for Kashmiri Migrants by the State government. While interacting with community members at Nagrota, Mishriwala, Bhoori, Roopnagar and various other places, Panun Kashmir leaders told them not to fall prey to the nefarious designs of the state government as the whole exercise initiated by the state government was to negate the forcible displacement of the community and was aimed at reversal of migration (displacement). Addressing well attended gatherings at Bhoori and Roopnagar Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir told them that Panun Kashmir has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Central Government and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir towards the exclusion of the youth of Kashmiri Pandit displaced community from all employment in the state. The State Government has followed a severe discriminatory

policy towards the Kashmiri Pandit community and denied it all rights to employment in the state. The policy of the State Government has led to widespread unemployment among the youth of the community and consigned them to poverty and deprivation. In fact Panun Kashmir along with the other representatives of the Kashmiri Pandit community in the Round Table Conference, appealed to the Prime Minister, for an economic package for the community and the employment of its youth in the State.

Dr. Chrungoo further told them that when the Prime Minister's scheme of the employment of the youth was sanctioned, the State Government cut and

pruned it to suit its whims and mutilate it to continue the deprivation of the youth of the community. Out of six thousand posts envisaged by the Prime Minister's package only three thousand posts have been announced to be filled. The worst of interference in the Prime Minister's package is that it is linked to the return of the community to Kashmir, where from the community was driven out at the point of the gun. The State Government has converted the employment package into an instrument of blackmail to force the Hindu youth to go to places in the Kashmir Valley, where they would be exposed to the worst of the situation.

**Panun Kashmir reiterates its demand to delink the**

**employment of the Hindu displaced youth from the return to the Valley, Dr. Chrungoo asserted.**

Dr. M.K.Teng while addressing at Roopnagar said that Panun Kashmir is constrained to note the reservations and restrictions imposed on the employment of the displaced youth, which in effect, are aimed to dissuade them from taking up employment offered by the State Government. He said that the State Government seems to arrogate itself with dictatorial powers, to take away the fundamental rights to equality, rights to protection against discrimination and right to equality of equal opportunity, of the Hindu

youth. Dr. Teng further cautioned about the stipulations of the agreement required to be signed by the displaced applicants and informed that these stipulations are humiliating, tantamounting to despotic, unlawful and vindictive restrictions, aimed to create conditions, which the displaced youth would be unable to face.

Sh. Kuldeep Raina while addressing at Nagrota and Mishriwala emphasised that, with the situation of communal distrust, terrorist violence and insecurity, widely prevailing in the Valley, an undertaking from the displaced to accept postings, wherever the almighty State Government deposes

them, is an open and blatant expression of disregard for the sufferings undergone by the displaced community,

He declared that Panun Kashmir condemns the conditions and restrictions proposed to be imposed upon the displaced Hindu youth on their employment.

Sh. B.L. Kaul while addressing said that Panun Kashmir has decided to take up the issue with the Prime Minister's office and warns the State Government not to take advantage of the helplessness of the displaced community and the poverty of its youth. He warned the State Government against any policy it intends to follow to use the youth of the displaced community as cannon fodder for the terrorist flanks in Kashmir. He further warned the State Government that it will be responsible for any wrong done to the displaced Pandit youth or any harm they are exposed to because of its discriminatory and dictatorial policies. Among others who spoke in these meetings included Sh. Satish Sher, Sh. Rajesh Bagati, Sh. S.K. Kitchloo, Sh. Lenin Bhat and Sh. P.N. Razdan.



Dr. Ajay Chrungoo interacting with community members at Roop Nagar, Jammu



Sh. Rajesh Bagati interacting with the community at Bohri, Jammu.



Sh. Kuldeep Raina interacting with the community at Sanjeevni Sharda Kendra, Jammu.