

KASHMIR Sentinel

Let Truth Prevail

JKENG 00333/26/AL/TC/94 JK No: 1213/18 Regd. JK-219/2008

Vol. 13. No: 6

JUNE 2008

Pages 20

Price Rs. 20/

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By Special Correspondent

Politics in Kashmir has been best described as being enigmatic. Neither the Indian political leadership nor the civil society have made genuine attempts to grasp the intricacies of Kashmir's intrinsically communal subnationalist politics. No wonder, solutions to break the impasse in Kashmir, continue to elude us. The so-called Kashmir experts, who wear blinkers of 'Kashmiri alienation/aspirations', 'Autonomy/Self-Rule', 'Kashmiriyat', 'Peace Process', etc. have suggested remedies which are worse than the disease itself.

Contradictions in Kashmir's mainstream regional Muslim politics are deepening and rapidly coming to the fore. This has virtually gone unnoticed in the regional as well as the national media. The emergence of competitive democratic politics in 2002 introduced a hitherto new element in the murky regional politics of Kashmir. There are two strong regional outfits-National Conference (NO) and People's Democratic Party (PDP) competing for the same political space but at the same time positing two differing subnationalist agendas to achieve their political objectives. This has resulted in sharp polemical exchanges between the two regional outfits. Of late, this exchange has assumed stridency, with each side making its position less ambiguous. This conflict has been shaped as much by

Contradictions in Kashmir 's Regional Politics Come to the fore

the internal ideological dynamics of these outfits as by the external factor i.e. the so-called 'peace process'.

What is, however, common is that both National Conference and PDP continue to propel what has been derisively dubbed as 'Dynasty politics'. National Conference has had a long innings in Kashmir politics, dating back to turbulence of 1931. It led anti-Maharaja agitation in the state, the successful culmination of which led to installation of the first NC government in power in late 1947. As premier regional outfit it has enjoyed unbridled political power for as long as 24 years in four spells. In terms of organisational spread it still enjoys the distinction of being the premier outfit.

NC Role:

Despite its close flirtation with Indian National Congress and the left before 1947 National Conference did not outgrow its role as chauvinist Muslim subnationalist outfit. These limitations pushed it into conflict with secular imperatives of Indian state, leading to the dissolution of its government in 1953 and 1984. This is not to say that the two events were not influenced or at least partly hastened by the factor of inner power dynamics. For 22 years National Conference donned the colours of 'Plebiscite Front' to pursue; 'ambiguous secessionist politics'. Its decision to pass controversial 'autonomy resolution' in State Assembly (which some experts say

was constitutionally improper cost it the power in 2002. Despite its stand 'Autonomy', which links federalism with Muslim-majority character, National Conference is trying to send signals to Kashmiris and the people in India that it is still a safer bet as compared to other regional outfits in Kashmir.

Mufti Role:

Mufti Mohammed Syed, the PDP Supremo has for the most part of his political career remained a committed congressite. He started his career as a member of Democratic National Conference (headed by Late GM Sadiq) but joined conservative Mir Qasim faction of Congress when Sadiq-Qasim factionalism emerged. In late 1970 and 1980s Mufti Mohammed Syed sought to build State Congress into a strong anti-NC force without any success. In 1987 he abandoned Congress, when the latter went for political alliance with National Conference, to join Congress dissident leader VP Singh's **Jan Morcha**. After the debacle of VP Singh led ministry at the Centre and re-emergence of Congress Mufti rebuilt bridges with the Congress. Election of Ms Mehbooba Mufti in 1996 to the State Assembly on Congress ticket from her home turf was a shot in arm for Mufti Syed. She had never won any election from Kashmir since 1975 against National Conference. In these elections Congress got just seven seats against NC's massive mandate. Disillusioned Mufti decided to float his own regional outfit to take on NC at



its own game.

Mufti Mohammed Syed has been a strong votary of competitive democratic politics, yet it is equally that he has done nothing to nurture secular politics. In the run-up to 2002 elections PDP indulged in manifestly pro-separatist posturing-visiting kins of terrorists killed, demanding disbanding of SOG, calling for softer action and dialogue with separatists etc.

The changed local, national and regional situation pushed PDP to the Centre-stage of Kashmir politics, lead to the installation of PDP-led coalition in the State. Soon after assuming reins of power PDP disbanded SOG. The Congress government at the Centre faced serious embarrassment when the Chief Minister refused to condemn the terrorist attack at BSF bus near Jawahar Tunnel. The Union Home Minister, Mr Shiv Raj Patil said, "May be the Chief Minister has condemned but the press has not reported it."

After handing over of the coalition leadership to Congress PDP has been raising demands which has caused strong disquiet in nationalist constituencies. PDP has been demanding demilitarisation of the State, Compensation to families of terrorists killed, free passage to Kashmiri terrorists in PoK. It has been raising demands of 'Joint Management' of Kashmir, 'Self-Rule', 'Separate/Dual Currency etc. Ms Mehbooba Mufti chose to release 'Self-Rule' document during Pugwash Conference in Pakistan. Recently, PDP

(Contd. on Page 19)

Panun Kashmir and Kashmir Sentinel condole the demise of the following members of the community.

1. Sh. Shiv Ji Pandita S/o Late Sh. Damodhar Pandita of Bonagund Verinag, Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 139/D, Lane-2, Sector-1 Durga Nagar, Jammu. 23/11/2007
2. Sh. Kidar Nath Suri S/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand Suri of Mohalla Ram Ghat Baramulla Kmr; presently resident of 292-Ekta Niwas Last Morh Sarwal Jammu. 23/11/2007
3. Sh. Sri Kanth Koul of Amnool Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of 41-B, Om Nagar, Udhaywalla Bohri, Jammu. 23/11/2007
4. Sh. Janki Nath Bhat originally resident of Tachloo Shopian Kmr; presently resident of 108/C Lane-2 (Hanjura Lane) Roop Nagar, Jammu. 24/11/2007
5. Smt. Phoola Ji Sadhu D/o Late Pt. Janki Nath Magazine of Karan Nagar Sgr, W/o Sh. Yoginder Sadhu presently resident at Noida (UP). 24/11/2007
6. Smt. Sampkui Razdan W/o Late Dr. Janki Nath Razdan of 22-Batyar Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of 32 Galib Apartments. Paruana Road, New Delhi. 25/11/2007
7. Sh. Chaman Lal Saraf S/o Late Sh. Nath Ram Saraf of Zeethyar Near Raj Bawan Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 8/23 Talli Morh Mahajan Nursung New Plot, Jammu. 25/11/2007
8. Smt. Rajni Bhat W/o Sh. Ramesh Kumar Bhat of Gund Ahalmar Nai Sarak, Sgr; presently residing at New Colony Sarore Bari Brahmana, Jammu. 25/11/2007
9. Smt. Shyam Rani Koul W/o Late Shyam Sunder Koul of Shashiyar 2nd Bridge Habbakadal Sgr; and presently residing at Lower Shiv Nagar, H.No: D-254, Jammu. 25/11/2007
10. Sh. Madhoo Lal Peshin S/o Late GR Peshin originally resident of Reshi Peer Sahib Ali Kadal Sgr and presently residing at 2045-D Block Palam Vihar Gurgaon Haryana. 25/11/2007
11. Smt. Shyam Rani Koul W/o Late Pt. Triloki Nath Kaul R/o 111 Ikhraypora Pajbagh Sgr; presently residing at 5415 Krishen Dham Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 26/11/2007
12. Smt. Shobawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Shambu Nath Bhat, R/o Silk Factory Road Rambagh Sgr; presently at Silliguri, W.B. 26/11/2007
13. Sh. Badri Nath Warikoo of Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 215, Subash Nagar, Near Post Office Road, Dehradun. 26/11/2007
14. Sh. Vijay Kumar Koul S/o Janki Nath Koul (Teli) originally resident of Naidyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 23, Sharika Vihar Roop Nagar, Jammu. 27/11/2007
15. Smt. Lachkui W/o Late Kanth Ram of Batargam Kupwara Kmr and presently residing at H.No: 294 Gali No: 6, Lakkar Mandi Janipur Jammu. 27/11/2007
16. Sh. Ishar Nath Bhan S/o Late Anand Joo Bhan of Budgair Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: A/4 Lane-1, Basant Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 28/11/2007
17. Sh. Bansi Lal Koul (Padroo) of Bohrikadal Sgr and presently residing at H.No: 209, Lane No: 2, Laxmi Vihar Tomal Bohri Jammu. 28/11/2007
18. Smt. Arandati Raina W/o Late Sh. NN Raina of Chinkral Mohalla Sgr; presently resident of EP-770, Jogi Gate Shaheedi Chowk, Jammu. 29/11/2007
19. Smt. Kamlati Koul W/o Sh. Ram Chand Koul of Ladhoo Jeevan Sahib Pampore Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 115-B-10 Vinayak Nagar, Sector-2, Muthi Jammu. 29/11/2007
20. Smt. Kaushaliya Devi (Koul) D/o Late. Sh. Gopal Koul and W/o of Late Sh. Srikanth Koul of Hutmarah Mattan Distt. Anantnag Kmr and presently residing at H.No: 93, Sector-1, Sharika Vihar, Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 30/11/2007
21. Smt. Kamla Sadhu W/o Late Dr. S.N. Sadhu presently residing at L-56 Kalkaji, New Delhi. 1/12/2007
22. Smt. Chuni Kotha W/o Late Sh. P.N. Kotha of Bagi Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 51, Sector-II Vinayak Nagar Upper Muthi, Jammu. 1/12/2007
23. Sh. Mohan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Amarchand Bhat of Lal Nagar Chanapora Sgr; and presently residing at Mayur Vihar Phase-III Delhi. 3/12/2007
24. Smt. Asha Jee Koul W/o Sh. Jai Krishen Koul of Vessu Anantnag and present residing at Gole Male Near Jagar Nath Man.. Dhar Road, Udhampur. 3/12/2007
25. Smt. Meena Shori W/o Sh. Sarwanand Pandit R/o Tangwari Payeen Baramulla and presently residing at Qtr. No: 40 Migrant Camp Nagrota, Jammu. 3/12/2007
26. Sh. Janki Nath Sus S/o Late S.N. Sus of Nai Sadak Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Sect-A, 59-Subash Nagar, Jammu. 3/12/2007
27. Sh. Shyam Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Kanth Joo Raina resident of Gobind Nagar IInd Talab Tillo Jammu and originally resident of Sanat Nagar, Sgr. 3/12/2007
28. Sh. Mohan Lal Saraf S/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand Saraf of IInd Bridge Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Karan Bagh Gadi Garh, Jammu. 3/12/2007
29. Smt. Soom Rani Bhan W/o Late Sh. Soom Nath Bhan of Jawahar Naga, Sgr; presently residing at 61/2 Vijay Nagar Camp Road, Talab Tillo Jammu, Lane No: 2. 4/12/2007
30. Smt. Indra Wati Malla W/o Late Gopi Nath Malla of Baghi-Sunder Balla Chattabal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 11, Lane-5, Kral Bab Nagar Bantalab, Jammu. 4/12/2007
31. Sh. Amar Nath Bhat R/o Sathu Barbarshah Sgr; presently residing at 101, Sabzar Co-Op. Housnig Society Sector-145, Faridabad. 5/12/2007
32. Smt. Sheela Ji Raina W/o Sh. Moti Lal Riana erstwhile resident of Avil Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 255-E Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 5/12/2007
33. Smt. Radha Mali Koul W/o Late Sh. Madhav Lal Koul of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr and presently residing at H.No: 53-A, Sector-41, Noida. 5/12/2007
34. Sh. Pran Nath Kalloo S/o Late Sh. Sri Kanth Kalloo of Shalla Kadal, Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Flat No: 201, Taj Shree Apts. Nandanvan Chowk, Nagpur. 5/12/2007
35. Smt. Shama Kaul (Chaman) W/o Sh. Amarnath Kaul of 77-Bagh Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Flat No: 8, Ghal Apts. Pitampura Delhi. 5/12/2007
36. Sh. P.N. Bhat R/o Hawal Pulwama Kmr; and presently residing at Ward No: 15, Behind Green Bar Udhampur, Jammu. 5/12/2007
37. Smt. Danawati Bindroo W/o Sh. Zinda Lal Bindroo of Bagh-e-Sunder Balla Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at 236-K Govt. Qtrs. Subash Nagar, Jammu. 5/12/2007
38. Sh. Nath Ji Pandita R/o Bagatpora Tehsil Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Purkhoo Camp Phase III, Jammu. 5/12/2007
39. Smt. Tulsi Devi W/o Late Badri Nath Koul of Khah Bazar Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Barnai Jammu. 6/12/2007
40. Sh. Tej Krishen Raina S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Raina of Raghunath Mandir Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently R/o Ayodhia Enclave Sector 13, Rohini Delhi. 6/12/2007
41. Pt. Jagan Nath Saraf S/o Late Pt. Sarwanand Saraf R/o Chinkeral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at VP Projects V.A. Tech. WABAG-11 Murray's Gate Alwarpit Chennai. 7/12/2007
42. Smt. Shanta Pandita W/o Sh. Jia Lal Pandita of Tral Kmr; presently resident of 81-7A, Manorama Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 7/12/2007
43. Smt. Oma Shori Malla W/o Late Sh. Pran Nath Malla resident of 3/105, Indira Vihar Old Janipur, Jammu. 7/12/2007
44. Sh. Avtar Krishan Safaya S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Safaya R/o Karfali Mohalla, Sanat Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 524-B-4 Ekta Garden Patparganj, Delhi. 7/12/2007
45. Sh. Omkar Nath Saraf S/o Lt. Sh. R.K. Saraf R/o Nazukh Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Vasundra Gaziabad (UP). 7/12/2007
46. Sh. Jagar Nath Saraf S/o Sh. Sarvanand Saraf R/o Chinkrall Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently living at Chennai. 7/12/2007
47. Sh. Makhan Lal Dhar S/o Sh. Jia Lal Dhar R/o Raingting Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at Rohini Delhi. 8/12/2007
48. Sh. Ashok Kumar Kaul S/o Late Sh. Dawarika Nath Koul R/o Verinag Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: B-109 Ashoka Enclave Phase-IInd Sector-37 Faridabad, Haryana. 8/12/2007
49. Smt. Sarita Tickoo W/o Sh. Ramesh Tickoo of Bagh Jogi Lanker Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at Talli Morh, Ice-Cream Factory Sarwal, Jammu. 8/12/2007
50. Sh. Janki Nath Rania S/o Late Sh. Vesh Nath Rania (Mazari) of Sheshyar Habbakadal, Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 105, Sector-1, Gangyal, Jammu. 8/12/2007
51. Dr. Kanya Lal Khashu S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Khashu of Wazapora Maharaj Gunj Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 42, Pawan Enclave, Vivek Vihar Paloura, Jammu. 8/12/2007
52. Sh. Mohan Lal Mattoo S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Mattoo of Qaziyar Zainakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 96, Lane No: 4, Udaywalla, Bohri Jammu. 8/12/2007
53. Sh. Dwarika Nath Dhar of 458 Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 80/334 Mansarovar Patil Marg Jaipur, Rajasthan. 8/12/2007
54. Smt. Chuni Bhat W/o Sh. Anand Ji Bhat of Pohroo Pulwama Kmr; presently putting up at Lane-1A Tomal Anand Nagar Bhoori Jammu. 8/12/2007
55. Sh. Poshkar Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. S.N. Koul R/o Drygam Budgam, Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 179, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 8/12/2007
56. Smt. Keemta Pandita W/o Roshan Lal Pandita R/o Nunar Ganderbal and presently residing at Dyansar Bari Brahmana, Jammu. 9/12/2007
57. Sh. Makhan Lal Dhar S/o Sh. Jia Lal Dhar R/o Rangting Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at Rohini Delhi. 9/12/2007
58. Dr. Janki Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Lachman Joo Dhar of Khan Kahi Sokhtaq Nawa Kadal Sgr; presently living at 49-A Roop Bhawani Bhawan Tirath Nagar, Bohri, Jammu. 9/12/2007
59. Smt. Koushalliya Yacha W/o Sh. P.N. Yacha originally resident of Karapora Khushi Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 12, Lane No: 5 Anand Nagar Talab Tillo Bohri, Jammu. 9/12/2007
60. Sh. Prathavi Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Bhat of village Ussan Bangil Tangmarg Kmr; presently living at Kabir Colony, Lane No: 1 Poonch House Talab Tillo Jammu. 9/12/2007
61. Smt. Rani Bhat W/o Sh. Jagar Nath Bhat, R/o 321-Vishal Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 9/12/2007
62. Sh. Chuni Lal Pandita S/o Late Pt. Govind Ram Pandita R/o Sagam Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at B-46, Govt. Qtrs. Subash Nagar, Jammu. 9/12/2007
63. Smt. Vidyawati Koul (Punjabi) R/o 18 Rambagh Sgr; presently residing at 347 Jullaka Mohalla Jammu. 10/12/2007
64. Sh. Moti Lal Kaw of Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 149, Samaj Kalyan Apart. F Block Vikas Puri New Delhi. 10/12/2007
65. Mrs. Manju Raina W/o Sh. Rummy Raina (Shaier) of F-6033 Devender Vihar Sector-56, Gurgaon. 10/12/2007
66. Sh. Chuni Lal Pattoo S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Pattoo, R/o Bul Bul Lanker Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at 1144/C DDA Flat East of Lone Road (Shadra), Delhi. 10/12/2007
67. Mrs. Kuleshi Thusu W/o Sh. Sunil K. Thusu R/o Vardhman Apts. Mayur Vihar Phase-I Ext. Delhi. 10/12/2007
68. Smt. Brij Mohini M/o Sh. J.N. Durani R/o Extn. Sector-7, Housing Colony Channi Himmat Jammu. 11/12/2007
69. Smt. Soomawati Koul W/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Koul of Hariparygam Divar Tral Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 169, Sector-IInd Bhagwati Nagar, Jammu. 11/12/2007
70. Sh. Niranjana Nath Goja (Dassi) S/o Sh. Gopi Nath Goja of Bidder Kokernag Kmr; presently living at Ammunition Morh Garhi Udhampur, Jammu. 11/12/2007
71. Smt. Prana Wali W/o Late Sh. Rattan Lal Wali, R/o 399 R-Block Govt. Qtrs. Subash Nagar, Jammu. 11/12/2007
72. Sh. Prithvi Nath Kaul S/o Late Sh. Keshav Nath Koul R/o Syed Kocha Kawdera Sgr; presently residing at Sector-3, Bagwati Nagar, Jammu. 11/12/2007
73. Sh. Madan Mohan Kaul S/o Late Sh. Neel Kanth Kaul R/o 422 Kavan Nagar Sgr; presently R/o 1733 Jain Nagar, Kongposh Kashmir Colony, Delhi. 11/12/2007
74. Gwash Lal Bhat S/o Late Madhav Lal Bhat R/o Tengguna Pulwama Kmr; and presently resident of Kathian Nitar Lower Barnai Lane-8, H.No: 8, Jammu. 12/12/2007
75. Brij Nath Tikoo S/o Gash Lal Tikoo R/o Bund Chota Bazar Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of 1026/303 Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 12/12/2007
76. Sm. Usha Dutta W/o Late Sh. Avtar Krishen Dutta R/o Keni Mohalla Rainawari Sgr; and presently residing at 20-A, Om Vihar Phase-3, Uttam Nagar New Delhi. 12/12/2007
77. Smt. Gonwati W/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath of Budhumulla Narwaw Baramulla, Kmr; presently R/o N-94, Sector-25, Noida. 12/12/2007
78. Smt. Nirmala Khosa W/o Late Sh. NN Khosa R/o 18-Mohalla Paharian Jammu. 13/12/2007
79. Dr. Kishi Nath Dullu R/o 66-Shutra Shahi Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 139, Abhaykhand 1st, Indrapuram Gaziabad. 13/12/2007
80. Smt. Chuni Devi W/o Late Sh. PN Hangshoo of Sangrampora Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 46, Lane-2 Shakti Nagar, Jammu. 13/12/2007
81. Sh. Shobhawati Misri W/o Late Radhay Nath Misri R/o Kocha Malik Bagh Zaindar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 252, Road No: 2, Androsi Gunj New Delhi. 13/12/2007
82. Sh. Kanaya Lal Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Shiv Ram Tickoo R/o Arampora Sonawari Sumbal Kmr; presently residing at Bandipora, Kmr. 14/12/2007
83. Sh. Prem Nath Mam R/o Chalpan Kocha Zaina Kadal Sgr; presently residing at S-462, Greater Kailash Phase-I New Delhi. 14/12/2007
84. Smt. Mohani Tickoo W/o Sh. M.L. Tickoo of Bul-Bul Lanker Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at Lallishori Watika Plot No: 308/21-D Sect-21 Faridabad, Haryana. 15/12/2007

EDITORIAL

VICTIM ACTIVISM

TERRORIST challenges to India's security continue to multiply. An internal document of the GOI, meant for restricted circulation, has painted a worrying security scenario with no let up in threats to India expected till at least 2025. The document makes an honest confession that the so-called peace process has not delivered anything so far as CrossBorderTerrorism is concerned. It talks about threats emerging from revival of terrorism in Punjab; use of the Bihar-Nepal border for smuggling arms, explosives and fake currency; proliferation of madrassas in border states like West Bengal.

ISI remains in control of insurgent networks from Bangladesh. For the first time, the official document has gone on record admitting that illegal influx from Bangladesh poses serious threat on two counts. One, this immigrant population often shelters anti-India elements and provides a steady recruitment to jihadi modules. Secondly, this immigrant population has reached a level where it can influence 20 assembly segments in Delhi and 6 districts. Mrs. Sheila Dikshit, Delhi Chief Minister's recent statement, playing soft on Bangladeshi infiltration, shows how this demographic invasion can play havoc with national security.

Another report '*Counter-insurgency in Afghanistan*' by Seth Jones (conducted for RAND, an influential US Think-tank) says that elements of Pakistan's ISI and Frontier Corps were aiding Taliban and al-Qaeda militants in Afghanistan. It warns that the primary goal behind this strategy was to 'balance against India'.

Sensational revelations have also come from a recently-arrested HUJI terrorist Mohd. Iqbal alias Abdur Rehman. An increasing number of Indians are being lured to join jihadi ranks and then sent to training camps organized by ISI in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The Indian nationals recruited for terror operations are initially sent to Iran and then to Pakistan. After completing their training, the groups come back to India via Tehran. Reports said SIMI, which provides human resources and other logistical support to HUJI, has started mobilizing youth from across the country.

After a lull of two years, reports of violations of cease-fire by the Pak Army along the LOC in J&K are regularly coming in. As part of the peace deal with the Pak Taliban the Gilani Govt. has agreed to withdraw the army troops from the FATA and replace them with paramilitary forces such as the Frontier Corps. The Coalition Govt. is trying to cre-

ate fresh tensions along the LOC in order to justify to the US its shifting of troops presently deployed in the FATA to the LOC area and thereby meet the demands of the Taliban for withdrawing regular Army troops from the FATA.

Despite the multiplication of terrorist threats counter-terrorism is not being dealt with in a professional manner. It has become a political football kicked around in different directions by the political parties in order to draw political mileage out of it. There has not been a professional discussion in the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies of the States on terrorism and counter-terrorism for nearly two decades now. What we have in place of a professional discussion is a verbal duel. None of the political parties ever come forward with a positive suggestion on how to improve counter-terrorism and urban and rural policing. All we see is a blame game. After a terror attack takes place the ruling party brags that the terrorists' evil design in dividing the people on communal lines would never succeed and 'peace process' would not be allowed to derail. It does not say with equal vehemence that the country will not tolerate any act of terrorism.

Look at the way the United States has battled terrorism. 9/11 brought terror to the American soil for the first time in history. US acted decisively. There hasn't been a single terrorist strike since then. This happened because it learnt from the event. It strengthened its intelligence-gathering apparatus and virtually everything was systemized.

Another factor that favoured the US to take strong action against terrorism was the pressure built by victim activism. Since 9/11 no political party or leader in the US and other western countries can hope to win an election if perceived as soft on the issue of terrorism. During Presidential elections in the US in 2004 the relatives of the victims of the terrorist strikes saw to it that terrorism was a major issue in the campaign and the candidates made firm commitment to fight terrorism.

Even though India is a major victim of terrorism of various hues—jihadi and non-jihadi, terrorism has never figured as a major electoral issue. Political leaders and parties, who are soft on terrorism, do not have to worry about that their negative image on terrorism may cost them their election. Victim Activism is yet to develop in India. Till then Political class will continue to remain insensitive to terrorist challenges ♦

LETTERS

Kashmir Sentinel
lives up to its
reputation

Sir,
I read Godbole interview with interest. Please continue to publish such informative conversations as well. Kashmir Sentinel continues to live up to its reputation.

—Dilip Kaul
Baroda

Write-up on Herath

Sir,
Navreh by Sh. Upender Ambardar was a well researched write-up. Please publish a similar article on Herath.

—Neelam Kher
Patoli, Jammu.

Cuisine on Kashmir

Sir,
What is Cooking on Kashmir by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo has done well to sensitize the nation to the dangers inherent in the policies followed by govt against Pakistan. As long as we continue to indulge in such manoeuvres India would never be able to evolve an adequate response to the terrorist challenge.

—MK Koul Jammu

Shree Education
Trust Announces
Scholarship for
Academics

JAMMU, June 16: Shree Education Trust (Regd.) has announced to grant Academic and Entrance Scholarship for the year 2008-09 for the deserving and bright students who have passed their 10th standard and belonging to families falling in low income groups, various weaker sections of the society and to the wards of displaced Hindus to help them to excel in their higher academic classes and for professional courses entrance examinations.

The selection will be made on the basis of performance in the written objective type test and counselling taken together by the Shree Institute of Education, Lane No. 2, Karan Nagar, Jammu on 13th July 2008. The scholarship shall be provided in three slabs upto 100% in fee.

The last date of submitting application forms is 30th June, 2008.

Interested students can contact either Shree Education Trust or Panun Kashmir Office for Further Queries.

Contact Nos:

For Shree Education Trust:
0191-2563864 (M) 94191-27550
Panun Kashmir: 0191-2593166, (M) 9419137289

Did BJP leadership Compromise on Kashmir

By P.N. Raina

DID BJP leadership let down the nation by floating dangerous proposals on Kashmir during NDA rule? The debate has begun both within and outside BJP. Sensational revelations made by **Shuja Nawaz in Crossed Swords-Pakistan Its Army and the wars within (OUP)** has put the top BJP leadership in the dock. Shuja Nawaz, a well-connected Pakistani journalist, reveals that Vajpayee had authorised the Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh to explore an agreement on Kashmir with Sartaz Aziz. The two Foreign Ministers had met during a Foreign Ministers' meeting at Nuwara Eliya in Sri Lanka in March 1999. They met privately on a bench overlooking a lake, without any notes or other participants, and "made great progress on issues, identifying issues on which they had unacceptable options as well as those who had a common good".

Nawaz claims that Jaswant Singh said he wanted to avoid division on the basis of religion. Sartaj Aziz, Pak Foreign Minister, in a conversation with Shuja Nawaz told the latter that Singh was 'open to the idea of geographic division, coming closer to the ideas of the Kashmir Study Group'. They agreed to continue their exchanges privately in the months ahead, using Pakistan's High Commissioner in India, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, as the contact.

The fall of the BJP Govt. in India on 17 April 1999 and then Kargil aggression put an end to that initiative, Aziz told Shuja Nawaz. Late, when he met Vajpayee, he says the latter 'had tears in his eyes'. The BJP Prime Minister is said to have told Aziz : 'Sartaj Sahib! Yeh aap ne kya kiya? (Mr. Sartaj, what did you do?) Sartaj Aziz believes that the Musharraf coup put an end to the idea of 'progress' on Kashmir with India.

During all the years, the BJP leadership, whether in BJP or Jan Singh incarnation, had been claiming that it was ultranationalist on Kashmir and had been demanding end to Special Status of J&K. If accounts of Shuja Nawaz and Sartaj Aziz have any credence the same leadership was laying a receipt for secession of Kashmirs. Farooq Kathwari plan aims at creating a 'sovereign Islamist Kashmir state without an international personality'. Contrary to what Mr. Jaswant Singh says Kathwari Plan is itself based on carving out new entities on the basis of religious division. Shuja Nawaz has made another revelation. When Vajpayee was seeking

'peace' in Lahore, Pakistan was busy preparing for Kargil aggression (Operation Badar) to annex Kashmir. Nawaz says Pakistan had sought the services of "20,000 to 30,000" Afghan Jihadis as possible reinforcement during the Kargil conflict. This information was given to Nawaz by Ziauddin, the then ISI Chief and the man appointed to replace Musharraf as army chief on October 12, 1999 by PM Nawaz Sharif.

Do revelations of Shuja Nawaz have any basis? Officially, BJP leadership has been tight-lipped. Though the book has been in the market for quite some time the leadership is yet to comment on it. Many developments which took place in rapid flurry during NDA years throw light on this.

"Chenab Plan":

Writing in the Pakistani newspaper, *The Nation*, Columnist Talat Hussain claimed that India and Pakistan, through back-channel diplomatic negotiators who operated through the Kargil war, discussed what was called the 'Chenab Plan'. This plan, patterned on the infamous Dixon Plan of 1950, called for a partition of the J&K State along its communal-ethnic fault lines. It would have broadly cut apart J&K along the Chenab river, with the predominantly Muslim areas to its north going to Pakistan, and its predominantly Hindu and Buddhist areas remaining in India. Hussain says the discussions between the back-channel negotiators were documented in a Pakistani proposal, an Indian response, and a Pakistan counter-proposal. Parveen Swami, a noted journalist, wrote, "**The idea was evidently in circulation at the time, for Pakistan's former Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, called in an article for 'deliberate incremental advances' towards a settlement in which 'the two sections of Kashmir would have open, porous borders'.** He adds, "**Efforts to realise a Dixon-style resolution to what is called the Kashmir problem continued apace after the Kargil war. On 9 March this year (2000), Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah and a group of his top Cabinet Colleagues held a closed-door secret meeting with Farooq Kathwari, a US-based secessionist leader**". Kathwari heads the Kashmir Study Group (KSG), a New York think tank closely aligned to the

US State government. Kathwari's son Irfan died in Afghanistan, fighting for 'Jihad'.

RAC Report:

Farooq Kathwari, in view of his antecedents had been earlier blacklisted by successive Indian governments. On one occasion he was even denied permission to visit a critically ill relative. Soon after the second BJP coalition took over in 1998, Kathwari became favourite for Indian embassy in US and was quietly granted a visa. Kathwari came to New Delhi in March 1999,

the management of defence, external affairs and communications....While the NC's demands for greater autonomy aren't in themselves disturbing, the context in which they have been made and their character most certainly is. The US's enthusiastic endorsement of the autonomy report gives even more enough reason to believe it sees some variant of the KSG plan as the eventual solution to the Kashmir problem".

Mr. Balraj Puri, a Veteran Political Commentator, too believes that NC's RAC report was a variant that NC's RAC report was a variant of Kathwari plan. Puri was associated with the RAC committee but had resigned at the time the report was being finalised. In a signed article in the Tribune in wrote, "Somehow he (Kathwari) became a favourite of the Indian embassy in Washington and came to India in early 1999. He reportedly met leaders including the RSS Chief in Jammu, he had a long talk with the Chief Minister and me and, according to him, with none else. Later, he visited Pakistan. Farooq Abdullah immediately sought to implement Kathwari formula by proposing division of Jammu into Hindu and Muslim majority areas?

Mansoor Ijaz Mission:

The US's diplomatic establishment was also pushing other variants of Kathwari's proposals simultaneously. In May 1999, the US-based investment banker and nuclear physicist **Manzoor Ijaz** had visited Srinagar, visiting top political figures there and in New Delhi. All this was being facilitated by the officials agencies at the behest of BJP leadership. What he discussed during this visit, Ijaz outlined in an article in the International Herald Tribune (November 22, 1999). Ijaz says he proposed a framework for dialogue to General Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee that 'envisioned empowering ordinary Kashmiris, civilian and militant alike, as the Central partners for peace'. Mansoor Ijaz made five visits to India and Pakistan in our year to arbitrate Kashmir 'dispute'. Govt. of India accorded him a status that befitted only high-profile emissaries of the Head of a state. At least on two occasions, he visited Delhi on special 'out of passport' visas, and full secrecy was maintained about this identity and itinerary. Three days before Ramadan ceasefire a symposium--'Next Steps in

J&K : Gove Peace a Chance", was organised with blessings from PMO, at Gurgaon. Ijaz delivered the keynote address at the seminar. The symposium was jointly organised by a Delhi-based organisation, **Peace Initiatives, Institute of Regional Studies, Pakistan and Lord Avebury**, a pro-Pakistan member of the House of Lords in UK. Around the same time Ijaz was active in the sub-continent news was making rounds that a senior member of Vajpayee's cabinet had opened communication channels with leaders of Hurriyat and some terrorist groups through an influential Kashmiri political leader. A few months later, two separatist leaders, Abdul Ghani Lone and Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan were to claim that solution to Kashmir crisis was round the corner. Prime Minister Vajpayee had drawn widespread criticism from nationalist quarters over his remarks on holding discussions with Hurriyat "**Within the framework of Insaniyat**" (i.e. outside the Indian Constitution).

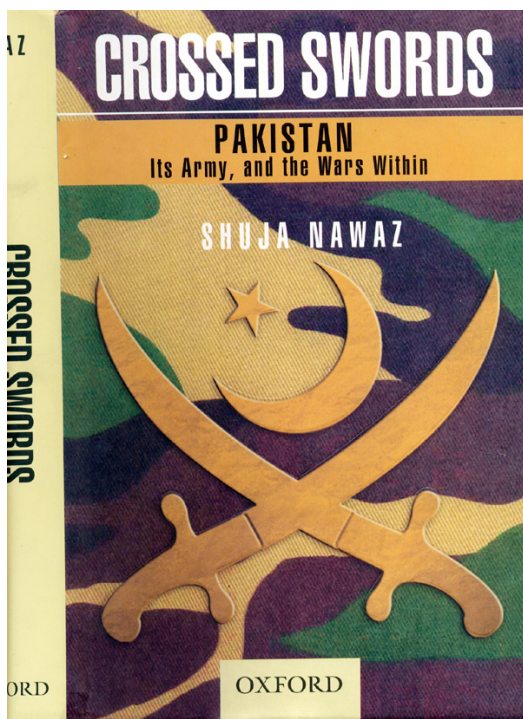
Vajpayee Compromises:

A little later, on January 1, 2001, Prime Minister Vajpayee spending his year-end vacation at **Kumarkom Rest House** came out with **Musings** that indicated India was willing to offer major concessions on Kashmir. He said, "**In our search for a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem, both in its external and internal dimensions, we shall not traverse solely on the beaten track of the past. Rather, we shall be bold and innovative designers of a future architecture of peace and prosperity designers of a future architecture of peace and property for the entire South Asian region. In this search, the sole light that will guide us is our commitment to peace, justice and the vital interests of the nation' In reply Foreign Minister of Pakistan said," We have taken due note of the statement...We are impressed by what Indian Prime Minister has said".**

In 2003 Prime Minister Vajpayee said in an interview to a German daily, Der Spiegel that the resolution of Kashmir problem would require serious compromises. He even warned that he will retire if his third peace initiative with Pakistan fails. Reacting strongly to it Mr. Omar Abdullah, the former MoS External Affairs in Vajpayee's Cabinet demanded, "**the PM must clarify that compromises are to be made from both sides...We will not allow India to make compromises alone...Lines cannot be drawn from just one side**".

NDA government also rewarded a well-known academician, who has been publicly ad

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By J N Raina

What is ailing Indian secularism?

an adaptation of the American model. No wall of separation exists between religion and the State, unlike in the U S. It is neither perfect nor workable to suit our national interest. No doubt India is a multi-religious society, it does not serve the desired purpose, based on the past 60 years of experience.

Kashmiri Hindus, who have become refugees in their own country, are the best judges to articulate about the Indian brand of secularism. There are certain 'inherent' weaknesses and lapses in the Indian system of governance with regard to secularism.

According to Soli J Sorabjee, former Attorney General of India, Article 13 of the original draft Constitution had provided that all persons, including non-citizens, "shall have the right to freely profess, practice and propagate religion, subject to public order, morality and health". The word 'propagate' was inter alia meant 'conversion'. It is believed that our founding fathers of the Constitution were not swayed by 'narrow-mindedness'. "They had displayed the spirit of tolerance in keeping with our age-old traditions", he says. But the stark question arises, what has been the outcome and who should be blamed for rapid rise of Islamic terrorism in India? Obviously, the very 'custodians' of our constitution. They have misused certain provisions of the Constitution. The BJP has righteously taken up the cause and questioned the basis of the so-called 'Indian secularism'. It has in fact become a 'farce'. For the past two decades the Muslim fundamentalism has grown phenomenally. The country's changing demography and communal riots from time to time, and series of serial bomb blasts is going against the tenets of secular democracy, giving a handle to the Hindu nationalist forces, seeking a change in the secular fabric of society.

The word 'secular' was missing in the Constitution till it was amended in 1976 (42nd

amendment), barring in Art 25(2)(b). It was during Emergency that the Constitution was amended to suit the purpose of then Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi. She has been criticized by Rajnath Singh for introducing word 'secularism' and 'socialism' through this amendment, charging that it was from that day onwards that 'widespread politics' broke out over secularism.

In 1947, India was declared a secular and a democratic State. But there was no consistency in the interpretation of the word 'secular'. Mahatma Gandhi had suggested that all religions are equal and the State will encourage the practice of all religions equally. As per the Hindu nationalists' point of view, Hinduism believes that since there are different methods of worshipping God, 'all Indians are Hindus'. But ultimately Jawaharlal Nehru's views about secularism prevailed, based on western concept, that the State 'shall not engage in religious activities nor promote any religion'. He had stated that the separation of the State and religion was 'essential for the conduct of western democracy'.

But what is wrong in doing away with the borrowed concept of western 'roots of secularism'? We might adopt what suits us best.

Dr Radhakrishnan, former president of India has said: "No group of citizens shall arrogate to itself rights and privileges which it denies to others. No person shall suffer from any form of disability or discrimination because of his religion....The religious impartiality of the Indian State is not to be confused with secularism or atheism. Secularism as has been defined, is in accordance with the ancient religious traditions of India". So the concept of secularism is not new for Indians.

When secularism was debated in the Constituent Assembly, Prof K T Shah was the only member who wanted to get a provi-

sion regarding secular character of India included in the Constitution. His amendment was defeated. It reads as follows:

"The State in India being secular, shall have no concern with any religion, creed or profession of faith and shall observe an attitude of absolute neutrality in the matter relating to the religion of any class of its citizens or other persons in the union". But the amendment was rejected forthwith. Had it been carried out, say political pandits, the official machinery would not have been misused today, and it would have been barred from financing pilgrimages and other religious activities.

Former Chief Justice of India PB Gajendragadkar has said "the word secular like the word religious is amongst the richest of all words in the range of meaning".

India has its own national character. Why our country has remained enslaved and subjugated for over 1000 years, is a matter of shame and debate. It is a reflection on the quality of our leadership that has emerged from time to time. The very structure of the Indian society has to change, as also the age-old caste system, the bane of our democracy. The change has to be of epochal importance.

Questions are being asked that the U S and U K are not secular nations and yet millions of people go and settle there. So what is great about Indian secularism? While framing the Indian Constitution, it is felt that decisions were taken in haste about secularism. Some political outfits, including the BJP, believe that some age-old 'grievances' and 'historical injustices' have been committed, against the majority Hindu community, which needed to be rectified. Today, India has acquired communal tinge, and secular colour has received a setback. END

**(The author is a Veteran Journalist based in Pune)*

Did BJP leadership Compromise on Kashmir

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vocating joint sovereignty over Kashmir and had been darling of US think-tanks on Kashmir.

Dissent:

Did the entire top leadership of BJP share Prime Minister Vajpayee's destabilising vision on Kashmir? There are no clear cut answers. It is believed that Vajpayee's External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh was increasingly influential in charting J&K policy.

On the issue of inviting Musharraf for Agra Summit, Mr LK Advani had been claiming repeatedly that he suggested to Vajpayee to invite Musharraf, saying it 'does not matter if Lahore has failed'. Advani makes mention of this in his autobiography 'My Country My Life'. Recently, Karan Thapar went public over his role as mediator in arranging meetings between Advani and then Pak High Commissioner in India, Ashraf Qazi (Hindustan Times, March 29, 2008). Significantly, Advani shows his dissenting note on two issues--**Kandhar Hijacking and Talks with Hurriyat** leaders. In his autobiography he says he was critical of the approach of Brajesh Mishra, National Secu-

rity Advisor and AS Dulat, a former RAW Chief and advisor in the PMO on J&K affairs. Advani says Dulat had given some Hurriyat leaders the impression that the government was prepared to look at solutions to the Kashmir issue outside the ambit of Indian Constitution. NDA's Home Minister LK Advani has also been opposing greater autonomy.

Kashmiri separatist leadership has been publicly praising Vajpayee's stand on Kashmir and saying that only Vajpayee had the 'vision' to solve Kashmir issue. Praveen Swami described BJP's Kashmir policy as dangerous, **"the BJP's peace initiative has costs that transcend J&K-implications for the future of India as a secular state which have largely been censored out of public debate. The price of peace now sought to be brought about could, paradoxically, prove higher than the admittedly horrific loss of life that takes place each day in the troubled state"**.

NDA Shift:

Why has BJP been so naive to compromise country's interests on Kashmir? It wasted away the opportunity provided by the

end of cold war to consolidate country's position on Kashmir. India's engagement with US had to be different in post cold war environment because US did not have to pursue an antagonistic relationship with India. NDA did not make reversal of Kashmir policy as determining factor in Indo-Pak relations. Indian position on Kashmir till the 1998 was that the Kashmir issue was an internal matter. It stressed bilaterality and Simla Agreement.

CONTINUATION

India held on to this position even when country was under pressure due to unfavourable regional situation caused by US-Taliban bonhomie, collapse of Soviet Union etc. US-Pakistan relations were at their best and Taliban invasion had already begun on Kashmir soil in the form of international mercenaries. Congress during Narsimha Rao's govt. even passed a resolution seeking return of PoK to India.

By 1998 US-Islamist nexus started coming under strain as Islamist terrorism turned increasingly anti-American. This provided an opportunity to India to gain leverage and mould America's Kashmir policy. NDA dispensation turned this opportunity

into liabilities Instead of engaging US to reverse its Kashmir policy it lapped up Kathwari proposals. It began delegitimising ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus. At a time when space for US coercive diplomacy was less NDA govt. took US proposal on Kashmir (advocating dilution of Indian sovereignty over J&K) as forward move on Kashmir and an impression was sought to be created that India was under international (read US) pressure. This was the time when BJP leadership reneged its own commitment on Bangladeshi infiltration and chose to remain silent when serious doubts were cast on census operations in Kashmir.

Two-Nation Theory:

Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee went to visit **Minar-e-Pakistan** at Lahore, thereby indicating that secular India can be at peace with ideological frontline state. Nehru, whom BJP leadership had been regularly indicting had never accepted two nation theory. It was BJP leadership which asked NC to send proposal on Autonomy. Faced with unprecedented backlash from party ranks and a section of its own leadership BJP leadership got unnerved. NC went a step ahead by passing autonomy

resolution in J&K Assembly. This irked BJP leadership. It decided to back Mufti Syed's PDP. It was during NDA years that country's major foreign policy decisions were declared from Srinagar and through a regional outfit. It was again during NDA years that politics of competitive secessionism and communalism in Kashmir was legitimised.

Erroneous Formulations:

The BJP's dangerous Kashmir policy is based on erroneous formulations. Its think-tanks, including its Foreign Minister, blame Nehru for persistent a crimony with Pakistan, even holding him responsible for the creation of Pakistan. They believe that a deal could be cut with Pakistan on Kashmir. BJP leadership's second untenable premise is that India's pro-soviet tilt over the years hardened US position on Kashmir. Another illusion, under which **BJP labours, is that strategic concessions on Kashmir would deliver Indian state for faster economic development** and facilitate rapid march towards attaining the coveted status of a global power. BJP's willingness to sacrifice the interests of J&K State's 42% minorities and weaken the strategic northern frontier need to be viewed in this context.

AFGHANISTAN: STRATEGIC STABILITY CONTINUES TO BE UNDERMINED BY PAKISTAN

By Dr. Subhash Kapila

Introductory Observations

Afghanistan's strategic and political stability could have been restored years back by the United States and NATO Forces but for the American permissiveness in not stamping down hard on Pakistan's relentless undermining of the United States military operations.

It is amazing to witness that a country like Iran on Afghanistan's western flank has not dared to stoke fires in Afghanistan despite its adversarial confrontation with USA. On the other hand, Pakistan on Afghanistan's eastern flank, despite receipt of over of \$ 10 billion in military aid from USA for operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda and a designated "Major Non-NATO Ally" continues to undermine United States stability operations in Afghanistan.

Continued undermining of Afghanistan's strategic stability by the Taliban at Pakistan's behest, if not check-mated forcefully and effectively by the United States forthwith could induce a Vietnam like situation for the United States. Can the United States afford such an eventuality in today's emerging security environment when Pakistan's strategic ally China is intent on denting United States global supremacy. It is not for nothing that there are growing reports of Chinese arms supplies to Taliban for operations in Afghanistan.

It is further amazing for strategic analysts and hard to comprehend that while the rest of the world is aware of Pakistan's "double-timing" the United States, the American foreign policy and strategic establishments continue to be in a "state of denial" over Pakistan Army's duplicitous role in Afghanistan.

It is an established fact that the Pakistan Army has in the past and even now with a civilian Prime Minister in place has constantly (1) Controlled Pakistan's foreign policy with special reference to Afghanistan and India (2) Has a vice-like grip on Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and (3) Not allowed interference by the civilian establishment in Pakistan's Proxy War on both fronts.

With its severe loss of public image in Pakistan, the Pakistan Army has only one option to regain it. They have to wrest Afghanistan in a repeat performance of 1996 through the Taliban.

Afghanistan's strategic and political stability has constantly been undermined by the Pakistan Army and this needs to be examined in this Paper under the following heads

- Pakistan's Dual-Track Strategy of Undermining Afghanistan's Strategic Stability
- Pakistan's Strategic Interests in Afghanistan Operate in Contradiction to United States Strategic Interests
- Afghanistan's Strategic Stability: The Way Ahead

Pakistan's Dual Track Strategy of Undermining Afghanistan's Strategic Stability

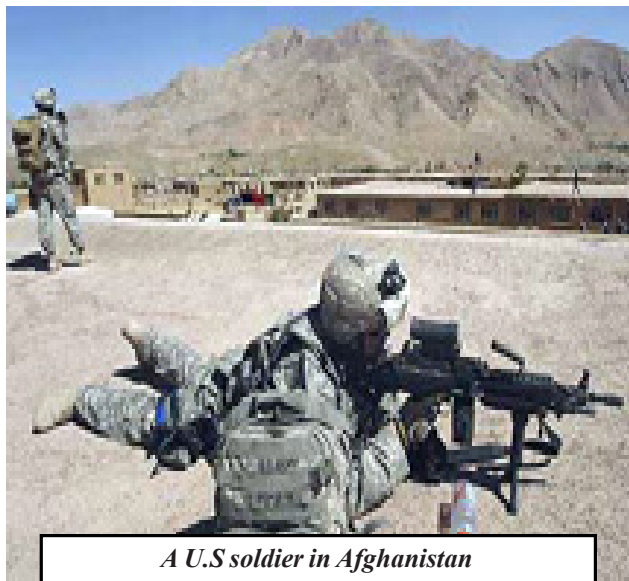
General Musharraf and the Pakistan Army have ostensibly gone along with the United States after 9/11 and US military intervention in Afghanistan, but they kept indulging in a dual-track policy of (1) Rhetorical support to United States on "global war on terror" (2) Arming, training, facilitating and logistics support for Taliban to indulge in Pakistan's proxy war in Afghanistan against US and NATO forces.

Pakistan Army and its Generals painstakingly proclaim that they committed 80,000 troops and suffered 800 casualties in operations in the FATA, the frontier tribal region of NWFP province bordering Afghanistan in aid of US military operations.

This is duplicitous rhetoric once again by Pakistan

Army Generals for the following reasons:

- Quetta region in Baluchistan, which is the main base of Pakistan's proxies, the Taliban, was never the focus of the Pakistan Army.
- Pakistan Army in the last six years has made no effort to liquidate Taliban main base in the Quetta region nor interdict the flow of Taliban and their logistics support from Quetta to Kandahar region and Southern Afghanistan – the main theatre of Taliban operations against US & NATO Forces.
- Pakistan Army's deployments and casualties emerged not in support of USA in Afghanistan. They resulted from Pakistan Army's internal security – centric operations against Pakistani tribals challenging General Musharraf's Army rule and



A U.S soldier in Afghanistan

policies.

- Pakistan Army has made a distinction in its military operations discriminating between the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Al Qaedaists mostly foreigners in FATA were targeted. since they posed the greatest threat to General Musharraf personally.
- Pakistan Army scrupulously avoided military operations against the Taliban with the intention of conserving them as a strategic policy tool to regain control over Afghanistan, even if it involves undermining USA.

It also needs to be recorded forthrightly that the Pakistan Army operations in FATA were not intensified when United States security interests in Afghanistan demanded it, but were intensified only when the tribals revolted against General Musharraf's misrule and policies and the suppression by Pakistan Army.

Therefore, to say that Pakistan aided or contributed to US military stabilization operations in Afghanistan is patently wrong. In fact growing indications are emerging that Pakistan Army is prodding Taliban to intensify operations against US & NATO Force so that Afghanistan can be re-subjugated to serve Pakistan's strategic ends.

Pakistan's Strategic Interests in Afghanistan Operate in Contradiction to United States Strategic Interests

The United States could have restored strategic and political stability in Afghanistan with assistance from NATO Forces years back. It was not that the US & NATO Forces were militarily incompetent to do so.

The major impediment that impeded the determined efforts of US & NATO Forces was that the United States continued to have a misplaced trust and faith that Pakistan would have behave as "a steadfast and enduring US Ally" to further US strategic interests in Afghanistan.

Pakistan and the Pakistan Army have behaved in a manner detrimental to US strategic interests for the following reasons:

- Pakistan perceives Afghanistan as its exclusive "strategic backyard" serving its strategic interests at different levels.
- Pakistan cannot afford to militarily occupy Afghanistan to secure its perceived strategic backyard. A proxy Taliban regime brutalizing Afghanistan on the pretext of Islamization provided the tool to secure Afghanistan for Pakistan as happened from 1996 to 2002.
- The fostering and preservation of Taliban as a strategic asset was the foremost strategic aim of Pakistan Army to secure its ends in Afghanistan.
- The Taliban is the only option for Pakistan to re-subjugate Afghanistan. The United States national security and strategic aims post 9/11 in Afghanistan have been as follows:
- Afghanistan's strategic and political stability be restored and Afghanistan's emergence as a democratic and moderate Islamic nation be facilitated as a model for other Islamic nations.
- Afghanistan's re-emergence as the nursery of global Islamic terrorism under Taliban aegis and proxy for Pakistan be neutralized.
- Afghanistan's potential to be built up as one of the "pillars" of US security in Greater South West Asia be strengthened in the face of Iran in conflictual confrontation with USA and Pakistan increasingly emerging as an uncertain strategic ally of USA.

When the Pakistan and American strategic interests in Afghanistan as outlined above are compared there is not only a glaring mismatch but the two sets of US and Pakistan strategic interests in Afghanistan appear to be in gross contradiction of each other.

Pakistan all along has been aware of these contradictions and has followed a dual track strategy to ensure and secure its interests in a duplicitous manner.

Apparently, going strictly by the pronouncements and certifications of US Administration leaders on Pakistan vis-à-vis Afghanistan what appears is that the United States has not seen through Pakistan's game.

In earlier Papers of this Author it stands brought out that there is a "visible disconnect" between US & NATO Forces commanders in Afghanistan and Washington officials on Pakistan's reputation as a "credible partner" of USA in furthering US & NATO stabilization operations in Afghanistan. US & NATO Forces commanders have forcefully asserted that Pakistan is in league with the Taliban and undermining stabilization operations.

Afghanistan's Strategic Stability: The Way Ahead

Afghanistan strategic stability is an achievable objective for the United States & NATO Forces in Afghanistan. Needless to state that a strategically and politically stable Afghanistan is an imperative not only for United States national strategic ends but also an imperative for peace in South Asia, South West Asia and Central Asia.

United States & NATO Forces in Afghanistan as it is have to battle against heavy odds in terms of (1) Availability of adequate military forces (2) Infiltration of Taliban forces from Pakistan at a rate greater than the build up of US & NATO Forces (3) Pakistan maintaining porous borders with Afghanistan to permit Taliban influx (4) Orders to US & NATO Forces for no "hot pursuit" of the Taliban in Pakistan and no military strikes against Taliban and Al Qaeda forces in Pakistan.

Majority of the challenges faced by US & NATO Forces in Afghanistan originate and are Pakistan-

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By Prakash Singh

Human right groups and the Left parties have mounted a campaign against the Salwa Judum experiment in Chhattisgarh. A three-member CPI delegation recently urged the prime minister to intervene and disband the Salwa Judum. Their contention was that it was abetting “a social strife-like situation in the state leading to the suffer-ing of innocent villagers and adivasis”. Fortunately, the prime minister did not succumb to their pressure tactic.

An expert group constituted by the Planning Commission to study the problem of militancy has also surprisingly been very critical of Salwa Judum. In its report, the group has argued that the formation of tribal squads to fight the Naxalites has promoted “a fratricidal war in which tribals face the brunt of mortality and injury” and that “those tribals who are unattached to either the Naxalites or those opposing them, become victims of violence by all agencies — Naxalites, squads formed to fight them and the security forces”. The group has said that apart from being undemo-cratic, it is also counter-productive and that the experiment should be jettisoned. Two members of the expert group did not subscribe to this view and recorded their note of dissent.

The background of Salwa Judum needs to be understood. The tribals, harassed as they were by the corrupt revenue, police and forest officials and exploited by traders from the plains, welcomed the Naxalites, when they first made their appearance in Bastar. However, as the Naxalites entrenched them-

In Defence Of Salwa Judum



Sh. Mahinder Karma, the man behind Salwa Judum.

selves, they became arrogant and insensitive to the feelings of tribals. They interfered with the social customs and cultural practices of the tribals. This caused a strong feeling of resentment. The Naxalites did not allow the tribals to pluck tendu leaves, too, depriving them of what had been a regular source of income. What followed in mid-2005 was a rebellion against Naxalite excesses. Large groups of people held rallies where they expressed opposition to the Naxalites. This was the begin-

ning of Salwa Judum (All Together). It was a spontaneous movement expressing the resentment of the tribals against the Naxalites’ interference with their social customs, cultural practices and economic interests. Mahendra Karma, a Congress worker, gave them the leadership. The BJP-led state government supported the tribals and rehabilitated them in camps. These camps should have been wound up within a year or two and the tribals encouraged to go back to

their villages. That unfortunately did not happen. However, the fact remains that the tribals constituting Salwa Judum felt harassed by the Naxalites and, therefore, decided to take up cudgels against them.

Every individual has the right of private defence under the law. In almost all states, the police have encouraged the formation of village defence societies. Police cannot be present everywhere and they always have a response time, which may be

more than a couple of hours in remote areas. The villagers are encouraged to defend themselves with whatever weapons they have and the able-bodied are encouraged to acquire guns for which licences are given. In Punjab, the villagers who had suffered at the hands of terrorists were mobilised to give them a fight. In J&K also, counter-insurgent groups were formed. You cannot fight terrorists with kid gloves. Manipur has also decided to arm the villagers of Heirok and Chajing of Imphal West district to protect them from insurgents. This is, however, not to condone any high-handedness or excesses committed by the special police officers appointed from amongst the tribals.

The Naxalites view Salwa Judum as a threat. The tribals have turned against them. If elsewhere also, people turn against them, it would be the end of the Naxalite movement. It is precisely for this reason that the Naxalites have relentlessly attacked Salwa Judum camps in the Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh. They want the experiment to fail. They want the resistance to crumble.

It is not that the state has abdicated its functions by supporting Salwa Judum. It has mobilised the support of the people against the Naxalites’ zulum in a battle where the democratic structure and economic progress of the country are at stake.

**(The writer was member of the expert group set up by the Planning Commission to study the Naxalite problem.)*

(Source: Times of India)

Afghanistan: Strategic stability continues to be undermined by Pakistan

(From Page 6)

centric. It can be understandingly frustrating for frontline commanders in Afghanistan having to fight the Pakistan proxies, the Taliban, with one hand militarily tied by Washington’s pro-Pakistan or Pakistan-sensitive policy formulations.

At the risk of being repetitive from previous Papers of the Author, the way ahead for Afghanistan’s strategic stability lies in the following:

- United States needs to de-link/divorce its Afghanistan strategic and military formulations from a misperceived obsession that Pakistan’s sensitivities must be taken into account by US & NATO Forces.
- United States needs to dispel the myth that Pakistan is a willing and credible partner

facilitating US stabilization operations in Afghanistan. The converse is more true.

- United States needs to dispel the notion that Afghanistan is Pakistan’s “strategic backyard”. The proud people of Afghanistan will never accept to be Pakistan’s junior partner.
- United States need to dispel the myth that it can bring Pakistan and Afghanistan strategically together in a harmonious cooperative relationship to serve US strategic interests.

The way ahead for the United States to stabilize Afghanistan lies in adapting itself to the strategic harsh reality that it is not Pakistan which would assist USA. Other countries too have legitimate strategic interests in Afghanistan and they have to

be co-opted despite any Pakistani objections.

Concluding Observations

The United States needs to first recognize that the Taliban War in Afghanistan is not directed at the Karzai Government.

CONTINUATION

The Taliban War in Afghanistan is a direct war against the United States.

The second strategic reality that the United States must come face to face with is that the Taliban is no rag-tag bunch of irregulars. It is an armed militia created and trained by Pakistan for the express purpose of securing Afghanistan for Pakistan. It did so for six years or so in the mid-1990s. The Taliban, again at Pakistan’s behest and guidance, is seeking once again to seize

Afghanistan by proxy for Pakistan. Can the United States afford to let this happen? Obviously not, for the simple reason that the United States cannot afford to repeat a Vietnam, not with a Chinese challenge to its supremacy brewing. It is not for nothing that General Musharraf after his recent visit to China advocated that the Shanghai Cooperation Organization could have a role in Afghanistan, fully conscious that such assertions would not find favor with the United States.

The United States can restore strategic and political stability in Afghanistan only by de-linking Pakistan from its strategic formulations in South West Asia. Pakistan Army is a strategic millstone around United States’ neck and this harsh strategic reality needs to be accepted sooner

than later.

(The author is an International Relations and Strategic Affairs analyst. He is the Consultant, Strategic Affairs with South Asia Analysis Group)

JKENG 00333/26/AL/TC/94
JK No: 1213/18
Regd. JK-219/2008
Printer Publisher B.N. Kaul for and on behalf of
Panun Kashmir Foundation.
Editor: SHAILENDRA AIMA
Computer Graphic:
S.K. Babbu
Printed at : The Kashmir Times Press, Gangyal, Jammu
Owned by:
PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION
Published from PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION, 172 Sector-3, E.W.S. Colony, Roop Nagar, Jammu-180013 (INDIA)
Tele/Fax: 0191-2593166
website: www.panunkashmir.in
e-mail: kashmirsentineljk@yahoo.co.in

Terrorists' Threat to Europe-Findings of Europol Report

Special Correspondent

Europe faces a multifarious terrorist threat-Islamist, Separatist, Left-Wing/Anarchist, Right Wing etc. In 2007 terrorists carried out or attempted to carry out 583 attacks i.e. 24% up from previous year. In the same period 1044 individuals were arrested for terrorism related offences, a 48% increase compared to 2006. Separatist terrorism, seen mainly in Spain (Basque-ETA) and France (Corsica-FLNC) constitutes 88% of all terrorist actions in 2007 i.e. 517 attacks. The two countries also witnessed sharp increase in arrest of terrorist suspects-7 fold in Spain and 68% in France. The separatist groups accounted for more than half of the total arrests.

But it is not the separatist terrorism threat that Europe is worried about. Jihadi terrorism is perceived as the main threat to European security. This assessment is based on the estimate of potential damages. **TE-SAT - 2008-EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report**, the annual, report published by **Europol**, the European Union's criminal intelligence agency, released recently in April last, makes this point very clearly. It claims, "Most investigations into failed and foiled Islamist terrorist attacks in the EU in 2007 showed that Islamist terrorists continue to aim at causing indiscriminate mass casualties. This is not only observed in the choice of targets but also in the methods and explosives used". France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, United Kingdom, Netherlands are at a very high level of terrorism (Jihadi) alert. The first four countries relate the higher threat to the increasing activities of Al-Qaeda in the Islamist Maghreb (AQIM). In UK there was 30% increase in arrests since the previous year, the vast majority of these were in relation to Jihadi terrorism.

Terrorist Attacks:

In 2007 Europe saw 4 failed/attempted Jihadi attacks-2 in UK, one each in Denmark and Germany. Investigations into the attempted strike in Germany revealed that possible targets included US Air Base at Ramstein and American and Uzbek consulates-General in Germany. It was also claimed that the aim of the attack was to force the closure of the German Air Base at Termez in Uzbekistan. In the United Kingdom the targets were Glasgow International Airport

and a London Night-Club. In Denmark the Danish authorities said that the terrorists were planning attack to get suspects arrested in Glasvej case released. Danish authorities also unearthed a conspiracy through which Jihadis planned to kidnap Danish citizens abroad. A Danish national of Pak origin and an Afghan national living in Denmark were arrested as

men were found guilty of using the internet to incite murder. They had distributed films of beheadings and published bomb-making instructions as part of al-Qaeda's propaganda campaign.

Terrorist propaganda aims at providing a coherent interpretation of the world which justifies terrorist activities as "acts of war or self-defence". Through

to criminalising the use of the Internet to provide terrorist training.

The different categories of offences for which terrorists were arrested in 2007 include 52 (membership of terrorist organisation), 5 (Facilitation of attack), 13 (Attack related offences), 5 (Financing Terrorism), 14 (Recruiting members), 6 (Propaganda) and 5 (Training). In

bomber in Iraq.

Routes and logistics to smuggle recruits from France, Spain and Italy to Iraq continue to be dominated by North African Jihadis. North African cells in Europe were also found to be recruiting young EU nationals for training in North or West Africa. In June 2007, three Moroccans were arrested in Spain attempting to transfer recruits to training camps in Sahel region.

In Iraq 90% of suicide bombers were foreign terrorists and also most of al-Qaeda leadership and fighters here were foreign born. The Europol report predicts that as the security situation improves in Iraq, foreign terrorists "may leave Iraq or relocate their Jihadist activities to other regions, including the EU".

Some would-be Jihadis are recruited by local cells to carry out operations in their own countries. Some are "self-recruited" through the media, and constitute a "new generation" of terrorists. Some limit their support to financing terrorism. Others, finally, decide to join the Jihad abroad in Iraq (main destination), Afghanistan or, increasingly (according to French intelligence), Somalia.

Radicalisation:

Dutch authorities reported that an increasing number of Dutch nationals and residents were willing to participate in Jihad outside the EU. Involvement of country's participation in Afghanistan and Lebanon was seen as a motivating factor for Jihadists in Netherlands and France. In France there was also increasing evidence that Somalia was becoming a new alternative destination for Jihadists. In UK as well authorities estimated that British passport holders fighting with the Islamists in Somalia were "in their dozens". There are also indications that terrorists training and planning of attacks-with a focus on the UK-is taking place in Somalia. In November 2007, the British Security Service was keeping under watch more than 2000 individuals on suspicion of Jihadi terrorism. Some of these individuals, both British and Foreign, were involved in planning attacks. But a greater number was involved in providing support through financing of terrorism and making ideological and military training available.

Training and Logistics: (Contd. on Page 10)



suspects.

Arrests: In Europe 201 suspects were arrested for Jihadist offences in 2007, down from 257 in 2006. Majority of arrests were from France, Italy and Spain, with suspects mostly belonging to North African countries--Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Arrests in France, Austria, Bulgaria, Belgium and Germany indicated that there was an increase in the number of homegrown terrorists. North African Jihadis arrested in Europe had affiliation usually with Moroccan Islamic Combatant (GICM) or AQIM Jihadi outfits. 15 women were also arrested for Jihadist activities, mostly for an offence related to propaganda.

Propaganda: 38% of all court cases in 2007 were related to Islamist terrorism. Court proceedings in relation to Islamist terrorism had an acquittal rate of 31%, compared to 20% for left-wing and separatist terrorism. 6 suspects were hauled up for conduction Jihadist propaganda. This offence became a new category for Islamist terrorism. The same year saw first convictions in (UK) in relation to the spreading of propaganda on the internet. In July 2007 three

this propaganda recruits are hooked to terrorists networks and finances raised. Lately, al-Qaeda has been conducting high profile propaganda in Pashto, French German languages as well, besides English and Arabic. The recent investigation in the UK which led to the conviction of 3 men for using the Internet to incite murder shows how the Internet is being used to facilitate the Jihadists' activities. Videos and films inciting Muslims to take part in the global Jihad continue to play a significant role in the recruitment process, reports Europol report. Ongoing conflicts in Middle East and South Asia are also used for propaganda purposes to find recruits for global Islamist networks. In Bulgaria 2 out of 4 people arrested for propaganda purposes were female converts. The report also quotes how in Luxembourg and Denmark Jihadis were disseminating terrorism propaganda. Alarmed over the creation of self-production of videos and propaganda, the European commission presented to the European Council a proposal to amend the 2002 Council Framework Decision on combating terrorism with a view

France and Denmark the suspects were raising finances for AQIM and Hamas terror outfits. 29 individuals were arrested in Belgium, Rumania, Spain and Sweden for recruiting people for Jihad in Iraq. One of them was arrested for recruitment on behalf of the AQIM. In December, 2007 the French Security services arrested one Algerian and one French national suspected of shipping material--binoculars, maps, telephones, portable computers, radios and navigating systems--to AQIM. The filming equipment was intended to be used for filming future attacks.

The number of member states reporting arrests of Jihadis in their territory increased to 9 from 6 in 2006. The Europol report analyses age-wise pattern for different Jihadi related offences.

Recruitment:

In 2007 Iraq attracted the largest number of recruits for EU member states. In Belgium, an investigation into the recruitment of suicide bombers for Iraq revealed a network of intermediaries for al-Qaeda spread across Europe and the Middle East. The investigation started in 2005 after a Belgian woman became the first European female suicide

Text of the Joint Statement issued after Foreign Minister level Review of the Fourth Round of Composite Dialogue between India and Pakistan at Islamabad, ON May 21, 2008

1. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi, and External Affairs Minister of India, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, met in Islamabad on 21 May 2008 to review the progress made in the Fourth Round of Pakistan-India Composite Dialogue. This was preceded by a meeting between the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Mr. Salman Bashir and Foreign Secretary of India, Mr. Shivshankar Menon, on 20 May 2008.
2. The talks were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.
3. They reviewed the progress made in the Fourth Round of the Composite Dialogue encompassing (i) Peace and Security, including CBMs; (ii) Jammu and Kashmir; (iii) Siachen; (iv) Sir Creek; (v) Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project; (vi) Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; (vii) Economic and Commercial Cooperation; and (viii) Promotion of Friendly Exchanges in Various Fields.
4. They noted the positive contribution to improvement of relations by the Composite Dialogue process since its resumption after the joint statement of 6 January 2004 and the subsequent Summit Statements of 25 September 2004, 18 April 2005, 14 September 2005 and 16 September 2006. The Ministers reaffirmed their determination not to let terrorism impede the peace process and take all necessary steps to eliminate this scourge against humanity. They further resolved to carry forward the peace process and to maintain its momentum.
5. The Ministers noted that in 2007 and over the course of the Fourth Round of Composite Dialogue there had been a number of important bilateral achievements, including:
 - MoU to increase the frequencies, designated airlines and points of call in either country.
 - Agreement for the trucks from one side to cross the border up to designated points on the other side at the Wagah-Attari border.
 - Increase in frequency of Delhi- Lahore bus service from two to three trips per week.
 - Signing of Agreement on 'Reducing the Risk from Accidents relating to Nuclear Weapons'.
 - MoU between the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) and Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP) to facilitate the sharing of information between two agencies.
 - Completion of the Joint Survey of Sir Creek and adjoining areas.
6. Two meetings of the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism.
6. The two sides signed the Agreement on Consular Access, which was finalised during the Fourth round of Composite Dialogue.
7. They exchanged views on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and agreed to continue discussions to build on convergences and narrow down divergences. They also agreed to continue with the implementation of Cross-LoC CBMs with a view to enhancing interaction and cooperation across the LoC. In this regard, they decided:
 - a) To increase the frequency of Muzaffarabad - Srinagar and Rawalkot-Poonch Bus service from a fortnightly to a weekly basis.
 - b) To finalize modalities for intra-Kashmir trade and truck service as early as possible.
 - c) To implement other measures to expand and facilitate travel a meeting of Working Group on Cross-LoC CBMs would be convened within two months.
8. They reaffirmed the importance of ceasefire in place since November 2003 and the commitment of both sides to cooperate to safeguard it.
9. They agreed that progress has been made under the Composite Dialogue process on promoting a stable environment of Peace and Security including CBMs. The Expert Groups on Nuclear and Conventional CBMs should consider existing and additional proposals by both sides with a view to developing further confidence building measures in the nuclear and conventional fields.
10. Both sides exchanged views on Siachen and reiterated their commitment to seeking an early amicable solution.
- 11 Both sides expressed satisfaction on the progress made on Sir Creek, with the completion of the joint survey, the exchange of maps, and the discussions thereafter. They agreed to further facilitate the process for an early resolution of this issue.
12. Both sides reiterated their commitment to fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and re-emphasized the need for effective steps for the complete elimination of this menace. In this context, it was agreed to continue cooperation in the Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism whose next meeting would be held within two months. Both sides agreed to refrain from hostile propaganda.
13. Both sides emphasized the need for further strengthening cooperation to eliminate drug trafficking and welcomed the finalization of an MOU on Cooperation between Pakistan's Anti-Narcotics Force and Narcotics Control Board of India.
14. Both sides reiterated the importance of enhancing mutually beneficial economic and commercial cooperation and agreed to discuss further steps for facilitating trade and redressing the trade imbalance. In this regard, Indian and Pakistan Railway officials would meet in June for resolving all technical issues to enable increase in to and fro freight movement. They also agreed to facilitate the process of early opening of bank branches in the two countries.
15. Both sides appreciated the work being done by the Judicial Committee on Prisoners, which will meet in Pakistan shortly; welcomed the finalization of the Consular Access Agreement that will help addressing humanitarian aspects relating to persons under detention in each other's country and; agreed to provide on a regular basis updated and comprehensive list of prisoners in each other jails.
16. Both sides agreed to the need for promoting friendly exchanges between the two countries.
17. Both sides agreed to the early finalization of the Visa Agreement which will help liberalize the visa regime and facilitate people-to-people contacts.
18. The two Ministers reiterated their commitment to the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline project and had a useful exchange of views in this regard.
19. The two Foreign Ministers also exchanged views on promoting the Pakistan-India peace process, reinvigoration of SAARC and agreed to work towards promoting regional cooperation for enabling South Asia to realize its full development potential. It was agreed to work for promoting sustainable development and food and energy security.
20. It was decided that the two Foreign Secretaries will launch the Fifth Round of the Composite Dialogue in New Delhi in July 2008.
21. The External Affairs Minister of India, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, called on the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

His Excellency the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir and Chairman Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board honoured Major Yoginder Kandhari, Director Deccan Aviation Pvt. Ltd. with certificate of appreciation for excellent performance during Amarnath Yatra.

This honour has restored on the basis of this work:

1. Planned and executed helicopter service of Deccan Aviation Ltd. to perfection for Yatra period 2007.
2. Achieved cent percent customer (Yatri) satisfaction.
3. Passenger (Yatri) friendly service.
4. Ensured that Deccan Aviation Ltd. got additional two year contract for the helicopter service.
5. Utmost importance to service of the Yatris rather than on own job. Inculcated that spirit in the whole team working at Baltal in extreme conditions of terrain, climate and related issues.

COMMENDABLE

**CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION
BY
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR**

*I highly commend the good work done by
Major Yoginder Khandari, Director,
Deccan Aviation Pvt Ltd towards ensuring
arrangements for the highly successful Holy
Yatra of Shri Amarnathji from 30 June to 28
August, 2007.*

*Given at Raj Bhavan, Srinagar on the 11th
day of September 2007.*

S. K. Sinha
Lt Gen (Retd.) S.K. Sinha, PVSM
Governor of Jammu & Kashmir
and
Chairman Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board

Temple that vanished

By Shyam Kaul

If someone were to look deeply into the eventful, though disconcerting, developments of the past twenty years in Kashmir, purely from a mundane angle of 'profit and loss', it would make an interesting study and a revealing one too.

Even for an average Kashmiri who has been through and suffered or benefited, from these developments, there is enough to recollect by way of his experiences, far more painful than comforting.

The rise of militancy and violence in the early 1990s which had instantly planted the dreams of 'azadi' in the eyes of the people is a thing of the past. The dream has so far been and still continues to be in doldrums, with hardly any hope of its realization in its original or modified forms in the foreseeable or distant future. This could be counted as the major loss for the protagonists of 'azadi'.

On the 'profit' side, however, the picture is not bleak at all. In fact it is very rosy for large sections of Kashmiri society. Haven't we seen, during these past two decades, the emergence of lakhpatis and crorepatas in plenty, with many arabpatis in the making? The gun has liberally sprayed its blessings through bullets on all those who used it, not for the 'liberation struggle', but for their pelf and power, prosperity, pleasures and a merrier life. The power of gun has created a neo-rich class in Kashmir whose affluence has been manifesting itself in many ways, in-

cluding a spectacular spate of building activity, especially in urban areas.

We now have an affluent class of politicians too, many of them masters of millions. How and why, need no answer because what is visible to the naked eye is self-explanatory. After all the paradise on earth is now also the receptacle of lucre from sources galore. No wonder the perpetuation of militancy and uncertainty has become a vested interest with many sections of our society.

We Kashmiris have a weird knack of turning crisis situations, such as natural calamities like floods, earthquakes, droughts and of course man-made militancy, into opportunities for making a fast buck the easy way. Over the past twenty years, the smarter among us have fully put their knack into use to freely fish in troubled waters of Kashmir. Their 'achievements' are there for anyone to see and that is why they want the troubled waters to be always in high tide.

When talking of 'profit and loss' to the fellow displaced Kashmiri Pandits (KP) in Jammu or elsewhere in the country, one often comes across pithy and expressive comments like, for instance, 'India may or may not lose Kashmir, but the KP has lost it.'

Judging by the sufferings of the KP community, beginning with their displacement and exodus, there appears to be quite some truth in their fears. Having left the valley, they instantly lost their habitat, their social, cultural

and pluralistic milieu, their centuries-old roots of belongingness to their land of ancestors and their fundamental right of living freely and honourably in their own homes in own land of birth. Meanwhile during the endless years of their exile, the KPs have lost almost everything they had left behind, except the throwaway returns some of them got for parting with their properties. These deals are now acknowledged as 'distress sales' and efforts are being made to get their annualised by the government.

Lately the most talked about 'loss' is that of religious shrines and the landed properties of these shrines. The situation indeed is worrying as reports of large scale encroachments, illegal occupations and clandestine, unauthorised and illegal sales, continues to pour in. The situation is further aggravated by the government's inability or more aptly, apathy is correcting and preventing the widely practised wrongs. There is a bill before the state legislature now for the protection of the religious properties of Kashmiri Hindus awaiting its enactment as a law. But the government appears to be doing calculated heel-dragging in the matter.

As if to certify the veracity of the disturbing situation about religious properties, my journalist colleague and fellow Safapurwala, Ashok Pehelwan, asked me one day recently, in an asitated voice, "Could you believe that a plot of land, with a temple standing in its midst, has disappeared?"

"No, I can't," I shot back, "how can it happen? No doubt we hear of encroachments, forced occupation, vandalism and the like, but how could there be a disappearance?"

Safapur is a largely-spread village, on the banks of Mansbal lake, with Kolpur as one of its extended localities, a mini village by itself.

In early 1980s, Tarawati, the redoubtable and popular Mokdambai (headwoman) of Kolpur, took the initiative for building a temple in the village. The search for a piece of land started in right earnest with the spontaneous cooperation of Muslim members of the village community. Finally it was decided that the government would be approached for a plot of land on the lakeside of Kolpur. Accordingly a mixed delegation, headed by Tarawati, met the revenue authorities at the then tehsil headquarters at Sumbal. The revenue officials were deeply moved by the enthusiasm of the mixed delegation and the tehsildar sanctioned a plot measuring nearly two kanals of land for building a temple.

Again, with the collective efforts of the villagers, it did not take long for the temple to come up. Yet again the youths of the village joined hands to retrieve an imposing and tall lingam of Lord Shiva transported it to Kolpur and installed it in the temple. The lingam had been pushed into the river Jhelum by marauding tribal invaders from Pakistan, in 1947, at village Asham, four kilometres away from Safapur, after removing it

from a place of worship of Rajput Dogra orchardists in the village.

Ashok Pehelwan told me that a few weeks back two Muslim neighbour from Kolpur had come to Jammu and they informed him that a fire brigade station was coming up close to the temple, which was in a bad shape, with its boundary wall having completely collapsed, and the temple partly vandalised. They also urged him to ensure that, to begin with, the boundary wall of the temple is reconstructed so as to protect the temple area from any encroachment. The internal repairs, the two men suggested, could follow later. Ashok acted promptly, got in touch with fellow KPs of Kolpur Safapur, now living at different places. They raised funds for the repairs at the temple and decided to start work without any delay.

The next step naturally was to get the details of the land area of the temple from the concerned revenue authorities. It was then that the disappearing trick came to light. The concerned Patwari of the area informed them that in the revenue records nothing like a temple or any land under it existed, and therefore he could not provide them with any details, for a non-existent structure. Where have the temple and its land disappeared, inspite of standing where they are? They do not exist simply because the revenue records are sacrosanct, and therefore no temple nor its land exist at Kolpur. Now go and find the answer for yourself.

Terrorists' Threat to Europe-Findings of Europol Report

(From Page 8)

An increasing number of European nationals involved in Jihadi activities had received training in Pakistan. Investigations into the failed attack in London on 21 July 2005 revealed that the perpetrators had received training both in Pakistan and in UK. In 2007, Italian police arrested 3 Moroccans accused of providing terrorist training at a small mosque in Central Italy.

A majority of the member states state that EU-based suspects provide logistical support to terrorist groups/networks based outside the EU. This support generally consists of providing material, funds, and false identity documents. Such types of terrorist activities have been seen in member states which otherwise reported a general low risk from Islamist terrorism.

The report reveals methodol-

ogy in raising funds for Jihadi activities. These range from drug dealing and counterfeiting money (Italy) using front companies in the real sector (Spain) to transfer of funds to aid terrorist organisations (France, Germany)/ Financing of terrorism also involved use of material good goods, which upon arrival at the final destination, are resold and converted into money (Moroccan network operating in Southern Portugal and Spain). The network was involved in theft of high value vehicles which were shipped to North African Countries and then sold to raise funds for local Jihadi groups.

Countries with low threat from Jihadi terrorism-Finland, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia fear threat because of the risk that these states might be used as logistical base for ter-

rorists operating outside of the EU. Romania reported an increase in the number of individuals attempting to enter the country illegally from Pakistan with the aim of continuing to other

CONTINUATION

member states. Pakistani individuals in Romania with links to Islamist extremism were involved in such activities. Lithuania also mentioned an increasing number of individuals with suspected links to Islamist terrorism transiting the country.

Command structure:

The remaining core leadership of al-Qaeda in Pakistan still largely commands, controls and inspires Jihadi terrorists in Europe. Europol, however, recognises the increasing importance of groups-isolated-or more au-

tonomous-from al-Qaeda's core leadership, and their potential threat to European security. The report says, "This expansion of the 'al-Qaeda franchise' has the potential to constitute a threat to the EU's security. It could provide al-Qaeda with access to new centres of support which it can motivate and exploit".

The report emphasizes the strategic importance of Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan for European security. There are strong fears that improvement or the termination of the war in Iraq would diverted Iraqi Jihadis (European or not) to Europe. Former Iraqi fighters could, for instance, carry out operations in Europe, establish new cells, or teach their know-how to young, would-be terrorists. In other words, there is a risk that the Iraqi generation will follow a similar path to the 1980s Afghan generation.

Conclusion:

As seen in the statements

issued by al-Qaeda outfits, member states are threatened with violence in an attempt to influence national policies on the engagement in conflict areas. Europol notes that the Islamist threat is growing. Al-Qaeda is taking roots in Europe, Reducing an increasing number of EU citizens, although the influence of the core leadership remains important. Though European states are perfecting their counter-terrorism strategies they are still better at fighting separatist movements that at countering Jihad. **Europe faces dilemma in facing terrorism. On one hand, EU members recognise that their domestic security is related to the evolution of the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. On the other hand, however, they refuse a greater commitment in those regions for various other reasons, including electoral concerns.**



SANJAY GODBOLE is a an institution in himself. He is an archeologist, historian, indologist, an author, publisher and owns a personal museum. Sometime back Sh. Kuldeep Raina had a long discussion with him at his Pune residence on different aspects of Kashmir History and Culture. The first part of this conversation was published in the previous issue .
--The Editor

KR: After Swat Valley What remains belonging to ancient Greek Culture have been found in Kashmir?

SG: At a distance of 60 kms from Srinagar, there is a place called *Semthan* and a hillock known as *Chakdhar*, originally *Chakradhar*. The original name of Semthan was *Sinhanstan*. There was a big- sized gate called *Haathi Dwar* on the Chakdhar hillock. King Jaun has made a reference to the temple of Lord Vishnu which existed there. During the regime of king Lalitaditya, Persian wheels were installed for supplying water to this area. On this hillock, there is a tomb of *Totak Shah*. In the vicinity of this area, terracotta pieces, ceramics and pieces of Earthenware pots were found. After the appearance of an article in *Srinagar Times*, by Shri Arjun Dev 'Majboor', the Archaeology department undertook an excavation work there in 1977 A.D. During this excavation, innumerable remains came to light.

In the 1982 issue of *Man and Environment* it is claimed that the missing gap between the Neolithic culture and the Indo-Greek culture has been aptly filled in by the discoveries of this excavation. The experts have surmised that the coins of Greek Origin and the Greek styled sculpture found here, indicate that Greek empire had definitely extended up to this part of the country. The ceramic industry was in full bloom and there was a huge forest of cedar & fir trees, perhaps beyond the reach of our imagination. The Staple food in Kashmir was wheat and rice in those times. A seal indicating Greek connection has been traced. After the discovery of gray coloured N.B.P. pottery, saffron coloured and red coloured thin polished wares of Greek style and make were also found.

Similarly, some designs of pottery and ornamental beads have shown resemblance to the Greek styled designs. Few vases have flowery designs and motifs on them. Some of the Greek and Roman patterns, introduced in pots and vases at that time continue to exist even today. A guidebook was printed in German language, giving details of Kashmir. In that guide, a photo showed Kashmiri nomads still using Indo-Greek type of utensils.

KR: What are 'Kashmir Smast' Caves?

SG: These caves do not have anything to do with Kashmir as such. These exist in *North West Frontier Province* in Pakistan. *Kashmir Smast* caves are a series of natural limestone caves- artificially expanded, from the Kushan

to Shahi period. These are situated in the *Babozai* mountains in Mardan-N.W.F.P. *Smast* is the word used for *Cave* in *Pashto*. These caves are known as *Kashmir Smast* caves because of the fact that the network of the rock cut caves is so vast that it stretched from *Gandhara* to the Kingdom of *Kashmir*. Sir Alexander Cunningham described them as *Cave Temples*. These caves have chambers 322' x 100' x 80' in size. Waleed Ziad found a surprising treasure trove of antiquities belonging to the period 300 A.D. to 800 A.D. These included Kushan and Sassanian Bronzes, Kedar Kushan coins, Nozek Bronzes and Shahi Kings' coins. *Menander* was an Indo-Greek Ruler and he struck his own coins. The Huns of *Swat* and *Kashmir* had imitated his coins. Such imitated coins were also found in the said hoard. An article on these coins was published in O.N.S. England

KR:How do you view the art of painting in Kashmir through history?

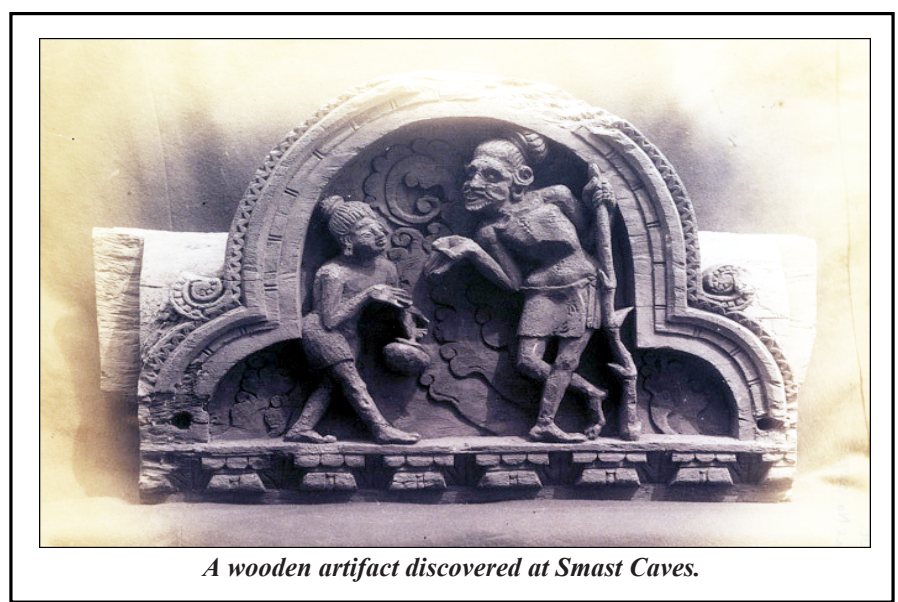
SG:In the month of August 2007, a painting of Lord *Avalokiteshwa* came to light in a cave called *Dungkar* in Tibet. This ancient painting done by Kashmiri artists shows the Lord with 'eleven heads'. This painting has been lauded as the best specimen of Kashmir school of painting.

The oldest available evidence of the existence of the art of painting in Kashmiri style dates to 8th Century. These specimens have been traced at 'Gilgit'. It is believed that the painters and artists from Kashmir were specially invited to Central Asia and Tibet at Buddhist monasteries for various painting assignments.

Rinchen Sangpo (950 AD to 1055 A.D.) an erudite Tibetan Scholar visited Kashmir thrice and engaged 75 Kashmiri artists and technicians. With their co-operation and assistance, he got the artwork of paintings in 108 Buddhist Monasteries done. Even to this day, any one who looks at few specimens of this work, stands simply amazed.

A Buddhist Lama, Taranath arrived in Kashmir from Tibet in the 16th Century A.D. He has made a specific mention of a school of painting and metal casting, which flourished under the guidance of Hasuraja of Kashmir. He informs that the styles practiced in the art school of central India and the school established by *Shringadhari* in Marwar had a dominating influence of the art of Kashmir.

The paintings in the manuscripts at Gilgit have faces in line with Gandhara style, the rest being in accordance with the Indian style. The figures in the manuscript are conspicuously muscular, with sturdy built up bodylines. All these contribut-



A wooden artifact discovered at Smast Caves.

ing factors seem to converge in the painting style of Kashmir. This could be identified as a special feature of Ancient Kashmiri painting style. The experts also opine that even the sculptures of Lalitaditya's times have a similar impact. *King Avantivarman* (855 A.D. to 883 A.D.) was a great connoisseur and patron of arts. During his reign, various concepts of Gandhara Greek, Roman, Central Asian and Chinese styles converged into a unique combination reflected in Kashmir style of painting. This peculiar style was also followed in producing Kashmiri Bronzes. Not only that, this style was also successfully employed for wall paintings in Tibet in the 10th century.

Only natural colours were used for paintings in Kashmiri style. The green pigmentation was made from *Turquoise* found in Ladakh and the blue one was made from *Lapis Lazuli* from Gandhara. The attention of experts is always focused on the unique features of the art of Kashmir e.g. the technique, the colour scheme, the blend of various art styles etc..

This art of Kashmiri painting lost its patronage from the 11th century A.D onwards. The changed socio-economic and political situation in Kashmir added further to its decline. This led to change in the Kashmir style of painting. Since the times of Mughals, there was a more forceful impact of Iranian art style on Kashmiri painting. This can be discerned in the paintings and pictures in manuscripts.

KR:What is the importance of Gilgit manuscripts?

SG: In the year 1938 A.D., Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, then Head of State Archaeology Deptt. discovered these manuscripts at Gilgit in a small excavatory project. These manuscripts are preserved at Srinagar in the Pratap Singh Museum. One manuscript is written on palm leaves while the other is on birch bark. The first manuscript is of the size 6cm. x 30 cm. It is written in a script called *Northern Cursive Script*. This script has descended from the *Late Gupta Script*. The second manuscript is of the size of 7.5cm x 30cm. Both these manuscripts have wooden covers. There are icons drawn on them. The first cover

has a picture of Lord Avalokiteshwar sporting ornaments. Two disciples are sitting at the feet of the lord. The disciples have put on the local attires of the elicit. On the inside cover of the second manuscript the picture of Lord Buddha sitting on a Lotus in a meditative posture is depicted.

In the opinion of experts both these paintings of Lord Avalokiteshwar and Lord Buddha belong to a period between 7th & 8th century A.D. Further these pictures are akin to and have similarity with the traditional art of painting from Foundkistan in Gandhara.

According to experts the pictures of Lord Avalokiteshwar and Lord Buddha on the covers of 2nd manuscript belong to the 9th century. These are in typical Kashmir style of painting. These show convergence of Gandhara, Indian & Central Asian Styles.

Gilgit manuscripts are masterpieces in the history of Ancient India so far as the art history is concerned. These manuscripts are important for studying the evolution of the Kashmir School of painting and the onward journey of the same up to Tibet.

KR:Which religious sect in Kashmir was in existence during the rule of the Kushans?

SG:During the 4th century B.C. a religious cult called 'Nagpuja Cult' i.e. serpent worshipping existed in Kashmir. During the reign of Emperor Asoka, a Buddhist monk named *Majjahantika* was sent to Kashmir for propagation of the faith. When Majjhantika arrived in Kashmir, he performed certain miracles by the grace of heavenly bliss. *Araval*, the Naga King of Kashmir, was highly impressed and he surrendered before Majjahantika along with his followers and converted to Buddhism, shedding his earlier strong opposition.

Hieun-Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller, visited Kashmir in the 7th century. According to him, as per the 'native record', Kashmir was known as *Dragon Lake*. During Hieun-Tsang's stay in Kashmir, he says there were about 500 Buddhist monks in Kashmir.

According to 'Neelmatpurana' Land was created out from water and thus Kashmir came

(Contd. on Page 14)



Artifacts discovered at Smast Caves (L) Seal (R) Queen

SURAJ TIKU WAS A CREATIVE SET-DESIGNER

By Dr. R.K. Tamiri

SURAJ TIKU had no formal training in Set-Designing. He acquired this art by assisting Late Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan, the redoubtable set-designer whose contributions to set-designing remain unrivalled by any Kashmiri even to this day. Suraj Tiku was very good in learning and adaptation. Among Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan's many students it was only Suraj Tiku who emerged as an outstanding and creative Set-Designer. Suraj's pick-up was very quick.

Set-Designing is an art in which the artist creates an illusion. In technique it is quite apart and more difficult than painting. Since the actor has to move the set-designer has to depict the movement. Unlike painting the task of designing sets is complex, involving many things.

Santosh Tiku, who learnt set-designing from his father remarks, "Father (Suraj Tiku) had great imagination drives. He successfully designed set depicting heavenly scenes, showing gladiator emitting fire from mouth etc. In the designing of sets Father would lay stress on three aspects—understanding the situation, Focusing on the environment and background for the play and lastly, recreating the times in which the play was to be situated. I think after Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan my father was the only set-designer at the provincial level."

Music Maestro Krishen Langoo opines, "Suraj had tremendous imagery. He once showed Chouraha (Square) with a small lantern. He was creative. Even upto Bombay there was no set-designer who could match him in creativity. After 1967 Suraj Tiku concentrated mostly on set-designing".

Suraj Tiku had many firsts to his credit in the history of set-designing in Kashmir. It was he who first showed river on stage and introduced three dimensional sets, beginning with '*Bina Divaron Ke Ghar*' (1967).

Living legend on Kashmir's folk theatre '*Bhand Pather*', Moti Lal Kemu observes, "Suraj was a good set-designer after Late Kashi Nath Bhan. He created sets for '*Bina Divaron Ke Ghar*' (A house without walls', '*Taentkor*' *Tsaya* (shade) etc. These plays had different sets. It was a difficult job to do. Yet he performed the task so well. Suraj would understand the set background to be created and knew theatre very well".

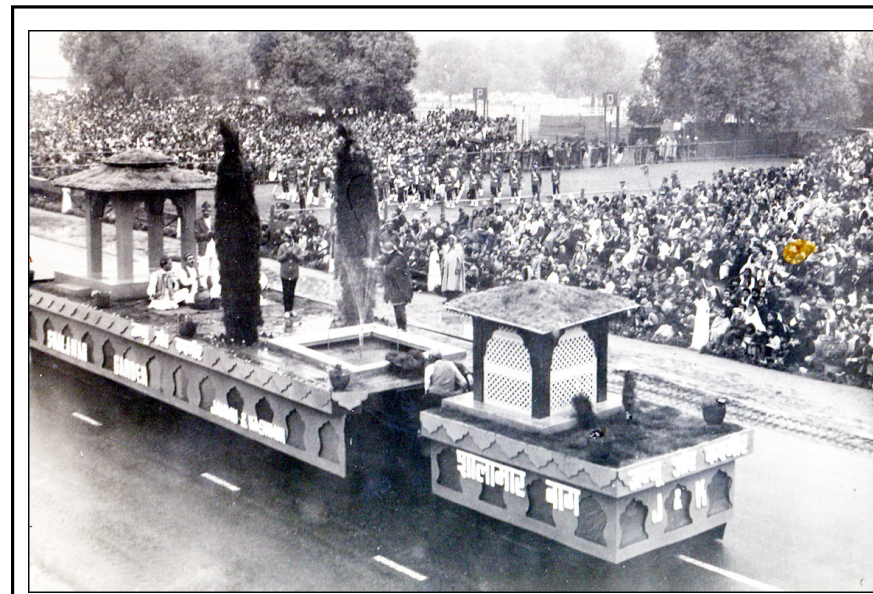
Artist Gokul Dembi corroborates, "Suraj was a reputed set-designer in dramas. Continuous sets were made by him. Set designers of Delhi and other places made great money but Tiku got nothing as he was devoted to theatre. In set-designing he was very innovative and also quick in doing it. Set designing never posed any problem for him. He knew the job well and would do all things jovially. During State-sponsored *Jeshan-e-Bahar* Suraj did lot of commercial work. He was a good illustrator and knew applied site of art i.e. graphics, layout etc. very well".

Sh. O.N. Khazanchi, a versatile actor and Suraj Tiku's friend says, "Suraj was master of stage technique. In set designing Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan was the best and Suraj, the next best. Suraj made sets for plays staged in police meets and *Ram Lilas*, hosted by Sanatan Dharam Sabha. He would be incharge of the

stage management. These sets had also to be executed quickly. Suraj did set-designing for '*Nefa Ki Sham*', a play staged by Song and Drama Division. One of the sets designed by Suraj Tiku still stands at the Director's office in Song and Drama Division, New Delhi. He was a gifted artist in set-designing and adept in tricks of stage".

Delhi Training

Suraj Tiku's great moment came in November, 1966 when he was selected for two-year training course in set-designing by Song and Drama Division. Three other artists, selected for acting, who were Suraj's fellow trainees in Delhi included ON Khazanchi, Krishen Langoo and ON Raina. Till 1966 Theatre in Kashmir was in a sense unprofessional, with conception about lights.



A Republic Day Tableau-Shalimar Gardens Kashmir, designed by Suraj Tiku

They did not know mime and had a state-of-the art knowledge about acting or sets. Artists used to do acting just by watching others or evolving their own styles.

Selection of these four Kashmiri artists for two year professional training was a watershed in the history of Kashmir theatre. These artists had a strenuous schedule in Delhi under country's best artists. Rama Rao gave them in training in acting, set classes, lighting, breathing exercises and gestures. In addition Suraj Tiku had separate training in set-designing under Mr. Sharma, then India's leading set-designer. The training was meticulously professional.

It was during this apprenticeship at Delhi Suraj Tiku caught eye of legendary Col. Gupte. The latter was Director of Festival at Delhi. The Folk Theatre troupes from different parts of India had come to take part in the Festival. Kashmiri artists got an opportunity to work with Shombu Mitra. Visiting down memory lane Krishen Langoo recalls, "Col. Gupte was very strict and a hard disciplinarian. He debunked cheap acting. Only Tiku had free access to him. He would often say '*Tiku Ko Bulao*' (call Tiku) and order *Yeh Banana Hai*' (this has to be made). Suraj Tiku was very quick."

Excelling Mentor:

Col. Gupte had directed and organised, plays—'*NEFA Ki Sham*', *Katghar*,

'Kohinoor Ka Lalten'. Original sets for '*NEFA Ki Sham*' and '*Kohinoor Ka Lalten*' had been made by Sharma, Tiku's Guru in Delhi. In remaking of these sets Tiku even excelled his mentor. In sets of Kohinoor made by Tiku one could hardly find any difference between Red Fort in sets and in real.

Another occasion in which Suraj Tiku excelled his mentor, this time Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan, was when he made sets for the 'night scene'. This set became a permanent one and would be often used when situation warranted. This set had been originally designed for Samaj Sudhar Samiti plays under the guidance of Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan. Those were difficult times for a set-designer. He had to achieve objectives more by his skills, with just crude items available for painting.

was so thrilled to see such a great scene". Suraj had slapped me in sheer excitement".

Lobo Episode:

Suraj Tiku's great skills and creativity in set-designing has become part of the folklore associated with Kashmir's modern theatre. In early 1970s, Moti Lal Kemu's '*Tsaya*' was going to be staged, under the Direction of redoubtable Trilok Dass. John Max Lobo, the renowned set-designer, had recently joined Doordarshan Srinagar. In 1975 he had done make-up for *Adhe Adhurye*. Originally, Suraj had to make sets for '*Tsaya*'. At the last moment Trilok Dass brought Lobo to do the job. Suraj was deeply hurt. He called on Krishen Langoo and said, "*Trath Peyi, Triyas rood na yaad*" (I feel let down. Trilok had the temerity to show this disregard to me by getting Max Lobo". Langoo tried to calm down Tiku and took him to Nishat Bagh, to make him relax. Suraj was busy those days doing sets for Ramlila, a job he did without demanding remuneration. We have a different version on Lobo affair from Tiku's family. Suraj had told them that it was on his advice Trilok brought in Lobo for making sets for 'Tsaya'. Probably, Suraj had lied to his family to convey an impression that his substitution by Lobo was no disrespect to him. In '*Tsaya*' King Avantivarman was to be shown on a snowy mountain. An ice cave was to be made in plaster of paris, with entry and exit points. Lobo came to prepare sets at Kalakendra premises. The play was to be staged at Tagore Hall the next day. Designing of the cave required good skill. When sets were ready, Lobo was stuck-up. He had kept no exit point for the cave.

At 11 O'Clock in the night anxious Trilok Dass dropped in at Suraj Tiku's house and begged him to re-make the sets for the play. Suraj was a great man. He kept his hurt feelings aside and carried alongwith him his son Santosh Bhushan Lal Bangroo, ON Gursu and Abdul Majid. Lobo's sets were dismantled. It took Suraj less than three hours to prepare new the new sets, which looked superb by any standard. Poor Lobo had to face choicest epithets for his blunders. He had no option other than to remain silent. Preparing sets for TV is one thing, while designing these for theatre is an altogether different proposition. Next day the sets were carried in carts to Tagore Hall and erected well in time. Native genius had triumphed. Langoo recalls, "He came the following morning to inform me that he had redesigned the sets for '*Tsaya*'. I made him recollect what I had said to assuage his feelings--'You should not worry'. God was Sakshatkar (omniscient) with Suraj Tiku".

Sangar:

In 1980s Krishen Langoo had been given an assignment by HMT to stage a ballet '*Sangar*' in Bangalore. In this ballet one of the scenes was to be--Dal Lake with Khel Vather Lotus (leaves), Houseboat and crossing over of a boat. An aerial view of Srinagar city was to be shown as it looked from Sankaracharya Hill. Suraj Tiku had accompanied Langoo for designing the sets.

On arrival in Bangalore one day was lost in sightseeing. Same evening Suraj suffered an acute attack of asthma and was virtually

(Contd. on Page 13)

Suraj Tiku was a creative Set-Designer

(From Page 12)

choking for breath. Langoo had tense moments as only 8-9 hours were left to do the job. Brave Suraj who never called quits reassured Langoo that he would be able to do the job well in time. He asked Langoo to fetch tablets he used to take to void of the attack.

The following morning Suraj declared that he was fit enough to start the work. He himself went to the market to fetch different items needed. Langoo recalls.

"Suraj purchased net to cover the stage fully. He bought cloth (Latha) and would not waste money. Suraj would always economise unlike the artists of today. He gave directions to the carpenter and tailor on how to make small pieces which were to be affixed on the net. A Hamtulbargpole was also got. Suraj brushed these small pieces, to make them look like lotus. The set was raised on four pillars. This was all accomplished in 3-4 hours. **The excellent quality of the sets was revealed under the effects of light. People did not see the ballet. They were mesmerised by Suraj's sets and felt as if they were actually in Kashmir**".

Shuhulkul was staged in Women's College, Amirakadal. A Cabinet Minister of some state was the guest of honour. P.N. Kaul Sayil, a well-known Leela poet who was associated with the play recalls, "We had to show a Chinar tree in the sets. Many designers made an attempt but failed. Finally, we had to call Suraj Tiku. In the set made by Suraj Chinar looked so close to real one."

Rangbulbul, a play written by Sayil and directed by Krishen Langoo, was shown at Tagore Hall. A tree and variyal had to be shown in the background. In this opera child artists were being promoted for the first time. Suraj Tiku designed the sets. The tree drawn by him, showing flowers and bulbul (nightingale), looked like a live scene, as if flowers and bulbul were talking to one another. Suraj's sets were always full of life. The opera was much appreciated. Famed DD Producer Mohan Swaminatri, who too was part of the audience, later made this production for Doordarshan.

Another superb set was made by Suraj in **Dana Thar** (Pomegrenate Branch) in 1981-1982. This play, written by Bansi Nirdosh had been allotted simultaneously to two colleges--Women College, Nawakadal and Women College, Amirakadal. Chief Minister Sheikh Abdullah and members of a visiting German Delegation were Guests of Honour at Amirakadal College. The play had a boat song. Sh. Bihari Kak, a noted artist and a participant in the play recalls"

"First song item in the play was

Boat Song. Tiku made a wonderful set that gave a feeling as if the boat was actually moving in the Dal Lake. Suraj had put polythene sheet all around and green cloth was being given movement to deliver light effect. Two people were holding the wings, shuffling polythene sheet. Girls were singing in the background. This song and the set were adjusted as the best items in the play".

Birch Art:

Krishen Langoo refers to more instances abt Suraj's creativity. Many years back the clay roof of a house in Langoo's neighbourhood at Badiyar was being dismantled.

play. Fortunes take a turn. 'Machama' becomes a mill-owner and finally turns into a millionaire. The protagonist experiences a dream, in which he travels to an alien land where the King had died and the country was in the process of electing the new incumbent to the throne.

In the sets Suraj had to show the Palace of 'Sheen Shah' (the King of the alien land) with people as strange creatures. Suraj was in dilemma as he had to operate on a shoestring budget. He went to the Pandit refugee camp at Nagrota, engaged the inmates in conversation

Work:

Sets for all Kala Kendra plays were designed and erected by Suraj Tiku. He made sets for more than 20 plays staged by Kala Kendra. Tiku had also been assisting Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan in making sets for Sudhar Samiti plays. He assisted Bhan in designing sets for famous opera '**Bombur Ta Yemberzal**', written by Kashmir's poet-laureate Pt. Dina Nath Nadim and Late Noor Mohammed Roshan in October, 1956. Sets for such famous plays--**Tsaya** (1973), **Alav** (1974), **Taentkor** (1979), **Aram Haram Hai**, **Uljan**, **Fun Ta Funkar**, **Graduate Pagal**,

Kedar Sharma and Om Sharma, while make-up was done by late Herday Nath Gurtoo. Suraj also made sets for Cultural Day function of Govt. Medical College, Srinagar in 1976.

For many plays directed by Santosh Tiku Suraj was the set-designer. Suraj Tiku would also help other set-designers as and when they needed his assistance. His contemporaries in set-designing were Messers Jawahar Lal Wanchoo and Late Omkar Nath Dhar, incidentally both of them were this author's teachers at Govt. Lower (Now High) School, RN Mandir, Chotta Bazar.

Suraj Tiku's great moment came in late 1980s when noted filmmaker Muzaffar Ali asked him to make sets for **Kashmir part of the shooting of 'Zooni'**. Soon after they visited Aharbal fall in Shopian area, the turmoil broke out and Suraj Tiku had to flee Kashmir.

Suraj had an opportunity to design a Tableau (**Shalimar Bagh**) for J&K Govt. for participation in Republic Day Parade. Suraj's Guru Pt. Kashi Nath Bhan had also designed some Tableaus. Prior to Bhan Tableaus for J&K Govt. used to be designed by Bengali artists.

Suraj Tiku was an institution builder. He never hesitated in training new generations in art and would try to give his best. His illustrious students included Herday Nath Gurtoo (Make-up), Kamal Nain Bhan (Painting), Bhushan Bangaroo (Set-designing), Santosh Tiku (Painting, Set-designing and acting) etc. Suraj would not only give professional tips regarding acting, theatre, set-designing but would also lay emphasis on '**What should be the feeling on the stage**'.



A vintage Suraj Tiku Set.

Removal of clay yielded lot of birch-bark (**burza vathar**). Langoo's son would go and pick pieces of burza leaves. One day Suraj visited Langoo's home and decided to create an artistic work out of these burza pieces. He spread out a plastic sheet. Cutting burza leaves into beautiful pieces he affixed these on the plastic sheet with fevicol. Then he drew a '**behat**' (boat) in river. It showed the boatman standing on its bow (nam). The reflection of behat and hanji women in river water was also shown. Suraj next showed a peasant woman with coir basket (**fotu**) on her head coming out of the forest and moving towards the behat. Speaking about this music maestro says, "It was a remarkable landscape. I can never forget it."

Hero Machama:

In 1990 Suraj got an assignment for making sets for low budget '**Hero Machama**', written by Pushkar Bhan. Krishen Langoo was the producer and the play was to be shown in 9 episodes. The story revolved round 'Machama', a plebeian and the protagonist in the

and slowly won over their confidence. His eyes fell on a small grassmat (Patji). He asked them if they could design flowers and dresses with grass. Receiving positive reply Suraj took out his sketch-book and asked them to make Sikandar Choga. He told them they had to make 10-20 pieces each of different 'unique' costumes, pulhours (grass-shoes) with long stockings. They prepared Ghagra, shirts, massband, hairlike diamond-all in grass. The project was executed in 10-12 days, the total cost entailed was less than Rs one thousand.

Maharaja's Fort in Nagrota had been taken on rent for one month for Rs 2000. Suraj Tiku put carpets on wings. Through camera effect grass displayed golden hue. In the evening small flying insects would touch the electric bulb, produce sound of 'tip' and emit smoke. In camera it was captured as 'fog'. Suraj said it was the scene of heaven. He had completed sets for 'Sheen Shah'. Somehow, the play did not see the light of the day.

Takdir Saz, **Lalligerat** were made by Suraj Tiku. '**Alav**', was Kashmiri rendering of '**Jheel Bula Rahi Hai**', a play written by Late Ali Mohammed Lone. **Takdir Saz** and **Lalligerat** were also written by the latter, while **Taentkor** was written by Sajad Sailooni. In **Graduate Pagal** Suraj's son, Santosh not only assisted his father in making sets but also acted first time as a child artist. Suraj's other assistants in this play were Abdul Majid and Bhushan Bangaroo.

Sets for '**Tsaya**', **Alav** and **Taentkor** received awards from J&K Cultural Academy. '**Tsaya**' was also staged in **Kashmiri Samiti**, Delhi premises.

In 1976 Suraj Tiku made sets for Ram Lilas, organised by Sanatan Dharam Pratap Sabha at Tagore Hall. He was assisted by Santosh Tiku and Bhushan Bangaroo. According to Santosh '**Ram Lila** sets of this quality were not produced anywhere in India." These **Ram Lilas** were organised by Sh. Bishamber Dass Mangotrian. The direction was given by Messers

CORRIGENDUM

In the write-up Suraj Tiku-Evolution of an Artist, Published in May 2008 issue of Kashmir Sentinel the name of other daughter of Late Suraj Tiku was inadvertently omitted. Mrs. Renu Tiku is second daughter of Sh. Suraj Tiku. She has her masters in Hindi and teaches at Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, Juganu. She had also passion for painting during her student years.

--Editor

Men, Matters and Memories-Downtown Srinagar-II

By **Shamboo Nath Gorkha**

Bulbul Lankar:
A part of this mohalla was covered in the first part of this write-up. Other prominent personalities who lived in Bulbul Lankar included Sh. Moti Lal Misri, a veteran communist leader, Sh. Radha Krishan Saproo alias 'Raed Chalak', Messers Mohammed Shaban Gada, Ghulam Ahmed Kichloo, Gazi Abdul Rehman and Bakshi brothers-Amamath, Janki Nath and Shiv Nath etc.

Late Moti Lal Misri was at one time General Secretary of the Communist Unit in Kashmir. He was a member of National Conference. He did not opt for government service and used to practise at Srinagar High Court. Radhakrishnan Saproo retired as Headmaster CMS Middle School, Nawakadal. Messers Shaban Gada, G.A. Kichloo and Gazi Rehman were senior NC functionaries and close confidants of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, former Chief Minister.

Bakshi brothers were high officials in J&K government during the rule of Maharaja. Pt. Amar Nath Bakshi retired as Secretary development. In 1947 he had been posted as Wazir Wazarat to Muzaffarabad. Due to his hospitalisation Mehta Duni Chand had been asked to take the new assignment. Pt. Janki Nath Bakshi retired as Inspector Customs, a rank one step below Inspector General. The Customs and Excise Department those days was directly under the Maharaja. Pt. Shiv Nath Bakshi was P.A. to Chief Justice of J&K High Court. Pt. Kashi Nath Bakshi, a scion of Bakshi clan has donated over Rs ten lakhs to different religious and social institutions. This includes Rs 5 lakh to Ramakrishna Ashram at Udaywala, Jammu. Besides, has helped raise one room with kitchen and bathroom at Mata Roop Bhawani Ashram at Talab Tillo, Jammu. Presently, Pt. Kashi Nath Bakshi is putting up at Ramakrishna Ashram at Chotta Bazar, Srinagar.

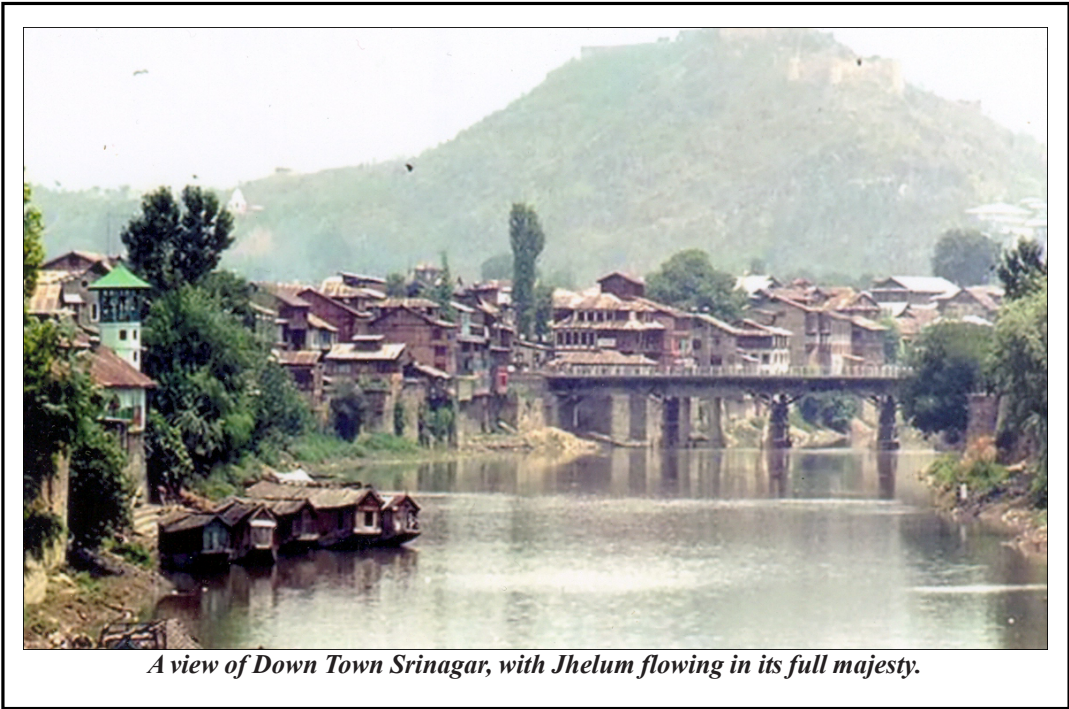
Reshipeer Mohalla:
This mohalla is named after the great saint, Reshi Peer who lived here. A prominent personality of this mohalla was Sh. Jia Lal Saraf, a renowned Sanskrit scholar with great proficiency in Astrology. He has

authored many religious texts. A leading Kathawachak of his times and gifted with melodious voice Pt. Jia Lal Saraf translated Panchastavi and other religious books into Kashmiri language. He was involved in his family business which was

went to Bombay to learn tailoring. On return he started his own shop 'Navyug Tailoring Firm' at Kothi Bagh. He also launched an Urdu daily 'Navyug' under the editorship of Sh. Nand Lal Wattal. Due to some reasons the paper had to close down.

of Srinagar city. Their trading activities extended to Yarkhand, Central Asia, Ladakh, etc. The family had built palatial residential buildings.

Razouri Kadal:
The bridge and the mohalla stand



A view of Down Town Srinagar, with Jhelum flowing in its full majesty.

run under the title of **M/s H.R. Jia Lal and Co.** Later on, he started his own hotel '**Naya Kashmir Hotel**' at Lal Chowk, Srinagar. Sh. Saraf and Pt. Nilakanth Nehru would together go to Hari Parbat on every Saturday evening and recite *bhajans* and *leelas* the whole night in praise of Mata Sharika. Subsequently, the two parted company. While Sh. Saraf shifted his venue to Pokhribal, Pt. Nilakanth Nehru continued to go to Chakreshwar.

Two prominent families of Reshipeer mohalla included those of Reazi and Adalati. Pt. Ramchand Reazi was an eminent educationist. His son, Sh. Radha Krishan was Science Master at State High School, Baghe-e-Dilawar Khan, Srinagar. Sh. Laxmi Narayan Tangnoo, a jeweller, also hailed from this mohalla. His shop '**P.ALLEN' Jewellers** was located at Kothi Bagh, Srinagar.

Pt. Lambodar Nath Tickoo, the first educated Pandit who took to Tailoring, was son of Sh. Laxman Joo Tickoo, the architect of BC Road. After graduation Pt. Lambodar

Pt. Hriday Nath Orga, a well-known trade union leader, also used to live in this mohalla.

Malchimar:
This mohalla is located just close to Ali Kadal bridge on way to Budhgair and Reshipeer mohallas. Leading personalities of this mohalla included Mohammed Abdullah Tibet Bakal, a leading Sufiana Musician, Mufti Qwam-ud-Din, Mufti Azam Kashmir, his nephew Mufti Bashir-ud-Din, Saif-ud-Din Basoo, a leading wholesale dealer at Maharaj Ganj, Ghulam Hassan Basoo, former Conservator Forests, Pt. Shamboo Nath Ladakhi, an eminent educationist.

Among Pandits Happa, Dudhas and Qazi clans also lived here. Birbal Qazi was a transporter. Amarnath Happa was an official in Prime Minister's office during the tenure of Pt. RC Kak. Sh. Ganesh Das Dudha was a Goldsmith.

Buch Mohalla:
This mohalla is adjacent to Budhgair mohalla and is named after the famous clan '**Buch**'. This family has been among the richest families

on the bank of what was once Nalla Mar, the main waterway of the city. During summers this canal used to have good water and served as the main artery of transport. '**Behats**' (merchandise boats) and Shikaras used to be a common sight here. 'Behatas' were used for ferrying essential commodities--Firewood, bricks, stones, timber etc. to Hazratbal, Naseem Bagh and other adjoining places.

Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf's residential house '**Mirwaiz Manzil**' was situated in this mohalla. Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah had two brothers--Moulvi Ateequallah and Moulvi Rasool Shah. Moulvi Yusuf Shah would perform the duties of Mirwaiz while Moulvi Ateequallah set up an educational institution 'Anjuman-Nusrat-ul-Islam'. This organisation started Islamia High School at Razouri Kadal. It also set up some Middle schools on other parts of the Valley.

Many Kashmiri Pandit families lived in the vicinity of Mirwaiz Manzil. Among these was one of

Pt. Jia Lal Choudhary, a leading advocate of his time and father of renowned physician, Dr. K.L. Choudhary. Sh. Shamboo Nath Choudhary was a clerk in judicial department. Bhans also lived here. Dr. Ali Mohammed Jan, the greatest physician Kashmir has ever produced, was also born here.

Subsequently, during the time of Mirwaiz Farooq Mirwaiz family shifted to Nageen, in the vicinity of Hazratbal.

Wazapora:
This locality which is in close vicinity of Razouri Kadal derives its name from Wazas, the master cooks of Kashmir. These master cooks or **Wazas** were called **Ashpazas**. Clan of Wazas have been living here for many generations. The proprietor of Ahdoo and sons, the leading hotel of Srinagar, also hails from this locality. Traditionally, the Waza clan has been politically associated with Mirwaiz Kashmir. Another leading trader of Wazapora was Kh. Azim-ud-Din Mantoo. His shop, dealing in wholesale business, was located at Maharaj Ganj.

Prominent Kashmiri Pandit families of Wazapora locality were Bhan, Charagi, Khashoo, Karvani, Raina, Budki. Late Dina Nath Khushoo used to deal in Pharmaceuticals, while his younger brother, Prithvi Nath Khushoo was a wholesale dealer, selling hosiery and other Muniari items. He ran shop at Maharaja Bazar under the title **M/s Kins Brothers**. Jagar Nath Charagi's shop at Maisuma, titled '**M/s Mahavir Trading Agency**', dealt with general merchandise. Sh. Nilakanth Budki was an official of Kashmir Govt. Arts Emporium, while his brother was a petition writer.

Sheikh Mohalla:
This mohalla was also adjacent to Razouri Kadal. Four Pandit families lived in Sheikh Mohalla. Pt. Kailash Kaul, a reputed teacher and father of veteran journalist CB Kaul lived here. Another prominent personality of this mohalla was Sh. Soom Nath Raina, an official in Indian Airlines. His father-in-law Sh. Lambodhar KadalBujoo had a stint as an editor of '**Martand**'. Among others Qazi Saifuddin and Qazi Mohammed Yusuf, both professors lived here.

**(The author is a Veteran Journalist based in Jammu).*

GODBOLE INTERVIEW (From Page 11)

into being. Kashmir was under the control of people called 'Naga'. Kashyap, the son of *Nila* was the commander of this Land. The word Kashmir is derived from 'Kashyapmir' (Land of Kashyap') (Contd. on Page 15)

Once this *King Nila* was pleased by the blessings of a Brahmin called *Chandradeva* Nila acceded to the request of Chandradeva and permitted human beings to live in Kashmir during winters. The Naga King also disclosed to him the rites, which

were to be followed, by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley. These rites included devotional worship of certain deities and festivals of 'Nag Puja'. During the first snowfall in the valley, the Naga king Nila was worshipped. In the month of Bhadrpada during the Varun Panchami festival, the serpent King Nila was worshipped. Similarly, during the month of Chaitra in the festival called *Irmanjiri* Nila and serpents were worshipped. In accordance with 'Neelmatpurana' the 'Nagas' had their settlements near

lakes and springs. Therefore, many places of worship are found in the vicinity of these places. Names such

CONTINUATION

as Vernag, Anantnag, etc. have been in vogue due to this 'Naga belief'. There is a reference in 'Nilmatpurana' that 527 principal Nagas were worshipped in Kashmir. Pt. Kalhan has written that during the month of Jyeshtha a festival for the great serpent king *Takshaka* was celebrated and many dances were performed during the festival.

This Nagpuja being practiced in Kashmir since the times prior to the Christian era, seems to have continued right up to the Medieval period.

In the 16th century, Abul Fazal has written that in Kashmir, Lord Vishnu was worshipped at 64 places, Lord Shiva at 75 places, Lord Brahma at 3 places and Goddess Durga at 22 places and Nagas were worshiped at 700 places. These idols are carved out and the residents worship them all. After the death of Emperor Asoka, in the 1st century A. D. King Menander of Indo- Greek descent came to rule Kashmir. The Vihar built

by him in Kashmir is called *Milind Vihar*. During the rule of King 'Kanishka' when Kashmir was a prominent hub of Buddhist religious activities, many Buddhist scholars were staying in Kashmir. During the Kushan regime three cities - Kanishkapur (Kanisapur), Juskar (Inskar), Huvishkapur (Huskkur) - were established in Kashmir. In the 1st century A.D. in the reign of king Kanishka, many chaityas & stupas were erected. The sermons and dictates of Buddhist religion, carved out on a copper plate were kept by Kanishka in a stupa erected in Kashmir. (To be continued)



By Nirmal Kusum Kachru

SARDA—A Memoir-III

pling the maize fields.

Feeling exasperated, Dada gave up the chase and asked Papa, "How unruly is the Horse? Haven't you tamed it as yet? A day has gone waste. Arrange another horse". Papa stood motionless as if struck with guilt, like a student. The horse stood neighing on the hillock straight across the Potter's hut. Meanwhile, Ismail came to Papa after handing over the milk to Gopala. He said to Papa, "Sir, the horse has lost its cool after seeing the new rider. I would

disposition but I never found her to be an obscurantist. She would adjust with the changing times. To me she was a compassionate mother, who harboured love for everybody. In a particular season Ismail would develop fever with rigours and chills every two days. She would call him and cover with a blanket. Mother would herself get medicines and give it to Ismail. She would check temperature with thermometer regularly and remain restless till Ismail got well. Mother would serve Ismail with tea, milk at

Those days outdoor games were put to stop. I would play with brothers the game of Dolls (Gudda-Guddi) and teacheress at home only.

During the days of Katha Pussy would not play much with us. She would steal her entry into mother's Puja room, even when the door had been properly closed. She would sit quietly as if in deep contemplation. Mother would close the door only for her lest she spoil puja items or put her mouth into *amrit* (*Prasad*) prepared with milk,

to spoil or disturb Puja items, making entry through a crevice and then suddenly departing from this world on the 3rd day after the function was over and that too without any illness or pain--all this seemed a phenomenon situation to Gopala. Later, when shradha ceremony for Pitrs (departed ancestors) was conducted on the bank of Sangam below the Sarda Temple, mother had given dan (gifts) in Pussy's name as well.

Papa as Doctor:

Another anecdote that I can recollect is about an event which made Papa famous as the doctor of the village. It was a cold wintry day. The dusk had set in and the room Bukhari was lit. Our chanting of bhajans was disturbed by a hard knock at the door. A couple holding a baby in their hands had come and looked quite perturbed over the child's illness. Ismail, who had accompanied them, intervened to say to father, "Sir, the child is quite sick. Give him some medicine". Expressing helplessness father replied, "My dear, How can I treat him? I am not a doctor." In desperation the father of sick child said, "Sir, for doctor we have to go to another village. The Vaid of this place is not available. He has gone somewhere".

Papa cast a look on the child, who was running high temperature. The child's chest was rattling with cough. It lay listless in mother's lap. Papa took out some medicines from the First-Aid Box and pulverised it. He packed the divided doses in wrapper himself served a dose of medicine to the child with a spoon. Papa asked mother to bring some camphor oil and applied a little on the child's chest and back. He gave to the couple the medicine packed in wrappers and a bottle containing little camphor oil. Instructing them to apply the lukewarm camphor oil to child's chest and back Papa asked them to serve milk/or with sago to the child.

Papa was of the view that the child had contracted Pneumonia. Next morning, Ismail brought the news that the child's fever had come down and the baby had taken a little milk also. My parents heaved a sigh of relief. Accompanied by Ismail Papa visited the child. This episode spread Papa's fame as doctor and the people would regularly come to him for treatment. He would treat little problems like pain but invariably refer patients to the doctor. Even then the stock of medicines continued to pile up. Aspirin, Quinine, Amritdhara, Balm and a host of other unani medicines would remain available all the time.

(Translated from original Hindi by Dr. R.K. Tamiri)

--(To be concluded)



Sharda Temple with a view of Shardi Village in the background.

tame it just now". Smiling Ismail went out from the gate.

In a loud but affectionate voice Ismail began shouting 'Rustam, O'Rustam'. The horse stopped neighing and began tracking the voice. Ismail showered affection on the horse. He caressed the horse, patting it and rubbed his face with neck of the horse, while holding reins in his hands. Ismail exclaimed, "Sir, the animal too demands affection". Dada and Papa were watching this in amazement.

Papa's tours in Sarda range were quite hectic. He would stay away from home for a week or ten days at a stretch or even longer. This time he had gone for a even longer tour. Reports had come that Kuth smugglers were on the prowl at a place I cannot recollect now. This much I remember that Papa and his staff had done their homework well before embarking on this tour. Some warders of Sarda fort had also joined them. Mother had suggested caution and regular communication to the family at home.

Whenever Papa's messenger would drop in with some message or letter mother would pamper him by extending lavish hospitality. Mother had religious

regular intervals. Villagers called this particular seasonal fever as 'Fever of Joody/Bari'.

Shrimad Bhagwat Week:

Yes, Mother had strong religious propensities and used to perform Puja daily without a fail. For a long time she had been desirous of conducting '*Shrimad Bhagwat Week*'. Raghu Kaka had informed her about a *Purohit* family, which lived in Sarda. She had felt happy that Katha would be conducted in accordance with religious texts. But when a message was sent it was learnt that the *Purohit* had gone to Rangvor village and was likely to stay there for a month. *Purohit*'s son was too young to conduct Katha.

Mother had already made up her mind. As the week began mother assumed the twin job-as a narrator as well as listener. Puja room was prepared with great care. A message was sent to Papa also. Due to his hectic schedule he could not come but decided to attend the concluding day function.

For the week Gopala took charge of looking after the household and the kitchen. Ismail would bring flowers in abundance for Puja. I too looked after my younger brothers.

curds etc.

Mother would be at a loss to understand how Pussy made her entry into Puja room. Intensive search yielded a small crevice in the door. Mother exclaimed to Gopala, "She is able to manage her entry through such a small crevice!" We all stood amazed. When Gopala picked up Pussy he found a huge abrasion on her back.

Papa had returned home on the concluding day of Katha. '*Shrimad Bhagwat*' had been weighed in dry fruit-walnut, almonds, coconut etc. *Purohit* of Sarda temple had not returned as yet. His son had been called and given alms after serving him *Prasadam*. Raghu Kaka had worked hard that day. He had returned from tour with Papa only.

Pussy did not sit for long on the concluding day function. After sitting for a while it left. On the 3rd day after the function was over Pussy suddenly passed away. Neither had she been sick nor did experience any pain. In her grief we didn't cook our meals that day. Everybody in the family felt sad. Mother stood dazed. Listening to *Bhagwat Katha*, in rapt attention, remaining careful not

Writing on wooden boards (Takhtis) was in vogue. It was considered compulsory for developing good handwriting. Gopala had been given the assignment for imparting this training to us. Everyday we had to write twice Hindi and Urdu numerals separately. Those days wooden boards having glazed lines were not available. Soot was smeared on a simple wooden board.

After drying shine was imparted to it by rubbing with a glass bottle. This practice used to be called '**application of Mohra**'. We would use reed pens to write on the 'Takhti', using particular clay called Khadia Miti (white clay) as the ink. Gopala used to apply soot, while I would myself do the shining part, because younger brother was still a novice in doing this task. In Muzaffarabad Gachni (yellow hard clay) was used for smearing the Takthi. Ink used was black in colour.

Mattoo Sahib Visiti:

After 'Takhti' work mother would ask me to write 1-2 pages of English alphabet on four-line notebook. There used to be a particular G-nib holder for this. In this context an anecdote comes to my mind. While we were in Sarda we were visited by an uncle, who was my father's elder brother. He had come on a private visit from Model Town, Lahore, where he was posted as a high official. Sporting long flowing beard he had a strong demeanour--stern face, tall, stout and handsome. He wore a white turban and used to be called Mattoo Sahib. My parents would give him good respect and hold him in reverence. They would not dare to take even minor liberty and remain in sphinxed-like posture before him. He had brought for us few calligraphy notebooks and G-nibs. We used to call him Dada while our parents would address him as '*Bhai Sahib*'.

On seeing him our horse 'Rustam' ran away. Our uncle had chosen the horse for moving around Sarda. On the first day when uncle tried to mount the horse, it blazed with rage. The horse came out of the fenced area and fled towards the nearby hill-ock. Dada and Papa ran after him, but Rustam did not stop. Ismail was busy milking the cow. We all had assembled on the verandah. The horse ran away, tram-



Dr GS Muju--A Successful Entrepreneur

By Kuldeep Raina

Kashmiri Pandits have excelled in academics, professions, managerial skills etc. But entrepreneurship has never been their forte. **Dr. Gouri Shankar Muju**, a Kashmiri Pandit by descent and a leading industrialist in Mumbai, has belied this myth. His success story-from a brilliant academician to a successful entrepreneurs, has written a new chapter for Pandit excellence in entrepreneurship as well.

Born in 1938, Dr. Gouri Shankar Mujoo hails from Brekujan (Lower Sathu) quarter of old Srinagar city. As most of the Kashmiri surnames are nicknames the family lore says Mujoos are originally Rainas. Some members of the extended Mujoo family prefer to write Raina in place of Mujoo.

Rainas' traditional home has been Rainawari, a suburb on the outskirts of Srinagar city. As per the family story Dr. G.S. Muju's grandfather's grandfather bid adieu to Rainawari soon after a devastating fire incident in the suburb and the family had to seek shelter in Lower Sathu area. An anecdotal story that has survived says that the ancestor of this clan while fleeing on his horse reached a garden. He felt thirsty but could not find any water to quench his thirst. A lady vegetable-seller offered him a reddish in place of water. The people who were witness to the scene nicknamed clan's ancestor as Mujoo. That is how Rainas transformed into Mujoos. Many clans of Pandits have similar stories to tell, some of which still remain shrouded in mystery. Before 1990 displacement Mujoo clans had been living in Rainawari (Kalwal Mohalla), Lower Sathu and Raghunath Mandir mohallas.

Dr. G.S. Muju's father Pt. Jia Lal was a small official in J&K State's Electrical Department, retiring as Head Clerk. Though only under Matric he was extremely proficient in English and had good grasp of intricacies of grammar. Dr. Muju's grandfather, Pt. Manji Muju, was a high official in Maharaja Pratap Singh's court. Extremely handsome, Pt. Manji wielded good influence at the Court and lived in style.

Early years of Dr. Muju were spent in the idyllic town of Baramulla in north Kashmir. He had his schooling at home under the care of a governess. Shortly before the Valley was attacked by Pathan Tribal hordes Dr. Muju's grandfather died and the family shifted to Srinagar.

Dr. Muju studied for 9th and 10th class at National High School, Srinagar and joined SP College in 1951. He passed FSc. in 1953 and went to study at DAV College, Kanpur for his B.Sc.

Soon after passing B.Sc. in 1956 he

joined as an analytical chemist at BI Drug company. His Chief Chemist, Mr Sachdeva motivated him to go for higher studies in the same field. In 1959 Dr. Muju got admission in the renowned **Braunschweig Technical University** and sailed to Germany in December 1959. Dr. Muju credits his elder brother Pt. Jagar Nath Muju for giving encouragement to pursue higher studies.

He had to encounter two problems-language and resources to pursue higher studies. Courses at all levels were taught in German language. Through Minister of Post Dr. Muju got job in a German company **'Koeln-Kalk'** Chemical Company. It manufactured fertilisers. Dr Muju was taken as analytical chemist. He learnt German language well and saved enough to finance his higher studies. He served in this company till 1962.

Dr. Muju has pleasant memories of working at 'Koeln-Kalk'. Visiting down memory lane he recalls, "The atmosphere was very friendly here. The staff was very helpful. I was accepted part of the society, may be my fair complexion facilitated it. One day the Managing Director of the Company, a German enquired in half-broken English 'why I was getting paler by the day'. He rang up the health unit of the factory, which recommended my admission in the Hospital. I remain grateful to them for the care they extended to me during my sojourn in the hospital. They helped me every way. The staff members still have connectivity with me".

Germany had recovered from the scars of IIInd World War and Nazism. Though people admired Hitler (for building Otto Bahn and for Volkswagen), yet they never expressed it publicly.

In 1962 Dr. Muju joined Braunschweig Technical University to pursue Haupt (Main) Diploma, a degree which equalled MSc. The first year of the Diploma was equivalent of 11th Class. Since Indian B.Sc. was not recognised in Germany he had to start afresh. His teachers at the University were big names in their respective fields. They included Prof. Hartmann (Inorganic Chemistry, Dr. Carios (Physical Chemistry), Prof. Inn Hoffen organic chemistry etc. The latter had made his mark internationally when he became pioneer to produce margarine (artificial butter), fortified with Vitamin D. Till then such an entity was unknown. In the Haupt Diploma Course Dr. Muju's subject was Sugar Technology. His Head of the Department was **Prof. Schneider**, an internationally known Sugar

Technologist.

D. Muju is all praise for the education system prevalent in Germany and for the teaching staff which taught there. He praises academic freedom and charming examination system, free from regimentation. Selection for the teaching faculty was very, perfect and so vigorous that no professor could get admission for his ward in the respective university. Teachers had not only to be academically brilliant and good in teaching but had also to be innovative. Once selected they were very powerful and would had their way. Favouritism was never accepted.

For D. Phill higher merit in Haupt Diploma was mandatory. Even before Dr. Muju finished his Haupt Diploma he received a clearance letter from the **Franzens University, Innsbruck, Austria** to pursue D.Phil in the field of Organic and Pharmaceutical Chemistry. The University bears distinction of producing five Noble Laureates in the field of Physics, Chemistry, Economics etc. Dr.

Muju was awarded the scholarship by the Ministry of Science and Research, Vienna, Govt. of Austria for the entire period of his research work. He joined Franzens University in 1972, Completing D.Phil in less than five years in 1976.

Dr. Muju's guides were **Prof. Bretschneider** and **Prof. W.Kloetzer**. Dr. Muju's research work was based in creating such new molecule which could have some bearing on medicinal values. These molecules were subjected to various tests to investigate its effectiveness at one of the world's finest Pharmaceutical Company—**Hoffmann-La Roche**, Switzerland. These investigations when completed take more than 15 years of rigorous efforts. Dr. Muju worked on synthesis of Sulphonamides, anticancer drugs, anti-TB drugs etc.

Dr. Muju had been fortunate to having worked in the R&D Laboratory of Biochemic, Kundl, Austria, in the field of cephalosporins in general and Cephalexin in particular. This product is next generation of Pennicillines. **Biochemic** was the first to have developed and produced world's first penicillin tablets, under the supervision of Dr. Brandl.

Dr. Muju describes Prof. H.Bretschneider his major guide and discoverer of Madribion-the long-acting sulfa, as a fantastic person. When he completed his doctorate Prof. Bretschneider in a moving gesture told Dr. Muju, "Please never leave me".

In November 1976 Dr. Muju was

selected as Pool Officer in **CSIR** and shifted to India. Dr. Muju's hopes of pursuing an academic career were cut short when Poona University's ICL did not select him for Lecturer's post despite his high academic qualifications. The Lecturer's post also carried little remuneration of Rs 500 per month. Dr. Muju left CSIR to join as Chief Research Executive in **Chemopharma** (Somani Group of Industries) on monthly salary of Rs 2500.

In 1982 Dr. Muju established a partnership company under the name of **Ribopham Laboratories** at Dombivali, Thane District, Maharashtra. The manufacturing plant was set up in 1984 and the production started in 1985. His immediate efforts went into R&D and production of an anti-TB Drug (Pyrazinamide) post the establishment. He challenged himself into marketing of many product lines to have edge, competitive both on price points and quality. Dr. Muju's initial success saw the company introduce themselves into many other product lines catering to market demand strategy thus making Ribopham Laboratories' market reputation headway in getting larger volume deals from companies like Nicholas Piramal India Ltd. (India), Yash Pharma Ltd. (Mumbai), Paks. Trade Ltd. (Hyderabad), Dharamsi Morarji Chemicals Ltd. (Mumbai), etc. currently Ribopham Laboratories is engaged in the manufacturing of a range of Antioxidant products. They also specialise in Perfumery products. Dr. Muju's concern has been involved in producing raw material and Bulk drug for anti-diarrhoels (Tindazole, Metronidazole) and Veterinary drugs (intermediate only) like RoXarone.

Ribopham Labs has been in manufacturing for over two decades now and has an annual turnover of more than Rs 1.5 crores. In a lighter vein Dr. Muju says that he went for Chemistry just by default and had aspired to pursue a career in Medicine.

Married to Saroj Dhar who hails from a middle class Pandit family of Gundi Ahlamar (Nai Sarak), Srinagar Dr. GS Muju is a complete family man. Despite his heavy schedule he finds time to attend to small problems of carpenting, plumbing etc. at home. He also loves to cook. Mrs. Saroj Dhar, who has her Masters in Economic and additional B. Lib., had a stint in Indian Airlines.

Shy-looking Mujus shun publicity and are quite modest. Recently, they were in Jammu town while on way to Srinagar, both to revive their memories and re-discover their roots at the place of their birth and also among their community brethren. Dr. G.S. Muju has never gone to Kashmir after 1953 while Mrs. Saroj had last seen Kashmir in 1958.



Dr. G.S. Muju

Sapphire/Corrundum occurrences at Paddar (Sumcham)-A Chronological History

By J.L. Kaul

Mine ridge at Paddar is a, faulted scarf, and due to it a landslide occurred in 1879-1880 in the area, which exposed some blue coloured crystals in the debris. Various stories go around, regarding the discovery of corrundum/sapphire occurrences, at Paddar (Sumcham). A story, which is more common amongst locals, is that :

Once a hunter, who had gone for hunting an IBEX exhausted all his lead shots, and in order to supplement, the lead shots, he found some blue stones, which were hard and useful as shots and thus he used these stone pieces as shots for hunting purpose. As per the story he showed these stone pieces to villagers, who subsequently found and searched for the 'Sapphire Crystals' in the area. As per this legend the 'Sapphire' and mine area of 'Paddar' has been discovered by a unknown 'Hunter'.

1. **1880:** A land slip exposes blue crystals at mines area. (Mines discovered by accident).
2. **1881:** Local villagers begin trading for consumer goods. Tibetans from Zaskar trade salt for sapphires, weight for weight. Crystals begin to appear at Kulu (H.P.)
3. **1882:** Crystals begin to appear in Shimla (H.P) where jewelers rush to buy them . About this time the Maharajah of Kashmir dispatches troops to guard the mine and prohibit dealing.
4. **1883-1887:** Mining operations are in the hands of the Maharaja's army officers. Crystals upto 12.5 cm long and 7.5 cm wide are dug from the site which would later become known as the old mine area.
5. **1887:** T.D. La Touche

undertakes the first detailed survey of the deposits for the Geological survey of India in response to a request for assistance by the Kashmir Durbar. He finds the initial pocket exhausted, and turns his attention to the exploitation of placers (mines spoil). The last great Sapphire, a 933-ct partly coloured stone is found.

6. **1888:** La Touch's ingenious attempt to create a fresh landslide to uncover deposits fails. During the summer of 1888, 23,300 ct of Sapphire are mined, but material yields few stones over 10 ct.

7. **1889-1906:** A 16-year lull in official operations. The flow of Sapphires is restricted to illegal activities.

8. **1906:** The Maharajah of Kashmir grants lease to the Kashmir Mining Company. The company's mining engineer C.M.P. Wright after detailed analyses, reworked the earlier placer deposits and obtains many fine stones. For this purpose he constructs a canal from back slope of mines area, for a length of 2½ kms for washing of placer deposits. (Known as Wright's canal).

9. **1907:** An experimental trench is dug few hundred meters to the S-E of old mine. Although some corrundum crystals are discovered.

10. **1908:** Difficulties of climate and conditions force wright to abandon the project.

11. **1911:** The area is worked for a season by the state mining and prospecting officer, Lala Joti Prashad. Only grey and translucent corrundum is found, confirming the popular belief that the source is depleted.

12. **1924:** Noted geologist from J&K, Pandit Labu Ram Badyal undertakes the detailed mapping of the area, and announces the discovery

of several occurrences of Sapphire (Probably new mines area?)

13. **1926:** A prospecting licence is granted to Lala Jagan Nath, who reopens the trench begun by Wright in 1907. Over 60 Kgs of corrundum/ Sapphire are removed from "New Mines" until the licence is revoked in 1927 for "irregularities".

14. **1927:** Over 450 kgs of rough corrundum crystals are own from Lala Jagan Nath's trench in 15 days.

15. **1937:** Production of Corrundum/Sapphire significantly, marking an end to the second phase of mining in Paddar. There is common belief that "Deposits have petered out."

16. **1938-1943:** The lowest yields are reported during this period.

17. **1945-1951:** Sporadic mining by private lessees. Although production is substantial. The stones are not as good as those found during early years. S.S. Mahey also obtains lease, works in the mines area, but undergoes loss.

18. **1952-1959:** J&K Govt. worked the deposits intermittently, mostly at an operating loss, while maintaining exclusive control of mine.

19. **1961:** T.Hussain and P.L. Raina, geologists from Geology and Mining deptt, J&K Govt. carried out detailed survey of the mines area and also surveyed the old mines.

20. **1966-1967:** Parimoo and Raina, Geologists from G.S.I, Conduct detail investigation of the area, and submit mining proposal.

21. **1966-1972:** N.Ahmad, J.L. Koul and others Geologists from Geology and mining department J&K Govt. carried out detailed survey of the area. They also surveyed the area(s) adjoining to Sapphire mines and other area(s) in Paddar. Viz;

Darlong Nalla—Bardhan, Back Slope of Shiv-Pahari, Hango-Hloti Sector, Arjun Peak Sector, Chishoti-Babi Sector Kijai Nalla Sector, Kaban-Chitoo Sector, Kansar-Afani-Kidru Sector etc.

22. **1973-1974:** M.E.C. surveyed the deposits and formulated mining strategies. Suggested deployment of compressor at mines area, for development of mining activity. Placers/mines dump were taken into consideration.

23. **1974-1976:** N . M . D . C . Govt of India undertaking surveyed the area, submitted some proposals. Applied for lease of the mines, but could not undertake the work, for reasons best known to them.

24. **1977:** Compressor was shifted to mines area, by J&K minerals Ltd. under the supervision of Late G.M. Khan, mining engineer. Some aditing was carried out and some quality of Corrundum/Saphire was own from mines dump.

25. **1978:** New aditing and mine clearance was done with the help of compressor and some quantity of Sapphire/Corrundum own from mines dump. Under supervision of Late M.Yusuf. Mining Engineer.

26. **1978:** In the month of Dec. 1978 or Jan 1979, J&K minerals Ltd. came to know that compressor at mines area got burnt.

27. **1979:** No mining activity from 1979.

Closed since 1979, various agencies from state, Jaipur, Switzerland and U.S.A. offered for lease of the area. Those who had made offer in this regard were:

- a) M.L. Talwar (NRI) Switzerland
- b) Golden Film and Finance Pvt. Ltd. Bombay.
- c) M.A. Ramzana (Srinagar).
- d) Pana International (Jaipur) and
- e) Oriental Jewels Inc., New York.

Switzerland based NRI offered to pay Rs 2.50 lakh to J&K Minerals Ltd. as rent and 10% of profit. Mine development programme formulated by J&K Minerals Ltd. on the basis of MEC Report (1974), envisaged phased exploration of the area, involving Rs. 40 lakhs. Part of the expenditure was expected to be covered by the recovery made during investigation from mines dump and placer deposits. Subsequently Mr Talwar offered to meet full expenditure on the development of mines. Because of unknown reasons nothing materialized and there was court case for many years.

28. 1989: R.Kundig, Adlof Parathi (Swiss Geologists and J.L. Koul (DGM) visited the area and some peganatite samples were collected by Swiss Geologists.

Suggestions: Due to very erratic behaviour of peganatite veins transacting the gneisses and amphirole mass, together with their varied nature in chemical composition, possibility of assessing the reserves of corrundum is not possible in the area; otherwise, it would have been done for last 128 years. In broad sense, reworking of mines should be considered as non-profitable and likely to come to an early end.

The placer deposits and mines dump provide chances of relatively quick results. Approx. quantity of placer material to be handled is about 34 million cft. and placer(s) cover an area of 11.33 sq. ft. with and average depth of 30'-35'.

The details have been collected from various sources

****(The author has remained a Geologist (DGM) Geology and Mining Deptt. J&K Govt. and has been part of various expeditions to Paddar by different State/Central organization for over two decades during his service tenure.)***

By Arun Sharma

JAMMU, Oct 16: Coming events cast their shadows before. This what historical files preserved in the Jammu and Kashmir archives seem to reveal.

"Stones fell from heaven" in Kashmir during 1912 while "snakes fell alongwith snow" in the Kulgam tehsil of the Valley in 1914. Significantly, the Kashmir problem, involving the agitation against Dogra rule, took a turn for the worse a year after the reported fall of stones, while World War I broke out the same year that snakes fell in Kulgam.

The files revealed that both these incidents were reported by officials to the then Maharaja of the state, Partap Singh, who ordered an investigation to ascertain

When heaven pelted snakes, stones on Kashmir

the truth. Some of the stones were sent to the State museum for display.

Maharaja Partap Singh, on April 6, 1912, ordered his Prime Minister (main branch) to consult Pandit Jagdish who said that "the incident, according to the Shastras, forebode drought for the country and trouble for his master, "Pandit Jagdish suggested a number of ceremonies to pacify the evil effects of the stone fall and submitted an estimate of Rs 500 for the purpose.

The Maharaja sanctioned the release of funds from the "foreign miscellaneous" expenditure head on April 15, 1912, and asked Pandit Jagdish to have the ceremonies performed through the Dharmarth department under his supervision.

Whether the ceremonies pacified the evil spirits in the Kashmir Valley is not mentioned in the files, but Dr Hari Om of the postgraduate department of history at the Jammu University, has written in his book,

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'Muslim of Jammu and Kashmir', that the Kashmir problem got aggravated in 1913.

Dr Om wrote that right from 1847, the religious leadership of the majority community in the Valley had taken to adopting a resolution every year to press their demand for abrogation of the Amritsar treaty, by which the late Maharaja Gulab Singh had purchased Kashmir for Rs

75 lakh. Pointing out that the religious leadership of Kashmir had been denouncing the treaty as having sold the life, dignity and honour of Kashmiris to the Maharaja, the author says that the movement against the then Dogra dynasty remained really did not take off and remained dormant till 1912.

It was, however, for the first time in 1913 that the members of a particular community in neighbouring Punjab joined hands with the people of Kashmir.

The community leaders of Punjab and Kashmir formulated a joint petition and submitted it to Maharaja Partap Singh demanding abrogation of the Amritsar Treaty.

Thereafter, the Kashmir problem

worsened, resulting in the visit of Lord Harding, the then Governor General of India, to Kashmir in 1924.

Similarly, the incident about the fall of snakes along with snow in Kulgam tehsil was reported to Maharaja Partap Singh by the then Governor of Kashmir in March 1914. The former ordered an inquiry. Pandit Jagdish requested the Maharaja to perform Shanti Pooja and submitted an estimate of Rs 338 for the purpose.

Though no war was fought on the soil of Kashmir, World War I broke out in 1914. It involved the state of Jammu and Kashmir also, with Maharaja Partap Singh giving unstinted support to the British during World War !

—(Source: *The Indian Express*)

April 27, 2008 to June 10, 2008

April 27:	CRPF arrested a history sheeter and recovered a stolen service weapon of a cop from his possession in Ganderbal district. Amidst reports of rise in infiltration in April, the Army Commanders are to focus on checking terror in J&K.	
April 28:	Even as police claimed to have cleared Pattan of HM after killing its two cadres in the area, people in the area clashed with SoG over the death of the terrorists. Four Army personnel, including a CO, were injured in yet another encounter in Handwara. An SPO was injured due to misfire of his service rifle. One person was arrested and a pistol was recovered from his possession. Two TOP terrorists of LeT were arrested in two search operations in Doda and Kishtwar districts. Defence Minister Antony claimed significant improvement of situation in J&K and added that suicide and fratricide cases were down.	May 15:
April 29:	Dreaded terrorist and HuM Chief Sajjad Afghani was killed in an encounter in Sopore. Four persons, including a J&K Bank Manager, were arrested for their involvement in illegal exchange of foreign currency and its subsequent supply to LeT terrorists. A Pak terrorist and a cop were killed in an encounter at Muslim, Kishtwar. Forces destroyed a terrorists' hideout and recovered arms and ammunition in Mendhar.	May 16:
April 30:	A soldier was killed due to mistaken identity near LoC in Kupwara. Two terrorists were arrested and arms and ammunition recovered from their possession in Kashmir Valley. Panun Kashmir rejects PM's package describing it as misleading. A US report said that Pak-based militant outfits continue to target J&K.	May 17:
May 1:	A four day long gunbattle in Tsoornar forests in Handwara ended with the death of two terrorists and a soldier. Grenades and other ammunition was recovered from a hideout in Surankote. Four criminals were held with weapons in Samba.	May 18:
May 2:	Police arrested a JeM terrorist near Old JIC Naka near Paloura and his interrogation has led to vital links of a JeM Commander with a mother-daughter duo. Amidst reports of terrorists managing voter identity cards, the Election Commissioner has ordered revivification of VIC's ahead of elections.	May 19:
May 4:	Accusing the UPA government of adopting casual approach in dealing terrorism, BJP demanded an integrated and comprehensive action plan to deal with the menace. Cautioning refugees against vested interests, Azad described PM's recent package as a major initiative in six decades.	May 20:
May 5:	A surrendered HM terrorist Zulfikar Ali, who earlier attempted suicide, escaped from a hospital in Kishtwar where he was undergoing treatment. BSF Director General said that militants were waiting across the border to cross-over in the country. 195 cross LoC point. Mirwaiz Umar issued notice by the J&K High Court in a case regarding anti-India and Pro-Pak slogans.	
May 6:	A terrorist' hideout was busted in Arnas. The mother daughter duo-Zooni and Suman go under ground after their exposure about links with JeM.	May 21:
May 7:	Eight Kg RDX and other ammunition was recovered during a search operations at Matha Teka in Kandi, Rajouri. After elimination or arrest of top commanders, terrorists outfits were reportedly reluctant to name new commanders for their organisations.	
May 8:	A large quantity of arms and ammunition was recovered in two different operations in Poonch and Rajouri. An Air Force jawan committed suicide at his HQtrs in Pulwama. Army is to fix mobile jammers on IB to avoid leak of information through mobile towers erected by Pakistan near the border.	May 22:
May 9:	Two HM terrorists were held in Kupwara. Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor claimed that Army was ready for Assembly elections. Farooq Abdullah said that peace was imperative for KP's return.	May 23:
May 10:	A top HM Comdr was arrested in Shopian. A hideout was unearthed at Darbal Wuyan and arms and ammunition was recovered from the hideouts. RDX and explosives were recovered from Parmandal forests in Jammu. Pak PM rejected 4-point formula of Musharraf and offered to go beyond UN resolutions to solve Kashmir.	Two terrorists were arrested in Kashmir Valley while a civilian was shot at and injured by terrorists in Pulwama district. Terrorists shot dead a civilian in Marmat, Doda. Addressing Army in Kashmir, President Pratibha Patil said that any violation on our borders will be dealt sternly.
May11:	Chief Photographer the Daily Excelsior, Sh.Ashok Sodhi, a prominent leader Hoshiar Singh and his wife, a woman, two jawans and two terrorists were killed in a fierce encounter in the heart of Samba. The encounter put a question mark on BSF claims on Thursday that they had thwarted an infiltration bid in the sector. Two terrorists were killed killed in a gunbattle in Kupwara. A soldier reportedly committed suicide in Kangan. A body of a woman was fished out form Lidder at Langanbal.	May 24:
May 12:	One more terrorists was killed in Samba was Intelligence agencies sounded that 9-190 terrorists could have successfully infiltrated from IB in Samba sector. Kathua remained busy with frantilic calls from the people of different areas suspecting movement of terrorists. A Pakistan terrorist was killed in an encounter at Draba, Surankote. Arms and ammunition was recovered from Khanetar, Poonch, Arms and ammunition was also recovered from Banjoti Forest in Bhaderwah, Jammu observed a complete band against Samba killings. As the people are not out of honour o terror after Samba encounter, Azad said that India was ready for cross LoC trade. An HM terrorist was held with RDX in Ramban.	May 25:
May 13:	Police gunned down two hard-core LeT terrorists at Pallai in Gandoy, Doda who were reportedly on their way to received recently infiltrated terrorists . An HM terrorists was held with RDX in Ramban. Three suspects were held at Barwal in Kathua. A defeated candidate Riyaz Ahmed Hajam was held with a radio-set and pistol in Handwara. A foreign tourist was found dead in a hotel in Srinagar. Underlin-ing the hand of Pakistan Army and ISI in infiltration bids of terrorists, security forces recovered sophisticated fencing cutters that the terrorisers used during infiltration in Samba sector Pink City turns red as terrorists struck killing, at least, 60 and injuring 200 others. In the backdrop of infiltration in Samba sector, Defence Minister Antony warned the country to be ready for more infiltration bids. Mulsim migrants seek parity with Kashmiri Pandits.	May 26:
May 14:	Terrorists captured and subsequently killed two CRPF jawans in Pulwama district; one another jawan managed his escape, Rafiabad turned tense as people protested against the gunshot wounds to four civilians of the area. People alleged that the four were part of a delegation that met PHE minister Dillawar Mir and were injured in Unprovoked firing by the Army. Army exposed a racket of flowing of funds from PoK to Kashmir through Srinagar-Muzaffarabad Bus Service; Rs 1.5 lak Indian currency was recovered fro a PoK passenger, Mufed Ali. Terrorists struck in Samba	May 27:
		May 28:
		May 29:
		May 30:
		May 31:

(Contd. on Page 19)

CHRONOLOGY (Contd. from Page 18)

	Kupwara district. Terrorists attacked the Company Hqtrs of 92-CRPF in Sopore but failed to cause any damage as the grenade missed the largest. The Islamic body Darul Uloom issued fatwa against terrorism describing it as 'most inhuman crime' IAF opened as was base in Ladakh near China border after a gap of 43 year.
June 1:	Two jawans committed suicide in Jammu region. India and Pakistan agreed to inspect Baglihar and Neeam Project. Addressing the International Conference on Terrorism", Azad said that terrorists have made more human rights violations than the security forces.
June 2:	Security forces killed six terrorists in three different gunbattle in Rafiaba, Hadwara and Bandipore, Chakkana-Da-Bagh quota doubled due to closure of Tata Pana as 183 civilians cross LoC today.
June 3:	Three LoT terrorists were killed at Peer Gali in Pir Panjal range; the encounter was going on as two more terrorists were reportedly holed-up in the area. Arms and ammunition was recovered in another operation in Tayrath, Rajouri. After infiltration, Samba gets 19 more VDCs. Army and Police killed two terrorists in Shopian-Rajouri belt.
June 4:	An LeT terrorist was arrested from Shahdiwas, Doda. Refuting earlier claims by Army and Police, no terrorist was found dead in Poonch-Rajouri bet; only a terrorist was arrested in the area in injured conditions. Three terrorists of a new outfit 'Pany Pardhani Group' were arrested alongwith arms from Dumi Malpur in Kanachak area.
June 5:	Police averted a tragedy by timely detecting and defusing a grenade near fire and Emergency Service Hqtrs. in Srinagar Terrorists hurled a hand grenade towards family quarters of police station Kangan but the grenade exploded without causing any damage. Security scenario in Jammu was reviewed in a meeting at 16 Corps HQtrs. Two Pak army soldiers held on IB at Khour were repatriated in a flag meeting. After arrested of members of a newly floated terrorists outfit in Jammu, another ultra was arrested in Baranala and a plot of KZF, IKF, PPG to revive militancy was unearthed Paswan asks Prime Minister to act on missing persons in J&K.
June 7:	A terrorists was arrested in Baramulla district troops recovered arms and explosives from village Chamber Kanari near LoC in Sabjian, Poonch, Mirwaiz Umar said that Pak Army's involvement was must for resolution of Kashmir Union MoS Power Jaurian Ramesh said that work on Kishanganga project will be expedited as the project has strategic and foreign policy implications.
June 8:	Army recovered arms and explosives in Bhimber Gali terrorists who arrested arms for IKF ultras was identifies on the distributor of Sim Card to the ultras was held while another escaped,.
June 9:	Two terrorists were killed as Army foiled an infiltration bid in Karan sector. Five youth who has been indoctrinated to be recruited as terrorists were arrested and handed over to then parents in North-Kashmir. A youth was shot at by terrorists in Sogam, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that there was growing risk of N-arms falling into the hands of terrorists and implored upon all the countries to ensure that 'dangerous hands' are denied atomic material and technology.
June 10:	An LeT terrorist was arrested in Doda. A CRPF jawan committed suicide at Khan Sahib, Budgam, A BSF jawan went missing near LoC in Sunderbani Sector.

AIBF & PK TO LAUNCH AWARENESS CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY

A meeting was held between All India Brahman Federation (AIBF) and Panun Kashmir at Jammu. A thorough discussion was held on the problems being faced by the Brahman community in India with a particular reference to Kashmir Pandits, who are facing exile at the hands of the Islamic fundamentalists with Govt. of India a mute spectator. Conspiracies are taking place to demonise the elite community with a clear agenda of balkanising India.

It was agreed upon that the problems being faced by the KP's need a thorough dissemination among the people in India, who stand curiously ignorant. An awareness campaign is being launched jointly by the AIBF & PK all over India in near future.

The meeting was attended by Dr. Ajay Chrangoo (Chairman Panun Kashmir), Prof. Devendra Sharma (President AIBF), Sh. O.N. Trisal President (All India KP Solidarity Conference), Sh. Kuldeep Raina (General Secretary PK), P.N. Raina (Treasurer P.K.) and Satish Sher (Org. Secretary Jammu), Sh. V.P. Sharma (AIBF) Ved Parkash Balotra (Chief Coordinator AIBF), besides many others.

Contradictions in Kashmir 's Regional Politics Come to the fore

(From Page 1)

leadership came under attack for displaying Pak currency at a rally in Beerwah. PDP has also been creating hurdles for Amarnath yatra, which has a sub-continental importance.

PDP has been telling New Delhi that it has made separatist groups' irrelevant' by snatching away their plank. It has also interpreted invitation to mainstream Kashmiri leaders to Pakistan as recognition of mainstream parties by Pakistan. Whether PDP's politics has made separatist groups "irrelevant remains to be seen but it had its one fallout-separatist politics has become legitimised. Referring to this Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, leader of a faction of Hurriyat Conference told Karan Thapar in an interview recently.

"I think she (Ms Mehbooba Mufti) needs Pakistans's certificate. If you look at the events after she has come from Pakistan she is going to every election rally and saying that I went to Pakistan, and I spoke this and I got this. So this says that even for the mainstream politics, the Ashirwad (blessings) or the support of Pakistan is very important".

NC Changes Line:

It is premature to say whether this posturing of PDP is driven solely by concerns to gain electoral advantage over NC. However, what has taken observers by surprise is that National Conference instead of playing ball with PDP has decided to contest PDP's vision. Enough evidence is available to substantiate it.

Mr Omar Abdullah, President of

National Conference has made a number of statements in his blog on official website of his party. These statements, reflecting Omar's views Pandit's exodus, 'independence option', 'Public support to separatist Movement', 'Disinformation Campaign on Human Rights, Violations', 'Accession', 'Industrialisation' etc. 'Patriotism' etc., indicate that National Conference is either shedding genuinely its baggage a Chauvinist Muslim subnationalist politics or it is indulging in posturing to isolate PDP at the national level. It could also be to force PDP to compete at a different agenda, away from competitive communal separatists politics!

On the issue of ethnic-cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus Mr Omar Abdullah's statement is most forthright made by any Kashmiri Muslim politician so far. In his blog (10th May) Omar Wrote:

"It is so easy to say that we'll lay down our lives to bring Kashmiri Pandits back to the Valley and I appreciate the sentiment as I'm sure the Kashmiri Pandits reading it will. Pity that sentiment was missing when our mosques were being used to drive these people out. None of us was willing to stand up and be counted when it mattered. None of us grabbed the mikes in the mosques and said this is wrong and the Kashmiri Pandits had every right to continue living in the Valley. Our educated, well-to-do relatives and neighbours were spewing venom 24 hours a day and we were mute spectators either mute in agreement or

mute in abject fear, more often than not it was muteness driven by fear because the guns turned against the Pandits found their target elsewhere as my party workers found, but mute none the less."

Omar also talks about coercion factor in raking up anti-India protests and in Talibanisation campaign. He decries attempts to suppress democratic dissent. On the issue of 'human rights violations' and disinformation campaign he makes statements that will warm up hearts of nationalists. About disinformation campaign on 'Missing Persons' he makes a point 'It is a fact that these Kashmiri boys settled in Pakistan and it's side of Kashmir who had gone across for training and settled there. These boys are counted among the disappeared here and this anomaly needs to be corrected as well'.

Similarly, on the issue of so-called excesses by security forces Omar asks 'was there any of this happening before militancy started in the late 80's...to suggest that the people of Kashmir have been subjugated and brutalised for six decades is to stretch things way too far. I don't recall arrogant convoy commanders on our roads before that either. I recall wives of Indian Army officers teaching me in school. I recall going to the homes of school friends whose fathers were in the army and playing with other kids all day".

Mr. Omar Abdullah takes on those who advocate 'independence' for Kashmir. He asks:

"Was independence an op-

tion? Sure let us ask the Tibetans about how it is to survive as an independent country with China, India and Pakistan as neighbours. Let us ask Afgahnistan what is it like to be a mountainous landlocked country in the region with precious little natural wealth, or Nepal for that matter. It is all very well to dream and base those dreams on theoretical models of self-sufficiency looking at Switzerland and places like that but Kosovo would be a better long-term model to look at. We had a cold war, we had two blocks and two choices India or Pakistan".

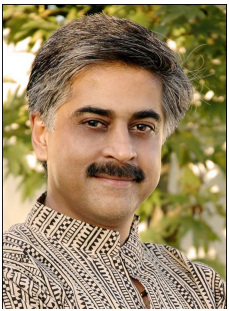
Mr Omar Abdullah justifies his grandfather's decision to accede to India, "Some will argue that his decision in 1947 was wrong-looking at the present state of Pakistan and the side of Kashmir with it, I can't see how they can justify that agreement".

Mr. Omar Abdullah also castigates separatist leadership for handing over guns to poor Kashmiri kids and keeping their own kids out of harms way. He says, **"He (Sheikh Abdullah) did not shut down profitable business establishments through hartals and civil strikes while building his own big palaces!** Omar Abdullah exposes the double-dealing role of separatist leaders and doves not feeling shy in praising his father for pro-India stand during a cricket match.

Two Natinoal Conference MLAs have also indicted PDP and the separatists over their 'communal' stand on Amarnath Yatra. Mr Sajjad Kitchloo, NC MLA from Kishtwar said, " Yes, I call for road

connectivity to Baba Amarnath Shrine from Baltal to attract more pilgrims to the cave from across the country. **We shouldn't raise unnecessary controversies where the issue of faith is concerned.** We favour construction of road to the shrine as well as a ropeway". Another NC MLA Mohammad Sayeed Akhoon charged Minister Qazi Afzal of PDP with giving different versions on issue of transfer of land to the Amarnath Shrine Board. He lamented, **"In the absence of any clarification from the concerned Department, the separatists were raising hue and cry on the issue linking it with special status of the state"**.

Significantly, Mr. Omar Abdullah's statements have come after Zardari-Mehbooba Mufti meet in Islamabad. He charged that UPA government had facilitated this meet. Earlier, Mr Abdullah in his meeting with Dan Burton, US Senator had approved the stand of Mirwaiz Umar. NC President had also hailed earlier Musharraf proposals. Even on the issue of Amarnath Yatra some MLAs are articulating a different stand. But on the issue of cross LoC Travel/Trade, NC is taking a different stand from PDP. It is also cool to other issues raised by PDP— 'joint management', 'dual currency', 'de-militarisation. National Conference is throwing broad hints that Kashmiri Muslims will lose their hegemonist position in case of arrangements where J&K's future is tied up with PoK. Is National Conference trying to work out a new subnationalism which is opposed to closer relations with PoK?



By Shail Gulati

Pratyabhijna.

The Sastras of Trika Literature which make the foundation of Kashmir's Non-Dual Shaivism are divided into three Parts:

1. Agamas
- 2 Spanda
3. Pratyabhijna

The Pratyabhijnahrdayam prepared by Ksemaraja, the disciple of Abhinavagupta, serves as a digest to the prtyabhijna philosophy of Self Re-cognition in the kashmir shaiv darsana. It makes an excellent primer to understand the darsana. The following texts have been taken from Shri Jaideva singh's translation.

Citi svatantrā viūvasiddhihetu?

Citi, (pronounced Chitih) which is power of absolute consciousness, by its own free will (svatantrya/independence), is the cause of manifestation, preservation, and again re absorption or withdrawal of the Universe into itself, also called dissolution.

This is a description of Godhead, and before time and space are created, it alone is, in itself. It is Cit, or Para Samvit , perfect Prakasa Vimarsa, it is all knowing, omniscient, and all powerful, omnipotent. Its power, non different from itself, is Citi.

Svecchayā svabhittau viūvamunmīlayati

By Her own power, she unfolds the Universe on her own screen.

This is a direct statement on the understanding of Kashmir Shaivism, that God is both the efficient, as well as material cause of the Universe, that is to say, He creates out of his own will, on his own self, there is no extraneous material, and even the analogy of the potter and the pot of clay, fails here, since the potter emanates or projects out of himself, not out of clay.

Tannānūrūpagrāhyagrāhakabhedāt

That Universe, so unfolded, is manifold , consisting of many subjects, who are objects for the others in reciprocal differentiation.

The potter was one, the projector was one, but the pots are many, the projection features many. The various projections, though coming from the same source, and thus essentially the same, are different from the other, like one is a conical pot, the other rounded the third triangular and so on. When they view the other as an object, they see others as different from themselves, and therefore begin to be more difference than identity. Spiritually, this means that the manifold creation gets adapted to each other as subject and object in a reciprocal manner, in my perception you are my object, but in yours, I am an object, you are the subject that views me. Or, simply, that even though we are all essentially the same, but still no two people are alike. Thus, the identity of the oneness of Cit has been veiled (vilaya), by Citi itself!

Citisa?kocātmā cetano'pi sa?kucitaviūvamaya?

(But) even while he has been reduced to such individual experients, each individual has the Citi contracted within him, as Citta.

So even while each Experient finds himself limited from birth, and/or limits himself in life, it doesn't mean that he doesn't have the primal consciousness in him, he always does ,albeit in a contracted manner. The fact is, one cannot survive without the Citi, that gone, the body would be lifeless. Citi , always present in each being in a small measure, is called Citta.

Citireva cetanapadādarū'hā cetyasa?kocinī cittam|

Thus does Citi contract itself in conformity to the object of consciousness, Cetaya.

Such that in the high Experient of Sadashiva, there is predominance of Prakasa Vimarsa, that is, light (pure knowledge) and power (the power of knowledge knowing itself), but in the Pasu (a soul bound by ignorance of its divine nature, using its ability as a human, and thus akin to a lower species of animal) there is predominance of the contraction, and therefore great dullness. Therefore emanating from the same one Cit, the power of citi reduces itself into myriad forms of differing life,

In individuations, who think they are separate from the One cit. By Dhyana(contemplation, meditation) one may loosen the contraction and advance to a higher stage.

Tanmayo mâyāpramâtā

Even the Mayapramata, highly deluded being, consists of Citta.

Even if we think we are not divine spirit ,but only the physical body, this does not alter the real fact of our divinity.

Though We are in a state of delusion, our divinity is always the force behind our sustenance.

Sa caiko dvirūpastrimayaūcaturātmā saptapañcakasvabhāva?

And thus, though He is one, he becomes two, three, and many.

As is said in the Taittiriya Upanishad, for Brahman as source of all, he desired, may I be many, may I be born!

Tadbhūmikā? sarvadarūanasthitaya?

Thus too, it becomes easier to understand the positions of various systems of philosophy. They are only various reaches of that consciousness of Self.

Like the Hill and the climbers, each successively exalted Darsana is like the climber who has already traversed the path and is now on top, he can see Panoramically (wholly) at what stage the other is, but not vice versa. Thus a Carvaka, or gross materialist, will tell the believer of soul,'show me your soul', let me test it, and so on ,and the spiritualist will insist, that everything that is transient, is more like a dream, less of a reality. Swami Vivekananda, said they both think that the other is a dreamer! And, in all honesty, at all times, no one Darsana deliberated misleading; they actually spoke of the vision, as they saw, much like only one who has seen the moon in its entire phases, will know the truth that it is always full, it only appears to wax and wane. The man who has only seen a crescent, will find it difficult to talk of a full moon, and vice versa. So too, the non dualism of Kashmir Shaiv is Paradvait, Dvait and Advait both. Thus Siva spoke of the dual as well as non dual Tantras.

Cidvattacchaktisa?kocānmalā?ta? sa?sārī|

Consequently, highest Siva who's reality, is all consciousness ,because of such limitation of his own Sakti, becomes a mala (dross) covered Samsarin.

The travelling soul is covered with Mala because of constriction of His power(Sakti).

Tathāpi tadvatpañcak?tyāni karoti|

For even in the limited state of Jiva, Siva does retain the five acts, in a limited way, and it is all his perception of what happens as :

- Sristi (projection),
- Sthiti (maintenance or preservation),
- Samhara (dissolution or re -absorption back to the pristine),
- * Vilaya (veiling of the divine nature by Malas) ,and
- Anugraha (revelation of the divine by grace).

There may be a cat, but for you it comes into existence when you see it, so you give it its Sristi (creation) in your world. If you were to close your eyes, the cat would still be in the world, but not in your world for then. if you remember the cat you are preserving it , maintaining it by memory. and so on. therefore, in a limited way you are still playing Siva

Ābhāsanarakṭivimarūanabijāvasthāpanavilāpanatastāni

And so on you go, manifesting, relishing, experiencing, dissolving etc

Tadaparijñāne svaūaktibhirvyāmohitatā sa?sāritvam

To be a samsari means to be deluded by one's own power , because of ignorance of such authorship of the fivefold act. Samsari aka traveling soul is bewildered and infatuated by his own powers as ignorance leads him into delusions. Since this power of delusion or concealment is Vilaya, obscuration or forgetfulness of one's divine nature, one should understand that the very recognition that one is deluded, marks Anugraha, grace, and the process of re-cognition of one's (lost) nature begins.

Tatparijñāne cittamevāntarmukhībhāvena cetanāpadādhyārohācciti?

And as the process ripens, through Sadhanas and methods ,acquiring the full knowledge of the five fold act accrues, and Citta expands from its contracted form to become Citi itself.

Citivahniravarohapade channo'pi mātrayā meyendhana? plu?yati

It can be seen that the fire of citti, keeps burning the fuel of the known objects.

Citi is ever at work! taking you back to your pristine consciousness. but you may accelerate this, by roasting, as they say, the chestnut over and over again..! The fuel is partially consumed by the fire of Citi though its still delusional and is in

inferior stage.

Balalābhe viūvamâtmasâtkaroti

In the re -assertion of that power, it, through the aspirant, accomplishing the prasara, or outgoing (expansion) of the divine senses, comes to fulfillment ,such that it makes the entire universe its own by assimilation. Ballabbhe vishvaatmasatkaroti, the world is the same as your pristine SELF. That is, he assimilates universe to himself.

cidāandalābhe dehādi?u cetyamāne?vapi cidaikātmyapratipattidār?hya? jīvanmukti?

Liberation while one retains his physical body. When this bliss of cit is attained, there accrues a lasting acquisition (a stability) of identity with cit, even while having the body, and this is jivanmukti.

This means that one does not have to die, or lose the physical body, to attain to the subtler realms and consciousness itself, the great promise is to attain to the essence here, in this body, and be free from the delusion of life as one earlier thought it to be. Indeed, the reverse seems to be true, if you die without knowing God while alive, there's little chance, you'll come back to birth , knowing him .

Madhyavikāsāccidāandalābha?

By the sustained development of this centre(of consciousness) ,by the sustenance of this stability on Samvit itself, there is lasting of the bliss.

This sutra seems like a repetition, but Shaiv Darsana has the understanding of Vipula, the thickening of that stability on centeredness. Like an actor who goes over his lines over and over, who gets used to playing the role of king, becomes natural about it. While Advait Vedanta goals "Sat Chit Ananda", consciousness, blissed at knowing itself as the ultimate,

Kashmir Shaiv exhorts to reach Cid Ananda Ghana, which denotes the reaching of the true consciousness thickly, like a forest of dense bliss consciousness. Even in traditional yogi literature, once one reaches Sahasrara, the crown ,by definition itself, the lotus of thousand petals opens, here thousand denotes Anant, infinite...The Vedantic realization, is called Atma Vyapti, and the thickened Ghana, Vipula, Shaivic goal is Shiva Vyapti.

One who has Atma Vyapti, has full knowledge of the self, but lacks the powers, while one who has Shiva Vyapti, gets the dynamics also. The lesser realization is about pure being, the higher realization is about being and becoming, both. To repeat, again, Prakasa, and prakasavimarsa both, Advait, or Paradvait.

Vikalpak?ayaūaktisa?kocavikāsavāhacchedadyantako? i n i b h ā l a n ā d a y a i h o p ā y ā ?

For the development : Upayas are given for dissolving all thoughts, constriction and unveiling of power.

At this point the Pratyabhijna gives a few means beginning with sukhopaya, or anupaya, which cannot be taught, and then gives a few other methods, as sadhanas to reach at one ment with Shiva. Since the methods may be found in the successive upayas, it is better to get versed with the Upayas for detail.

Samādhisa?skāravati vyutthāne bhūyo bhūyaūcidaikyāmarūānnityoditasamādhilābha?

By reflecting upon the Oneness with Cit experienced in samadhi, there is the lasting bliss even in vyutthana.

Samadhi is to go into the deepest meditation, and merge with pristine consciousness. Vyutthana is when you arise from that Samadhi. The former passes on its effects to the latter. Kashmir shaivism says, therefore, by constant reflection on that Oneness with cit, as experienced in samadhi, we are lead to a permanent state of samadhi, even while not in meditation.

You may call samadhi 'being in meditation', and vyutthana 'meditation in being'.

Such alternation of swinging between the actual inner state of smadhi, and the externalised reflection over it, is called Krama mudra. Regular practice of this inner-outer swing, of krama leads to the permanent state of Bhairava avastha, which is to simply know, that inner or outer..all is siva.

Tadā prakāūānandasāramahāmantravīryātmapapūr? āhantāveūātsadā

sarvasargasa?hārakārinijasa?

viddevatācakreūvaratāprāptirbhavatī ūivam

By attainment of such krama mudra and bhairava, as a result of entering into the perfect I -consciousness or Self, which is in essence Cit and ananda and also of the nature of power of the great mantra, there accrues Lordship over the group of the deities of consciousness that bring about all emanation and re absprbtion of the Universe. All is the nature of Siva.

When one is completely established in Siva consciousness in Samadhi and Vyutthan, One gains Lordship over every power of emanation and re absorption that arises from consciousness, because, all is the nature of Siva.