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## PK Launches PRAKASH

# Prakash To Place Things In Proper Perspective

By Dileep Kumar Kaul

**P**RAKASH, a cultural initiative of Panun Kashmir began on 25th April 2009 at Press Club Jammu; American Literary Critic and Cultural thinker Stephen Greenblatt has defined Culture in a very interesting way. He says that any culture is a mixture of two phenomena — mobility and constraint. Some cultures are very mobile and some are full of constraints. Even the American

community thinking. Thus any attempt to distort her clearly amounts to distortion of Kashmiri Pandits and their rootedness in Kashmir. Such attempts have been made in the past. Some people have said that Lalded converted to Islam and some went to the extent of saying that her grave had been seen. But such facts could never be corroborated. It, nevertheless, showed that there was an attempt to put a constraint

that it contradicts the very essence of Lalded, her very being as a Shaiva Yogini, her oneness with Shiva's supreme consciousness.

Prof. Mohan Lal Kaul, a prominent cultural thinker who has done significant work on the modus operandi of Islamic fundamentalism in Kashmir has written a critique of the book written by Mrs. Raina. The critique was published in the form of a booklet which Prof. Kaul



(Left): Dr. Toshkhani, Prof. B.L. Fotedar, Dr. M.K. Teng and Prof. M.L. Kaul releasing the critique on "Lalla-Ded-Meri Dreshti Mai". (Right): A view of audience during the releasing function. --KS photo/Sunil Raina

culture that claims to be an example of utmost mobility has got some constraints, which sometimes create controversies.

Constraints are created by a group or an individual to establish an authority. But the resistance to constraints is also inherent in a culture. In every culture there are some cultural symbols with which the people identify. This identifying with the symbols makes them mobile in their own way.

**Lalded is one such cultural symbol. Kashmiri Pandits identify with her and the cultural mobility inherent in her poetry. She is the poetess who is an integral part of Kashmiri Pandit psyche. We are Lalded's children and that is why we have resisted all attempts to constrain us and have ensured mobility for ourselves, as human beings and as Indians.**

Lalded was a Saint poetess. It has become a common practice to distort mystic poets to give an impression that look how much I know. But everybody is aware of Lalded's importance for Kashmiri Pandits and her influence on their

on Kashmiri Pandits cultural being, applying brakes on the mobility her poetry and identity ensured, by appropriating her into a religious fold to which she never belonged. This was the mind set that perpetrated genocide on Kashmiri Pandits towards which they have shown extraordinary resistance.

The program organized by PRAKASH aimed at fighting such distortions. Speaking on the occasion the convener of PRAKASH, the abbreviation for Promotion of Recent and Ancient Kashmiri Arts, Sciences and History, Prof. B.L. Fotedar said that **PRAKASH certainly has a political motive. It has to fight distortions because these are the handiwork of the people who perpetrated genocide on Kashmiri Pandits or those victims of genocide who chose not to resist.** A book titled '**Lalded Meri Drishti Mein**' was published recently. The writer Mrs. Bimla Raina has fragmented and reconstructed the Vakhs of Lalded in her own way, distorting the meaning to an extent

dedicated to Panun Kashmir for wider circulation. But this critique by Prof. Kaul was not a reaction to Mrs. Raina's book. One has to understand the dangers of writing such a book. It does not only distort Lalded or any such cultural symbol but also establishes the writer as the real thinker about Lalded. Thus not only the perspective of lalded is distorted but the contemporary intellectual perspective is altered too where real intellectuals are out of place. The battle begins here where lalded was to be placed in her real perspective by a contemporary thinker. Prof. Kaul's critique was the beginning of the resistance. This critique was the first attempt to unequivocally place Lalded in the context to which she belongs, i.e. the Kashmiri Shaiva philosophy. It threw to wind all the previous distortions which tried to take her out of this context. In his booklet Prof. Kaul has clearly pointed out all distortions and deliberate reconstructions by Mrs. Raina. The aim was not to attack

(Contd. on Page 11)

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

1. Sh. Makhan Lal Rania S/o Late Balbadar Raina originally hailing from Rangteng, Alikadal Sgr and presently putting up at H.No: Lane-4, Surya Vihar, Bohri Jammu 10/12/2008.
2. Sh. Jagan Nath Manwati originally resident of Gund Ahalmar Nai sarak Sgr; presently residing at 108-Afghan Street Jammu. 10/12/2008
3. Smt. Lakshmishori Wattal W/o Late Sh. Arjan Nath Wattal of Purshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 2143-Sector 42-C Chandigarh. 10/12/2008.
4. Smt. Indrawati W/o Sh. Jagar Nath Pandit R/o Sahipora Kupwara Kmr; presently putting up Lane-1, Durga Niwas Barnai. 11/12/2008.
5. Smt. Bimlajee Khuda W/o Balkrishan Khuda of Malpora Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 845, Dwarika Sector-7, Plot-13, Sargoda Appt. New Delhi. 11/12/2008
6. Smt. Shambo Nath Raina of Kral Khud Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Lane No: 27, H.No: 12, Rajpura Jammu. 11/12/2008.
7. Smt. Kamlawati Kachroo W/o Late Sh. Kailash Ram Kachroo originally resident of Raj Ghat Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at 695/29 Faridabad Haryana. 11/12/2008
8. Smt. Usha Raina W/o Sh. Chaman Lal Riana of Malik Angan Fatehkadal Sgr; presently residing at 200/12, Sector-3A Rachana Vaishali Gaziabad (UP). 11/12/08.
9. Prof. S.L. Dhar of Shivpora Sgr; presently residing at Vasant Kunj Pocket-C6 Flat No: 6062, Gate No: 5, New Delhi. 12/12/08.
10. Sh. Sham Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Sudershan Koul formerly resident of Chattabal Baghi Sunder Bala Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 170 and 171, Block H, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 12/12/2008.
11. Sh. Prem Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Nath Ji Koul of Sonim Pattan Kmr. 12/12/08.
12. Smt. Vijay Dhar W/o Sh. R.K. Dhar of Neel Padam Kunj Vaishali Gaziabad (UP). 12/11/2008
13. Sh. Dwarika Nath Langoo S/o Late Sh. Lassa Ram Langoo of Raj Ghat Baramulla Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 5, Near Darmal Temple Barnai Jammu. 13/12/2008
14. Sh. Rajinder Kaul (Safaya) S/o Late Sh. Badri Nath Kaul (Safaya) formerly resident of 197-Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 269-Puran Nagar (Post Office Lane) New Plots Jammu. 14/12/2008
15. Smt. Asha Jee Kaul (Uma Devi) W/o Sh. Dawarika Nath Kaul of Lok Bhawan Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 11, Lane-4, Bharat Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 14/12/2008.
16. Shyama Kaul W/o Late Sh. Bal Krishan Kaul presently residing at 76, Ashok Nagar, Canal Road Near Power House Jammu. 15/12/2008.
17. Sh. L.N. Bhan original resident of Raj Bagh Sgr; presently residing at 201, Colnol's Colony Bhoori Talab Tillo Jammu. 16/12/2008.
18. Prof. Nilakanth Gurtoo S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Gurtoo originally resident of Sathu Shetel Nath Sgr; presently residing at Flat No: 201, Plot 834, Shalimar Garden Extn.-1 Sahibabad (UP). 18/12/2008
19. Sh. Nath Jee Bhat of Ladow Pampore Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 146, Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 19/12/2008.
20. Sh. Sat Prakash Zutshi S/o Late Sh. P.N. Zutshi resident of Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 19/12/2008.
21. Smt. Somavati Kher W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Kher of Fatehkadal and Natipora Sgr; presently residing at C-2, Dream Lane Appt. Sector 1-A, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 21/12/2008.
22. Sh. Maharaj Krishan Kaul S/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul of Vessu Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 4/6 Block-B, Roop Nagar Jammu. 21/12/2008.
23. Sh. Triloki Nath Magloo S/o Late Sh. Isher Dass Magloo of Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of Sector-3, Govind Nagar, Ambica Vihar Road Camp Talab Tillo, Jammu. 21/12/2008.
24. Smt. Gouri/Ashra Raina W/o Sh. Moti Lal Raina originally resident of Seer Jagir Sopore Kmr; presently residing at Migrant Flats Qtr. No: 1, Block-G, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 21/12/2008.
25. Sh. Prem Nath Bhat S/o Late Anand Ram Bhat of Malapora Habbakdal Sgr; A/P residing at Qtr. No: 89, ORT, Railway Block, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 21/12/2008.
26. Sh. O.N. Seru S/o Late Sh. D.N. Seru originally resident of 42/1 Karan Nagar Sgr; presently resident of 45-A, Basant Nagar Main Road Roop Nagar, Jammu. 22/12/08.
27. Smt. Piyari Ji (Sheela) Razdean W/o Sh. Nand Lal Razdan of Rugnath Mandir Habbakadal Sgr presently residing at Kashmiri Colony Najafgarh Delhi. 22/12/2008
28. Smt. Lakshmi Koul W/o Late Sh. Lassa Kaul of Danawari Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at Lane-6, Block 6, Block-B, Roop Nagar Enclave, Jammu. 23/12/2008.
29. Sh. Niranjani Nath Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Madhav Ram Tickoo of Village Hugam Anantnag, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 135, Sector-1, Sharika Vihar Muthi Jammu. 23/12/2008.
30. Sh. Chuni Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Srikanth Koul of Sholipora Budgam Kmr; presently residing at Lal Ded Colony, Pounichak Jammu. 23/12/2008.
31. Sh. Nath Ji Raina S/o Late Madhaw Ram Raina of Sheilteng Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 46/4, Janipur (SBI) Lane Jammu. 23/12/08.
32. Sh. Som Nath Tikoo S/o Late Pt. Sarvanand Tikoo originally resident of Bomai/Noorbag Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at Flat No: 99, Plot 34, Vidhya Sagar, Appts. Sector-6, Dwarka New Delhi. 23/12/2008.
33. Smt. Soma Wati (Gunmali) W/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Pandita originally resident of Nagri Malpora (Hakehpura) presently residing at Qtr. No: 716 G, Mishrwalla Camp Jammu. 3/2/2009.
34. Smt. Dhanwati Warikoo W/o Late. Pt. Shamboo Nath Warikoo originally resident of 67 Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently residing at D-401, Satisar Appart. Plot-6, Sector-7, Dwarika New Delhi. 3/2/2009.
35. Smt. Ratna Wangnoo wife of Sh. C.L. Wangnoo originally resident of Babapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 28 Indira Nagar, Colony, Dehradun. 3/2/2009.
36. Smt. Roopawati Pandit W/o Late Jai Krishen Pandit originally resident of Hangalgund Kokernag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 47, Lane No: 2 Udheywalla Bohri, Jammu. 4/2/2009.
37. Smt. Somawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Kanth Ram Bhat of Raj Ghat Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at 29-A, Bhawani Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 4/2/2009
38. Smt. Gunwati Labroo W/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Labroo of Ranipura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at 216/4, Pamposh Colony SBI Lane Janipur Jammu. 4/2/2009.
39. Sh. Aman Nath Bhan S/o Late Sh. Nath Ram Bhan of Khaipora Tangmarg Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 634/R-2, Phase-IIIrd Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 4/2/2009.
40. Smt. Shanta Bhan W/o Late Sh. Moti Lal Bhan originally residing at 40-Karan Nagar Sgr; presently at Thane Mumbai. 5/2/2009
41. Sh. Jia Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Koul originally resident of Sheilteng Habbakdal Sgr; presently resident of H.NO: 375/3, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 5/2/2009
42. Sh. Jagar Nath Raina R/o Seer Jagir Sopore Kmr; presently residing at 22-B Vipan Garden Karkota Morh Uttam Nagar New Delhi. 5/2/2009
43. Sh. Jawahar Lal Bagati S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Bagati originally resident of Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently residing at 42-B, Dhawelgiri Appts. Sector-11, Noida. 5/2/2009
44. Smt. Mohan Rani Koul W/o Late Sh. B.K. Koul R/o Qtr. No: 51, Rehari Colony, Jammu. 6/2/2009
45. Smt. Chooni Devi W/o Sh. Laxman Ji Pandita originally resident of Vilgam Kmr; presently residing at Sari Rakhwala near Swami Soor Dass Ashram Bhoori Jammu. 7/2/2009
46. Sh. Nath Ji Bhat S/o Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat of Wallarhama Pahalgam Kmr; presently residing at Domana Army Camp Akhnoor Road, Jammu. 7/2/2009
47. Smt. Kanta Jatoo W/o Sh. Nand Lal Jatoo R/o Flat No: 99, Sadbhavana Appar, Pat-Pat Ganj New Delhi originally resident of Kani Kadal Srinagar. 8/2/2009
48. Smt. Shobawati Mattoo originally resident of Galwanpora, Hyderpora Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 53 Lane 2/3, B-Block Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 8/2/2009
49. Sh. Dina Nath Koul R/o Ratnipora, Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at 829 Opp. Diwan Devi School Rajpora Mangotrian Jammu. 9/2/2009.
50. Smt. Roopawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Bhat R/o H.No: 24, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar Muthi Jammu and originally resident of Sirhama, Anantnag Kmr. 9/2/2009
51. Pintoo Sher S/o Sh. G.L. Sher R/o 167, Pocket-H, Durga Nagar, Bohri Talab Tillo, Jammu. 9/2/2009
52. Sh. Vjiay Kumar Koul S/o Late Sh. R.N. Koul previously resident of Jullaka Mohalla Jammu and presently residing at 35-B, DDA Flats, Pocket-12 Jassola Vihar New Delhi. 9/2/2009.
53. Smt. Mohini Koul W/o Late Sh. Sri Kanth Koul previously resident of Danawari Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at H.NO: 37, Sector-A-1 Laxmi Puram Chinore Bantalab Road, Jammu. 9/2/2009.
54. Smt. Arandati Bhan W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Bhan originally resident of Garbugh Pulwama, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 44-A, High Court Road Old Janipur Jammu. 10/2/2009.
55. Sh. Dawarika Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Koul R/o Look Bhawan Dooru Anantnag Kmr and presently residing at J/1, 222, Sector 2, Durga Nagar, Roop Nagar Jammu. 10/2/2009
56. Smt. Shyama Dass W/o Sh. Soom Nath Dass originally resident of Bomai Sopore Kmr; presently residing at A-334, Vipin Garden Kakrote Mode Uttam Nagar New Delhi. 10/2/200957.
57. Sh. Dwarika Nath Raina S/o Sh. P.N. Raina originally resident of Akura Anantnag Kmr; presently putting up at H.NO: 57-B, Lane No: 6, Manorama Vihar Patta Bohri Jammu. 11/2/2009
58. Sh. Mahiswar Nath Kitchloo S/o Late Sh. Shridhar Pandit Kithcloo originally hailing from Batapora Shopian Kmr and presently putting up at Balak Nagar Dandiwal Udampur. 11/2/2009
59. Smt. Kamlawati Raina W/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Raina of Bonapora Akingam Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 411, Nagrota Camp, Jammu. 11/2/2009
60. Sh. Chuni Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Kailash Ram Raina originally resident of Baskkochian Shopian Kmr; presently residing at 448 Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 11/2/2009
61. Sh. Gopi Nath Dhar (Thass) S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Dhar, R/o Barbar Shah Sathu Sgr; presently residing at Mohalla Dalpatian/D-703, Vasurndhara Enclave Delhi. 11/2/2009
62. Smt. Asha Ji Raina W/o Late Sh. Kanya Lal Raina of Saraf Kadal Sg; presently residing of Qtr. No: 316, Phase-I, Muthi Camp Jammu. 11/2/2009.
63. Smt. Roopawati Rawal W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Rawal R/o H.No: 57, Sector-8, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu originally resident of 148 Bal Garden Sgr. 12/2/2009
64. Smt. Dulari Bhat W/o Sh. Ved Lal Bhat R/o H.No: 106, Lane-0, Tomal Colony Bhoori Jammu originally resident of Wagoora Baramulla Kmr. 12/2/2009
65. Smt. Arundati Kaul W/o Late Sh. Narayan Koul of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 236, Sector-28, Gurgoan. 12/2/2009
66. Smt. Somawati Koul W/o Late Sh. Govind Koul R/o H.No: 660, Lane-5D Extn. Suryavanshi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 12/2/2009
67. Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan of Babapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Govt. Qtr. No: 329, Top Sherkhania, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 14/2/2009

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## EDITORIAL

CAN PAKSITAN  
CHANGE

**C**AN Pakistan change its outlook about India, is a critical question which very few experts will answer in affirmative. President Obama's expression that Pakistan should look at India differently not as an enemy appears by and large a noble wish or at the most a political expediency.

The statement does carry an immediate political import. It assuages India's sense of hurt. It is also an assurance to Pakistan that it can divert its forces from its eastern front and use them in its crucial internal battles around Swat and surrounding areas.

However the way President Obama has raised this issue, carries for the first time the signals of an attempt to construct a new thinking on the region. There is a glimpse in this statement that the superpower is perhaps seeing a link between the outlook of the state of Pakistan about India and its transformation into a sanctuary of terrorism and international Jihad.

The statement can have positive portends across India. This is precisely so because public opinion in India has visualised Pakistan as a post war creation of Imperialist forces to have sway and control over the region even after the demise of colonialism. Public opinion in India has not registered that USA supported the movement for independence of India and exerted pressures on the British government to set India free immediately after the war. It is also true that USA supported independence of a United India and was averse to partition of India. Indian leadership at that time swayed more by leftist view of international politics saw USA and Great Britain with the same prism. It never acknowledged publicly the role of USA in the decision of Great Britain to retreat from India. But it is also true that USA in the post. 1947 period adopted a strategic view about Indian subcontinent as was evolved

by the British.

Can Obama's statement act as a harbinger of a new thinking about the region? That Pakistan can be stable if it becomes inclusive; it can become truly democratic if it shuns religious precedence and adopts right to equality; it can delegitimise the role of army and non state actors if it ceases to visualise itself as a frontline Islamic state for the export of Islamic sphere of influence towards east. This fundamental change can take place if Pakistan delinks its destiny from Kashmir. This delink is critical to start a process of change in Pakistan. Does Obama have such a perspective in mind, can unfold only in future.

However it is to be said with emphasis that even if Obama wants to bring about a transformation in Pakistan's outlook it cannot be done without the help of India. If the leadership in India accepts across the line the de-facto locus standi of Pakistan to determine and arbitrate the destiny of Muslims of India including the Muslims of Kashmir then the change in Pakistan will never come about even if Americans invest in it and Pakistan leadership wishes so.

It is in this context the silence of Indian leadership on Obama's statement assumes intriguing dimensions. The time has come where Govt. of India and the political establishment seeks a disconnect between the problems in Pakistan and Afghanistan from problems in Kashmir. It is the ripe time to assert unambiguously that any concession to Pakistan in Kashmir will hasten the Islamic upsurge and capture of Pakistan by radical Islamists. To expect Indian leadership to think of solutions which may be claimed as non-territorial but which essentially undermine secular vision of India will eventually strengthen international Jihad in the region and collapse of India as a secular polity.

## LETTERS

Highest Journalistic  
Etiquette

Sir,

May "Goddess Sharika Bestow you her supreme grace along with your all comrades to achieve the main objective of homeland for our community at the earliest possible moment. "Let there be a miracle".

May I say it is a unique journal of its type with highest journalistic etiquette which you may not find in other journals. It covers the details of the past events, happenings and some personalities in most lucid form which is a very good information of which we can say a 'rare treasure', "The preservative for posterity." It also covers the present political analysis of the events with precise and accurate details, a torch bearer for our intellectuals and those who govern us. It gives correct warning and message to our adversaries, whose mind gets up-set with such a correct and factual statements. "Overall it is a unique journal which must continue to run till eternity with same gusto". I wish our community could understand the value of "this" journal which is our great treasure for the posterity".

I have so far preserved each copy of Kashmir Sentinel for the records in our family in regular order.

May I thank you one and All in the end for being so generous to make it such a valuable thing for the community and the nation as a whole. If they understand what you say, all the problems of the nation regarding Kashmir will be solved.

Thanking you all noble people again and again and see that journal runs smoothly.

—R.N. Naqaib  
Dwarika, New Delhi.

## Who destroyed temples?

Sir,

According to a news item published in a local Hindai daily, Kashmiri Pandit Sangarsh Samiti (KPSS) organised an exhibition of 465 temple photographs, destroyed, disfigured or dissanctified in Kashmir during last 20 years. Shri Sanjay Tikoo, head of the KPSS specially invited extremist and separatist leaders to see the exhibition. Shri Tikoo asked these leaders to explain the responsibility of the majority community in saving temples and who indulged in these acts of destroying the valuable monuments and are being done continuously till date. It is said that leaders accepted the truth with their heads low and expressed unhappiness. Their expressions were full of remorse to see their own faces in mirrors of the photographs.

We appreciate the KPSS for organising such exhibition of the temples.

I would like to request you to kindly publish the details of these temples in your paper.

—K.D. Tewari  
Kanpur-2

## ATTENTION READERS

You have been reading *Kashmir Sentinel* regularly for more than a decade now. It is being published to the best of our efforts by a dedicated group purely on voluntary basis. The objective is to keep your goodself abreast with the latest in Politics, Culture, Heritage, History et-all. *Kashmir Sentinel* is doing its best to bring you the factual aspects of each subject and we have every reason to believe that it satisfies the requirement of our esteemed readers. However we do face some short comings which primary include financial support. This is our earnest appeal to all our respected readers to kindly donate generously to *Kashmir Sentinel*.

Please donate in form of DD/Cheque in favour of *Kashmir Sentinel* to be drawn at Jammu.  
Thanks  
--Editor

# INDIA, PAKISTAN AND TERRORISM

By Dr. M.K. Teng

**I**NTERNATIONAL terrorism has ravaged India for more than two decades. None, except the Indians themselves, have harboured any illusions about the objectives the terrorist violence, carried out almost everywhere in the country, is intended to achieve. To be fair to the Jehadi war groups they have spelt out the objectives they sought to achieve, in unambiguous terms.

Within the broad framework of the Islamic Revolution, the Jehadi wars have their objectives (a) the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian occupation and the unification of the state with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, (b) the enforcement of their extra-territorial right to protect the interests of the Muslims in the Hindu India; and (c) integrate the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir and the Muslims of India into the Mus-

lim movement for the unification of the Muslim Umah into a Muslim International.

## Containment of India

Pakistan has been an epicentre of the struggle for the unification of the Muslim Umah and its consolidation into a Muslim International. It has sponsored the Islamic Revolution and supported the fundamentalisation of the Muslim Umah. In fact, Pakistan was conceived by its founders as Muslim commonwealth committed to Islamic order of the society. The foundations of Pakistan were ideological. Not only Sir Mohammed Iqbal but also Quad-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the ideologue of the Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, consciously owned the "historic responsibility" of forging a state which was Muslim in composition and Muslim in outlook.

After its foundation, the first task Pakistani state undertook

was to Balkanise the Indian princely states and establish a foothold in the heart of the Indian mainland, to divide it further. Pakistan secured the accession of the princely state of Junagarh on one hand and on the other hand prompted the Nawab of Hyderabad to remain out of India. It embarked upon an invasion for the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir barely two and a half months after its establishment to extend its territories eastwards into the north of India. Pakistan failed to swallow Junagarh and help the ruler of Hyderabad to remain out of India. In both the states, military action united them with India. In Jammu and Kashmir the invading army entrenched itself in the Muslim majority districts of the state bordering Pakistan and conspired to break away the whole of Jammu and Kashmir state from India, but failed in its efforts.

Having failed to use the princely states to Balkanise India, Pakistan followed a three-pronged policy to contain it. First it assumed the role of leading the movement of the unification of the Muslim Umah into a Muslim International. Secondly, it adopted a policy of international alignments to encircle India. Thirdly it put itself on the course of military armament aimed to achieve a military parity with India.

The consolidation of the Muslim Umah into a Muslim International and the participation in the alliance systems achieved the objective of the containment of India to a considerable extent. The effect of the containment of India was visible in the India-China conflict of 1962. The Chinese pushed across the Mc Mahon Line a hundred miles to its south, virtually without any opposition from Indian army.

Pakistan, to consolidate its

ideological basis, proclaimed itself as an Islamic Republic and in the years that followed went through the Islamic Revolution. The Islamic Revolution underlined the fundamentalisation of the Muslim society to provide an ideological basis for the consolidation of the Muslim Umah into a Muslim International. The powers of the western alliance saw the consolidation of the Muslim Umah into a Muslim International as the most effective instrument in the ideological conflict of the Cold War, and the containment of Communism including India.

## The Jihad:

Pakistan put itself in the forefront of the Muslim Jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviet intervention. While the Jihad against the Soviet power continued, Pakistan embarked upon the militarisation of the pan-Islamic fundamentalism which it claimed

(Contd. on Page 11)

By J N Raina

**R**ENUKA CHOWDHURY's Roisterous call for "pub-baro aandholan", to protest against the so-called "male chauvinism", is preposterous. It is an attempt to denigrate the nation of one billion people and demean women. The dim-witted Union Minister for Women and Child Development is perhaps oblivious of the fact that pub culture is inimical to the Indian society. Pubs have become a breeding ground for drunkards, criminals, hooligans and rogues. They are responsible for the spread of drug-mafia and sex-mafia in different parts of the country.

The unpleasant rhetoric of the effusive Minister that there should be no bar on girls to throng pubs, is not only egregious, but also at variance with the benign assertion of Union Health Minister Anbumani Ramadoss that "pub culture is against the Indian ethos".

Well-meaning leaders like Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit and Rajasthan Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot are diametrically opposed to growing roadside pubs, especially in the South. Instead of raising a clamour to save boys and girls from drinking and smoking at pubs, she tries to disorientate the youth from the path of righteousness. On the contrary, the Health Minister has a clear-cut vision against the proliferation of pubs. He has made it clear that the proposed national alcoholic policy would help in curbing the pub culture. About 40 per cent of the road accidents in India are related to alcohol.

## Pub culture, Bane Of Indian Society

It is an agonizing fact that girls have been smoking and drinking in pubs. Some of them were reportedly drugged at the Mangalore pub, raped and later killed. No one had raised an alarm, till the Sri Ram Sena surfaced. The society just blinked. Is it a healthy sign? Ramadoss has rendered a yeoman service to the nation by helping to ban smoking at public places. Pub culture, he says, is not in India's interest. "If it goes this way, I do not think India will progress", he has observed.

According to a study, drinking among youth has increased by 60 per cent during the past six years. Instead of caring for women and children, Renuka Chowdhury wants girls to go to pubs. It is mind-boggling.

No sane person will hesitate from condemning the assault on girls at Amnesia—an unlicensed pub in Mangalore—by Sri Ram Sena. It is insulting to the nation that girls were dragged by the hair, allegedly molested and beaten up. They should have been scolded and threatened. But to suggest that the youth have a democratic right to drink and attend pubs and bars, is immoral. That such an idiotic statement has come from the Union Minister for Child Development is more serious and ludicrous. The countrymen were left aghast while watching her comments on TV sets, rebuking Sena Chief Pramod Mutalik. With ashes in her mouth, Renuka told him: "You are not married" and hence

he was against pubbing by girls. It does not behove a minister of her stature to exhibit vulgarity. What has Mutalik's marriage to do with pubbing?

Renuka's own house is in disarray on the issue. The Chairperson of the National Commission for Women, Girija Vyas, had to face wrath from a member of the Commission, Nirmala Venkatesh, who was deputed to inquire into the Mangalore pub incident. But when she found fault with the pub owner on the grounds of security, she was asked to resign. The latter gave a rebuff to Vyas

## GUEST COLUMN

and Renuka. The Commission Member refused to step down.

Sheila Dikshit has abhorred pub culture, saying it has no place in our society. Pubs should not be allowed near educational institutions, she has asserted. Ashok Gehlot has equally criticized the pub culture.

Ordinary folk are totally against the mushroom growth of pubs. People are against smoking and drinking of women and youth. It is against Indian sanskriti. A large number of pubs have come up on roadside in Mangalore, Bangalore, Mysore and Goa, like tea shops during the past two decades. They have become a haven for drug peddlers and sex-mafia.

If smoking has been banned at public places and dance bars have been closed down in Mumbai, what is wrong if the Karnataka Chief Minister B S

Yeddyurappa decides to close down pubs in public interest to create a congenial atmosphere in his state. However, there is no justification for violence that was witnessed in Mangalore. He has a right to dismantle the pubs. They are a nuisance to the society. Renuka Chowdhury should have resigned on moral grounds for her exhibition of vulgar behaviour. She has shown no rectitude. An overwhelming majority of the Indians believe pubs encourage smoking and drinking. Girls are forced to dance nude, to the amusement of the onlookers. What must be the lot of their parents, who might suffer in silence, several hundred miles away

The Mangalore incident has been exaggerated to the hilt. The attack on women does not tantamount to Talibanisation. No one was beheaded. India is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society. Our Constitution does not give a free license to drink and delve in debauchery. Women have a lot of liberty to attend any club of their choice, but in a dignified way. They are the backbone of modern society and represent a variety of Indian culture. A woman is a nucleus of an Indian family. No one would like to see her hanging in a pub. No one can allow denigration of women, who have the authority to control their home affairs and curb drinking tendencies of their counterparts.

Girls are being robbed of their modesty in a pub. They have to bear children and become mothers of tomorrow. If drinking

habits are inculcated in them from ab initio, it will affect their children and spoil their lively atmosphere at home. The number of suicide cases are on the increase. If the girls are allowed to drink, the coming generations will emerge as a society of drunkards, scoundrels and rascals. Did Mahatma Gandhi fight for independence or nurturing pub culture?

When the society behaves irresponsibly and just blinks, organizations like the Sri Ram Sena are bound to grow. A few years ago, groups of women in a village in Satara district of Maharashtra took out a series of anti-liquor rallies and against drunkenness of their husbands. Ultimately they succeeded. Today they are a happy lot. When the administration remains a passive spectator to the growth of pubs and the society lacks interest in guarding the youth from drinking and smoking, organizations like the Ram Sena have a right to intervene and correct the situation. If it were not Sena, any other group of intellectuals, or saner elements could emerge and assert their right to stop the misguided youth from indulging in such baneful activities. The youth have to be educated. The standard of life has to be elevated. Education has to be made free and compulsory, if we want to fight against such tendencies. The explanation that Indian girls and women do a lot of things—fly aeroplanes, join defence forces, have climbed Everest et al, but 'sala' girls cannot drink in a pub is nonsensical. Such an argument is imponderable. Pubs are a curse on the Indian society. Let there be no doubt about it.



# Dousing the Fires of JIHAD IN PAKISTAN



By Dr. Ajay Chrungoo

**T**HE new government in USA lead by President Obama has claimed to create a new regime of thinking to fight Islamic terrorism. The fo-

solution of Kashmir problem have not died. But US governments categorical advice articulated by Obama himself that India is not a threat to Pakistan and that Pakistan needs to change its views about India creates a space for a new thinking on the region.

For the first time at least from a very optimistic and theoretical point of view one can venture to debate now that the problem of Pakistan is the nature of Pakistan itself. Unless this nature undergoes a transformation the

all goes off, a nuclear bomb in a US or European city. I am sure we will find ourselves looking in Pakistan's direction."

Without generating a legitimate and vigorous introspection into the vital and important components of the polity in Pakistan, the financial bailout by USA only helps to nourish the vicious cycle of duplicity, deceit and deception which the Pakistani state has practised. To believe that the Pakistan Government and army have shunned ambivalence and duplicity and



Barak Obama



Asif Ali Zardari

from Kahuta and has taken control of at least that command centres of the Nuclear Bomb possessed by Pakistan. A few examples will suffice to make us re-examine our premises.

Pakistani military continued its nuclear procurements even

very day Richard Armitage and General Pervez Musharraf in Islamabad were having a discussion to finalise how to settle the A.Q Khan issue. On October 21, 2003 Humayun Khan took the delivery of the first batch of spark gaps in Pakistan. The



Taliban forces in action at Swat.



People fleeing Swat in the aftermath of Pakistani Army action in Swat.

cus is gradually shifting from Iraq to Pakistan which is being gradually recognised as the epicentre of global terrorism. Adrian Leve and Catherine Scott-Clark in their work 'Deception' have reflected the view now shared by a large corpus of experts on international politics and terrorism when they say, "when politicians in London and Washington describe Musharraf as a key ally in the war on terror, what they really mean is that he is their only Islamic ally in the region. So with the White House and 10 Downing Street unable to countenance an alternative, Musharraf's Pakistan remains at the epicentre of terror, a disingenuous regime with its hands on the nuclear tiller".

The apprehensions in India that Brak Obama links the improvement in situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan to the

motor which drives the polity in Pakistan to virulent anti-Americanism, compulsive hatred for India and voluntary embracing of Jihad, cannot be turned off. To think that Obama meant this when he urged Pakistan to change its outlook with regard to India is perhaps reading too much between and into the lines.

The release of 1.5 billion dollars of aid to Pakistan at this juncture once again pin points to the fact that USA has not as yet shunned the suicidal expediency with regard to Pakistan which has plagued its outlook to contain the global Islamic stridency and violence. A former advisor to Bush Regime on weapons of Mass Destruction who lead researches tracking Pakistan's nuclear progress from its inception categorically states, "Pakistan is top of the list. It is the number one threat to the world at this moment in time. If it

are rallying round to decisively counter radical Islam and its military might is very premature. To convey that the consent and compliance of Pakistani state in the war against Al Qaeda, Taliban and Muslim international is critical to US lead war on terror is fraught with the same consequences as has been the patronising of the Zia-ul-Haq regime and eventually Pervez Musharraf. How many times did President Bush describe Pervez Musharraf as 'his best friend' and the most important 'ally' in the war against terror. These dictators always thought that the US alliance with Pakistan was more critical than the concerns of USA on nuclear proliferation and the imperatives of global war on terror.

Many believe that USA is fully entrenched in Pakistan, has defanged the nuclear smuggling network run by notorious KRL

after the smashing of the network of Dr Qader Khan. While Musharraf was negotiating AQ Khan's expulsions and eventual house arrest with Bush in New York, Pakistani Military establishment was continuing with the procurement of material related to nuclear proliferation. Asher Karni of Top-Cape Technology, a Captown firm that imported US electronic goods to South Africa, was asked by a Islamabad based firm which was only a front for Pakistani military, to procure thirty-six US manufactured oscilloscopes for Pakistan, costing \$1.3 million. Bush refused to raise the issue with Musharraf at Camp David on 24 June 2003. Three days later the South African company confirmed Islamabad that they had procured spark gaps in the US at \$950 per piece. The first batch of sixty-six spark gaps arrived in South Africa on 8 Oct, 2004. That

shipment was useless because customs agents and anti proliferation sleuths had switched the spark gaps for harmless components keeping the whole affair out of Musharraf's knowledge. The entire affair came to court in March 2005 in USA. Intriguingly the US State Department had closed down many requests to travel to Pakistan to interview Humayun Khan, who if extradited and found guilty could have been jailed. It was openly reported that 'Suddenly the US government was afraid of offending Pakistan, its partner in war on terror.' During Zia-ul-Haq's time also the US government had ambushed court cases, sealed them and those accused in smuggling equipment and material related to nuclear proliferation were allowed to leave USA.

General Musharraf took over

(Contd. on Page 6)



By Binoos Joshi

**N**OT all marriages are made in heaven. Some are solemnised at the point of a gun - as many women and teenaged girls in Jammu and Kashmir will tell you.

Forced marriage to militants has wrecked their lives in the insurgency-wracked state. Fatima Bi, now 16, who belonged to Chatroo, a mountainous village in Kishtwar district, told IANS over telephone that she was just 12 when she was abducted by militants.

She was studying in Class 7 in a local government school when one day a group of four militants led by Sher Khan, then divisional commander of Harkat-ul-Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI), barged into their house and kidnapped her.

'I was studying at that time when they abducted me,' she said.

'They took me to their hideout in the nearby forest where they beat me and tortured me for eight days. They hit me with rods on my thighs and threatened to kill my family if I did not marry Hashim Ditta,' she said.

She said Ditta was a close friend of Sher Khan and a helper of HUJI.

'She was forced to marry Ditta at gun point,' said a police officer in Kishtwar.

Fatima wanted to study and become a teacher. 'But my dreams were shattered after they abducted and forcibly married me to Ditta,' Fatima said. Ten months after her marriage she gave birth to a son and her 'childhood was snatched away when I delivered this baby'.

A 'happy moment' for Fatima came when Sher Khan along with his two associates surrendered before the security forces last year.

'Except for bearing Ditta's child I never took him as my husband and there never was any such feeling as it was a forced marriage that ruined me,' she said.

Sher Khan was sentenced to imprisonment for eight years. Fatima took this as an opportunity and fled Ditta's house along with her infant son.

Ditta's parents, however, lodged a missing person report with police. Fatima went to her relatives in an adjoining village and fell in love with a farmer.

## Married to militants and living in hell: Kashmiri girls

Her second chance at life was however not so easy as the local clerics said even if it was a forced marriage, Fatima would have to live with Ditta until they got legally separated.

Similar is the story of 18-year-old Chana whose nightmare started in early 2007.

A Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA) militant called Farid fell for her when he saw her grazing cattle

in the Chicha area of Kishtwar district. She too was forced to marry at gun point.

'I too had dreams of getting married to a well-to-do person with all the rituals,' said Chana. 'But in forced marriages like ours it is just a couple of militants and a maulvi who form the marriage gathering.'

A few months later, a Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) militant,

Khalid, operating in the area, wanted to marry Chana and asked Farid to divorce her. But when Farid declined, the LeT militant shot him dead and also shot Chana in the left leg.

She was forced to marry Khalid and now lives with him along with her and Farid's infant son.

--Courtesy: IANS Service

# Dousing the Fires of Jihad in Pakistan

(From Page 5)

the Khan's mill manufacturing nuclear components immediately after he had made himself President, restructuring it and transforming it into a world class facility with extraordinary input. In 2005 Lt. General Abdul Qayum Khan, the chairman of the mill said, "It was through Musharraf's daring, honest and visionary leadership that we have seized the moment". What did he mean was explained candidly by General KM Arif who had run the nuclear programme. He said about the nuclear business and the People's Steel Mill created by Dr Qader Khan as, "We have labs and the industry to rival the west. Once we sulked around. Now Pakistan is producing high-frequency invertors. They used to come from the UK and now we are selling them ourselves. Maraging steel too. Once we struggled but now finally we are manufacturing it at People's Steel Mill and exporting it. It is better than you can get outside".

Maraging Steel is used in high quality centrifuges used in enrichment of uranium. For Pakistan state to untemalise the view that USA will overlook its national interests to accommodate Pakistan is not a wishful state of mind the ground.

Proliferation experts have almost confirmed that Pakistan has continued to sell nuclear technology even after Musharraf became the best friend of Bush. Nobody has taken notice of the release of Dr Qader Khan from house arrest by the Pakistani courts under the supervision of Zardari government which has been having turbulent times and which cannot survive without the American support. Release of Khan is an affront which USA has swallowed as it has done many times in past to preserve its relation with Pakistan.

During the uncertainty in Pakistan caused by the lawyers long march the former Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharief said in an interview to an Indian channel that, "I am not worried

about happenings in Swat. I am worried about what is happening in Baluchistan." The implications of the statement were ignored. The statement basically reflected the dominant view in Pakistan that does not view Isalmisation and consequent radicalisation as a threat to National Unity and progress but

### CONTINUATION

sees the repressed subnational urges as the threat to Pakistan.

To see army operations in certain parts of Pakistan as a corrective applied by the Pakistan state to change itself is erroneous and the new US regime is perhaps committing this error. The army operations against Taliban and non-state actors is in essence a vicious struggle for control of power. In essence Pakistani army is seeking only to tame the non-state actors so that they agree to work within the discipline and parameters created by Pakistani state more specifically the Pakistan

Army. The Taliban and other Non State actors on the othre hand are exerting the pressures on Pakistani army to conform to the dictates of Pan Islamic vision and act as its sword arm. If Pakistani Army wins it will seek to play the determining role not only as a frontline Muslim state but also as a nuclear Muslim state to shape the politics which will be none other than Islamic. If Taliban and Al Qaeda win the will of Pakistani army, will be subassumed into their will. Both ways the space for egalitarian and moderate politics is either obliterated or exists only as a mirage. US has been chasing this mirage to its own determinant.

When Brak Obama says Pakistan has to change its outlook with regard to India does it mean a fundamental change in outlook or is it only diplomatic assurance to Pakistan that India has been forewarned of any misadventure while Pakistani Army is grappling with its internal menace.

If Brak Obama means a

fundamental change then we will see restructuring and recasting of international debate in Pakistan. Pakistan in such a scenario will have to cease to be a Muslim pocket created in post War period as a twin brother of Israel to contain or divide Asia. To help Pakistan to recast its outlook means changing its character. Pakistan has to emerge as a country where pluralism takes roots on a principal of equality which cannot happen so far political Islam takes precedence in its National Vision. Pakistan even if it wishes to emerge as a polity on the principal of equality, cannot do so unless it delinks comprehensively from Kashmir. Kashmir is the cardinal expression of Pakistan being a frontline Muslim state for the expansion of Muslims power towards east. So Kashmir acts as a motor to drives the mills of Jihad. Any solution to Kashmir which palacates Jihad will never help in dousing its fires. It well only act as its fuel for expanding to new frontiers.

# Pakistani Politics Post-Musharraf: Challenges Ahead

By Sumita Kumar

**T**HAT Asif Ali Zardari would bag the presidency, and with such an overwhelming majority, was a remote possibility back in October 2007, at the time when Benazir Bhutto made her comeback to Pakistan. With a turn of political fortune, a windfall has come Pakistan People's Party's (PPP's) way, occupying as it does two of the three centres of power (troika) in Pakistan. The third member of the 'troika', the army chief, backed in any case the candidature of Zardari, and restoration of democracy which would in turn help restore the credibility of the army. Yet, even with this seeming position of strength, there are innumerable challenges for the fledgling democratic government. These range from the sheer survival and stability of the coalition government and its dynamics to having a benign working relationship with the opposition, most notably Nawaz Sharif. The success of many crucial decisions will also largely depend on how PPP's equations with the establishment unfold. It is going to face stark choices in confronting the problem of terrorism both within and across the border in Afghanistan. Correspondingly, the political leadership is going to have to adroitly manage its foreign policy agenda without compromising its strategic interests. It has to deal with the range of complexities arising from the US presence within the country which has led to discordant voices and opinions. Pakistan's relations with its neighbours like Afghanistan and India are a cause and effect of its counter-terrorism policies. Also, it would hope to buttress old friendships with other important powers in the region, like China.

The consolidation of the PPP would be challenged by some very pressing problems like the economic slowdown, rising inflation, food shortage, and the energy crisis. That apart, long-pending demands for some semblance of provincial autonomy would need to be looked at with a fresh perspective. Progress on such issues will also depend on whether the opposition decides to play a responsible and constructive role. Nawaz Sharif's support to the PPP-led Democratic Government will depend to a large extent on whether Zardari will reopen corruption cases against Nawaz even as he himself seeks protection behind the National Reconciliation Ordinance. It will also be a difficult decision for Zardari to let go of all the

powers amassed by him under the presidency, and pave the way for a parliamentary form of government. As the power to dissolve the elected government rests with the president, it provides a safety valve for the PPP Government for the time being at least.

At the moment the government's attention is diverted by the hold that the radical religious forces have within the country. The most recent manifestation of the dangers posed is the assassination attempt on Prime Minister Gilani, for which the Tehrik-e-Taliban claimed responsibility. Gilani was blamed for the heightened offensive against the militants since early August 2008. The military operations in Bajaur [Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)] and Swat [North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)] in the last one and a half months or so, have relied more on air power compared to ground troops. These operations have been considered to be very successful given the numbers of Taliban casualties. The Tehrik-e-Taliban, perhaps feeling pressurized, offered a ceasefire to the government which was rejected. The government in fact imposed a ban on it after the attack on the Pakistan Ordnance Factory at Wah. Events over the last few weeks have shown that the government has shifted its strategy from negotiations to use of force. The United States in any case has been unhappy with the peace negotiations between the Pakistani Government and the militants. The peace talks with the Pakistani Taliban headed by Baitullah Mehsud have come to a standstill, as also the negotiations with the militants in Swat. The military operation in Bajaur tribal agency, which was halted during Ramzan, has been resumed. For a coherent counter-terrorism policy to evolve and be effective, all the players involved must have similar interests. For the time being, the military operations did not prevent Maulana Fazlur Rehman from offering the support of his party for the candidature of Zardari as president. Yet, it remains to be seen how the government is going to be able to balance demands made in the future by the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazlur (JUI-F) with respect to its policy on terrorism.

The Inter-Services Intelligence's (ISI) links to the Taliban in the past have been well established. Even today, its sympathies for various militant entities like Mangal Bagh of the Lashkar-i-Islam are documented in Pakistani publications. He is

reportedly supported by the ISI, with an inflow of both money and arms, so that the supply of oil and other products to the NATO forces in Afghanistan is held up.<sup>1</sup> This brings to the fore the continuing divergence in the policies being pursued at different levels in the Pakistani establishment. In fact, the recent ill-fated attempt by the government to place the ISI under the interior ministry has been attributed in part to US pressure and revelations by the CIA Deputy Director Stephen R. Kappes and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Adm. Michael G. Mullen, in the middle of July 2008, about links of ISI officials with the militants. This was augmented by evidence given by the CIA head, Michael V. Hayden during Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani's visit to Washington in late July 2008. Zardari, as president, currently heads two important institutions in Pakistan, i.e. the National Security Council and the National Command Authority. His decision to tamper with the ISI was not received kindly, given the retraction of the decision. This poses questions about the future comfort levels between the president and the ISI.

The army's continued involvement in devising strategies for combating the escalating violence on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border is apparent. Army Chief Kayani not only participated in a meeting of the Tripartite Commission in Afghanistan one day after Musharraf's resignation, but was also part of a high-level conference held on board an American aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln in the Indian Ocean, which included, amongst others, Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (United States). The challenge for the Pakistan Government is going to be in convincing its citizens that the crackdown on militancy is in Pakistan's interest and not just an agenda superimposed by the United States. While intrusions into Pakistani airspace by predators and drones has happened on earlier occasions, the incident of a ground attack in early September 2008, in which more than two dozen members of the US Navy Seals took part, is indicative of a stepped up offensive on the part of the United States. The Pakistan Government has made pro forma protests on such occasions, but is continuing to support the United States crackdown against militants. The Pakistani parliament has strongly con-

demned the recent attack by Western coalition troops in South Waziristan, as a gross violation of sovereignty. The Army chief emphasized that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country would be defended at all costs and no external force would be allowed to conduct operations within the country. It is crucial that the army places its non-concurrence with the recently revealed US plans for limited ground assaults in Pakistan on record. Yet, it is not sure to what extent the Pakistani army will be able to follow a policy independent of US dictates. Whichever US party comes to power in the United States, it seems that the overall United States emphasis on direct military intervention in Pakistan's tribal areas will remain. While this is sure to shore up the already prevalent anti-US sentiment within Pakistan, it would also have an impact on the acceptability of the new president and the credibility of the army led by Kayani, with both being perceived to be pro-US.

Afghanistan has been an important element of Pakistan's security as it provides strategic depth against India. Also Afghanistan's strategic location provides for Pakistan a gateway to Central Asia. Clearly, Afghanistan's relevance to Pakistan remains potent, as is evident by Pakistan's continued strategy of destabilizing the Karzai Government, a regime which is considered to be closer to New Delhi than to Islamabad. The Karzai Government has on a number of occasions expressed its anger and frustration with the Pakistan Government, criticizing it for its complicity in providing safe havens to the Taliban. It condemned and implicated the ISI in the attack on the Indian embassy in Kabul in early July 2008. President Karzai was the guest of honour at Zardari's swearing-in ceremony and portrayed hope that the two countries could perhaps tackle the scourge of terrorism. Whether this belief is sustained will depend not only on the moves made by Zardari to control the Taliban activities across the border, but whether this will coincide with the desires of the ISI! and the army which have always been suspected of supporting anti-Afghanistan operations of the Taliban.

Pakistan's relations with India are in a state of suspended animation since the terrorist attack on the Indian embassy in Kabul in July 2008. Despite Pakistan's denial of any ISI involvement, India continues to

believe that the ISI does play a role in abetting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and elsewhere in India, as well as infiltration across the Line of Control (LoC). Consequently, the fifth round of composite dialogue between the two foreign secretaries has been stalled despite attempts to clear the mist on the sidelines of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit in Colombo. Pakistan has not endeared itself to Indian policymakers by making unwarranted accusations of use of excessive force during recent agitations in Kashmir, on the question of land transfer to Amarnath shrine boards. Even though attempts are being made on both sides to carry forward the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs), for example cross-LoC trade, no major breakthrough on the Sir Creek, Siachen, or Kashmir seems possible in the foreseeable future. The new Pakistani leadership has made some positive noises, like Zardari's remarks that there would soon be 'good news' on Kashmir, and General Kayani's mention of a 'national consensus' already existing on Kashmir. However, the Pakistani establishment's basic intentions towards India remain suspect, given the string of blasts in Delhi in September, 2008 and Indian suspicions about its continued support to terror modules operating in India.

Of particular interest would be Zardari's approach towards China. While Pakistan's relations with China in the last four decades have been limited to cooperation in the defence and nuclear fields, a new emphasis on economic and energy cooperation has clearly emerged. Pakistan has enjoyed considerable diplomatic support from China, and Zardari would like to further strengthen it. China will remain a top priority for Zardari. China would be critical in the backdrop of the severe energy crisis being faced by Pakistan, and the recent Indo-US deal which perhaps gives hope to Pakistan that China may use the deal as leverage to assist Pakistan in the development of nuclear energy for civilian purposes.

All in all, President Zardari is going to have to tread carefully in setting a domestic and foreign policy agenda which is realistic and can eventually contribute to giving elected civilian governments in Pakistan the respect and credibility that they crave.

--Courtesy: *Strategic Analysis*



**N**EARLY three months ago, several men in a rubber raft landed on the shores of a bustling financial capital as the sun began to set. They scattered in different directions, carrying backpacks with automatic weapons, hand grenades and satellite phones.

Within just a few hours, innocent civilians were lying in the street, buildings were burning, hostages feared for their lives, and a city was under siege.

News of the attack quickly circled the globe, from traditional media coverage to streaming video, blogs, text messages and even twitters. The attackers used that same technology, not only to monitor the movements of police and rescue teams and to evade capture, but to communicate with their leaders, who were some distance away.

It was an attack both highly coordinated and deceptively simple in its execution. Of course, I am speaking about Mumbai, in which terrorists killed more than 170 individuals and wounded more than 300.

This type of attack reminds us that terrorists with large agendas and little money can use rudimentary weapons to maximize their impact.

And it again raises the question of whether a similar attack could happen in Seattle or San Diego, Miami or Manhattan.

#### **Globalization and evolution of the terrorist threat**

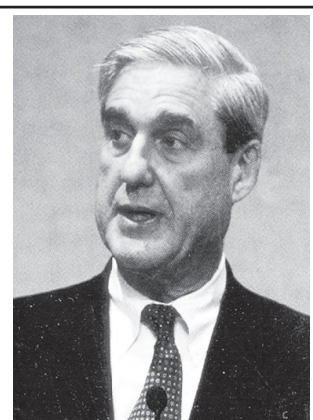
The world in which we live has changed markedly in recent years, from the integration of global markets and the ease of international travel to the rise and the reach of the Internet. But our perception of the world—and our place in it—also has changed.

Last year, scientists captured the first pictures of what they believe to be faraway planets circling stars outside of our solar system. Astronomers have identified more than 300 of these so-called “extrasolar” planets in the past 13 years.

These modern-day explorers seek to confirm what they believe to be out there—to see what has not yet been seen.

These discoveries make our world seem at once smaller and yet infinitely more vast. And they leave us with the feeling that there is much more out there to be found.

From a law enforcement and intelligence perspective, there is always more to be found. But we are not quite so optimistic about what we will discover—new threats, new technologies and new targets.



**Robert S. Mueller**

The universe of crime and terrorism stretches out infinitely before us, and we, too, are working to find what we believe to be out there, but cannot always see.

In the aftermath of September 11th, our world view was somewhat limited. We were primarily concerned with al Qaeda's leadership and its structure.

Today, we still face threats from al Qaeda. But we must also focus on less well-known terrorist groups, as well as homegrown terrorists. And we must consider extremists from visa-waiver countries, who are merely an e-ticket away from the United States.

Our primary threat continues to come from the tribal areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. But we are seeing persistent activity elsewhere, from the Maghreb and the Sahel [in Africa] to Yemen.

We are increasingly concerned with pockets of people around the world that identify with al Qaeda and its ideology. Some may have little or no actual contact with al Qaeda.

Yet, fringe organizations can quickly gain broader aspirations and appeal. And should they connect with the core of al Qaeda, from training to the planning and execution of attacks, the game becomes radically different.

In each of the plots we have disrupted since September 11th, some have asked whether the individuals in question had the intent and the capability to carry out their plans.

There will always be a tension between acting early to disrupt a plot in its planning stages, and continuing to investigate until we are certain that the individuals in question are poised to attack. And in each case, that calibration will be different.

Take the planned attack against Fort Dix [in New Jersey], for example. The men we convicted had engaged in target practice in the woods of Penn-

# Partners in Fighting TERRORISM

sylvania. They had watched al Qaeda training videos. They had a map of the base and a plan to get in. And they had purchased semi-automatic weapons from an FBI sting operation.

Like the Mumbai attackers, these men wanted to inflict as much damage as they could. And as the Mumbai attacks illustrate, the simplest of weapons can be quite deadly when combined with capability and intent.

We must also recognize that events outside of our control may impact our national security. World politics often shape terrorist and criminal threats against the United States.

Those same politics can alter the perception of the United States in the eyes of the international community. And what of civil unrest, resource scarcity, and a shifting global economy?

A crisis in the Horn of Africa may well have a ripple effect in Minneapolis, as we shall discuss in a moment. The fall of Communism opened the door to a virtual army of cyber thieves. The integration of cultures around the world has facilitated state-sponsored espionage, a thriving child pornography market, as well as heightened gang activity.

#### **Addressing the threat**

Admittedly, this overview sounds rather dire. And it underscores the need for first-rate intelligence and strong international partnerships.

Canadian hockey great Wayne Gretzky was once asked how he consistently managed to be at the right place on the ice at the right time. He said that while some players skate to where the puck has been, he skates to where the puck will be.

The same is true for those of us in the FBI. We need to know where the threat is moving, and we need to get there first.

The tools upon which we built our reputation as a law enforcement organization—the development of sources, surveillance, communication intercepts and forensic analysis—are the same tools necessary for a security service.

Our challenge comes in developing the intelligence to disrupt an attack before the fact.

To be effective, we must de-

liberately collect intelligence to fill gaps between our cases, and gaps in our knowledge base. And that intelligence gathering will differ from city to city, and state to state, just as criminal and terrorist threats differ.

We must also determine if threats around the world translate to potential threats here at home. If there is a suicide bombing in Somalia, are we at greater risk? Do we understand the full extent of that threat?

We must weigh the value of an early prosecution of select individuals against the benefit of collecting the intelligence necessary to dismantle the entire network.

As Jonathan Evans, director of MI5, has said, “Knowing of somebody is not the same as knowing all about them.” And he is right.

In every case where an individual poses a threat, we must ask key questions: Where has this individual been? Who are his associates, and where are they now? What are they doing, and who are they talking to?

This targeted intelligence-gathering takes time. It requires patience, precision and dedication. And it requires a unity of effort, here at home and overseas.

Intelligence enables us to see the unseen, to discover new threats on the horizon. Yet, even the best intelligence will not provide complete certainty, given the nature and number of the threats we face.

The question remains: How do we protect ourselves from threats that emanate from overseas? We cannot close our borders or cut off the Internet. We must start at the source.

The day before the attacks in Mumbai, Special Agent Steve Merrill—a legal attache in the FBI's New Delhi office—was enjoying his first day off in nearly a month. He was on his way to Jodhpur to play cricket on the U.S. Embassy Team in the Maharajah's annual tournament.

For the record, you do not need to know how to play cricket to work in the FBI's New Delhi office, but it certainly does not hurt.

The moment we learned of the

attacks, Steve made his way to Mumbai. All he had were the clothes on his back, his BlackBerry, and his cricket gear.

He immediately made contact with his Indian counterparts and got to work. No red tape, no turf battles—just first responded, standing shoulder to shoulder in a time of crisis.

For three days, Mumbai was a blur of gunshots, explosions, fire and confusion. In the midst of that mayhem, Steve helped to rescue Americans trapped inside the Taj Hotel.

He set up lines of communication with his FBI and intelligence community counterparts. And he coordinated the arrival of our Rapid Deployment Team.

Even before the crisis ended, the investigation had begun. Agents from FBI offices in New Delhi and Islamabad joined forces with the Indian government, the CIA, the State Department, MI6 and New Scotland Yard.

Through these partnerships, we had unprecedented access to evidence and intelligence. Agents and analysts conducted more than 60 interviews, including that of the lone surviving attacker. Our forensic specialists pulled fingerprints from improvised explosive devices. They recovered data from damaged cell phones, in one case by literally wiring a smashed phone back together.

At the same time, we collected, analyzed and disseminated intelligence to our partners at home and abroad—not only to determine how these attacks were planned, and by whom, but to ensure that if a second wave of attacks was in the offing, we possessed the intelligence to stop it.

Our work in Mumbai was not out of the ordinary. To counter these threats, we must first understand them through intelligence. Once we gain an understanding, our law enforcement authorities allow us to move against individuals and networks.

We are not an intelligence service that collects, but does not act; nor are we a law enforcement service that acts without

(Contd. on Page 11)



# ‘Shastri stood like a rock’

*We below reproduce a conversation between Lt. Sh. T.N. Kaul former Foreign Secretary and twice Ambassador to USSR and Sh. Atul Aneja Senior Correspondent of the Hindu. The conversation was published in the special volume of the Hindu "INDIA" on Aug 15th, 1997 to Commemorate 50th Anniversary of Indian Independence. --Editor*

By Atul Aneja

**T**HE presence of Soviet submarines in the Indian waters and China's decision of nonintervention dissuaded the United States from directly intervening in the India-Pakistan war of 1971, says the former Foreign Secretary and twice Ambassador to the USSR, T. N. Kaul, in an interview.

The material and political support from the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Sino-



Late Sh. T.N. Kaul

Indian war of 1962, along with the Tashkent declaration, had prepared the ground for friendly ties between New Delhi and Moscow. But the Soviet disillusionment with Pakistan, growing from 1966 to 1969, removed the last hurdle in the way of establishing special ties with India.

"We had signed an agreement for the MiG-21 fighters with the Soviet Union prior to 1962. In 1963, some tanks were provided according to schedule at reasonable terms. But sections of the Soviet establishment were dragging their feet. I went to President Khrushchev to ask for his intervention. He said India was a friend but China was a brother. That was not very encouraging. I met Khrushchev again a fortnight later and he was much more cooperative then. He told me that the Cuban missile crisis was at its height when we had met last and that the Soviet Union was in combat readiness against the United States then. At that time they (the Soviets) did not want to provoke China by promising India more arms. But now, he said, we can assure you that we can give all the

equipment you have asked for and more. The whole problem was resolved by December 1962 itself."

The Soviet offer of mediation at Tashkent was almost rejected by India but bold diplomacy put the Soviet-sponsored dialogue back on track. "India's first reaction to the Soviet offer was rather negative. When I got the signal to convey the decision to the Soviet Union, I took the risk of sending back a telegram on the pros and cons. I pointed out that the Soviet Union was offering its good offices to two Asian countries on Asian soil. The good offices of the Western countries had not helped us... Secondly, I said that if we accept the Soviet offer, we should make it clear to the Soviets that we cannot give up our stand on Kashmir. If they give this assurance, we should accept it... The Cabinet met again and agreed to this proposal."

**Talks at Tashkent saw Lal Bahadur Shastri locking horns with the Soviet Premier Alexi Kosygin, when the latter came up with a proposal for a final settlement of Kashmir.** "I can recall that Shastri looked at the Soviet Prime Minister in the eye and said: 'Prime Minister, you will have to find another Indian Prime Minister to agree to this.' To this, Kosygin said the proposal was not really his but that of President Ayub Khan of Pakistan." Shastri really stood like a rock at Tashkent."

Kaul continues: "The Pakistani Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was against an agreement on non-use of force, though his President Ayub Khan had accepted the proposal. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, came and told me that Bhutto was being difficult. I said if he felt so, why did he not pick up the phone which was lying on the table and give Bhutto a piece of his mind. To my utter surprise, Gromyko actually picked up the phone and in my presence scolded Bhutto, saying that he was acting against the wishes of his President and that he had no business to do so. He then put the phone down. Finally, Ayub signed the commitment in his own hand."

It took India three years to



Tashkent Agreement.

file photo

convince the Soviets not to cultivate the Pakistanis soon after the Tashkent agreement.

"When Mrs. Gandhi visited Moscow in September 1966, there was a banquet in the St. George's hall in the Kremlin. There was Mrs. Gandhi, then Kosygin, Brezhnev and myself among others... Soon after the banquet had begun, I deliberately asked my hosts in a very loud voice whether they really believed they could wean Pakistan away from China and the U.S. I said, if they supplied weapons to Pakistan, they will weaken friendly relations with us. Please take this as a friendly warning from us. Everybody looked up at me. I remember Brezhnev cocking his head towards me inquisitively. Mrs. Gandhi did not disapprove of what I said. In fact, she had a wry smile on her face. The Soviets did take note of what I had said. In 1969, Kosygin came to India and said that the Soviet efforts to cultivate Pakistan had failed. The Indo-Soviet friendship was now really on solid ground.

"The Indo-Soviet treaty took two years to be drafted from 1969 onwards and was directed at deterring third-party intervention, including China and the United States, in case war was thrust upon India... The timing of the Indo-Soviet treaty was partly the imminence of the Bangladesh war and Pakistan mounting its sabotage acts, par-

ticularly in the eastern sector.

"Mrs. Gandhi had a very accurate sense of timing and she chose the timing. In fact, the Soviets were a little surprised when we said that we were ready to sign. In any case, it had become clear by March, 1971 when Bhutto visited Dhaka and

there was that massacre of 50 intellectuals that the war had become inevitable.

'An unprecedented personal rapport between Rajiv Gandhi and the Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev, raised the Indo-Soviet friendship to a new high in the Eighties.'

## Stop backing terror in India: US to Pak

NEWS

**A** US bill seeking to triple non-military aid to Pakistan to a massive \$1.5 billion annually has asked Islamabad to stop supporting terror groups active in India, recognising that certain elements in its establishment, specially ISI, have aided and trained such organisations over the past few decades.

The Pakistan Enduring Assistance and Cooperation Enhancement (PEACE) Act, carrying bi-partisan support, has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Howard L Berman, Chairman of powerful House Foreign Affairs Committee. An identical bill is scheduled to be tabled in Senate soon.

The bill aimed at tripling the aid to Pakistan to \$1.5 billion per annum for the next five years is part of the new Af-Pak policy of US President Barack Obama.

Unlike the Bush Administration wherein there was no accountability of the \$10 billion given to Pakistan post 9/11 attacks, the new bill not only tends to make Islamabad accountable for the every penny spent, but also lists out do's and don'ts for the Islamabad government.

Noting that certain elements in Pakistani establishment, specially ISI, have supported, aided and trained organisations to carry out terrorist activities in India over the past few decades, the PEACE bill imposes condition on Pakistan not to "support any person or group that conducts violence, sabotage or other activities meant to instill fear or terror in India."

—Courtesy: PTI



**PANUN KASHMIR ORGANISES FREE MEDICAL CAMP**

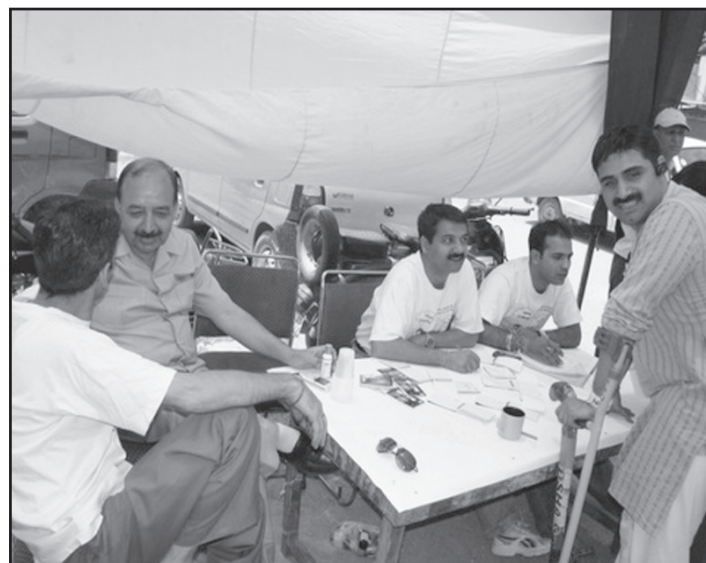
Report by:  
Rupesh Pandita

**PANUN KASHMIR** organised a free medical camp on April 2009 for community members living in and around Vashali, kashuambi, Vasundra, Indrapuram and adjoining areas of Vashali - Ghaziabad. A team of 17 doctors attended to approx. 810 patients and Free medicines were provided to around 480 patients besides providing free ECG, Blood Sugar and Endoscopy (where ever required)

Team panun kashmir NCR Delhi is thankful to all the doctors who deserve all the credit in helping us in organising such Free medical camps for community. Special thanks to Dr. Ashwani pandita and his team, Dr. Lalita tickoo, Dr. Pradhiman Dhar, Dr. Vinay bhat, Dr. B.K.Monga, Dr. Ravinder Trisal, all the technicians, Nurses, Ambulance incharges and others.

Panun Kashmir is also thankful to local kashmiri pandit samitis and welfare societies who were a great inspiration to panun kashmir area activists.

Thanks to all the above mentioned and above all our Sh. Kamal Wangnoo and Sh. Vijay Tickoo who lead from the front and inspire Panun kashmir activists for ground level social activity for our community under 42 degree without feeling the heat.

*Honour*

Let's honour our military  
The men and women who serve,  
Whose dedication to our country  
Does not falter, halt or swerve.  
Let's respect them for their courage;  
They're ready to do what's right  
To keep India safe,  
So we can sleep better at night.  
Let's support and defend our soldiers,

Whose hardships are brutal and cruel,  
Whose discipline we can't imagine,  
Who follow each order and rule.  
Here's to those who choose to be warriors  
And their helpers good and true;  
They're fighting for Indian values;  
They're fighting for me and you.

AMIT ZIJOO- A youth in Exile



## India, Pakistan and Terrorism

(From Page 4)

was aimed at the liberation of the Muslims living under the subjection of the heathen all over the world. In 1989-90, Pakistan launched the Jihad in Jammu and Kashmir to liberate the state from India. After the disintegration of the Soviet power, Pakistan continued to Jihad in the Afghanistan and built the Taliban. While the Taliban established their hold on Afghanistan, the Jehadi war groups operating in Jammu and Kashmir extended their operations to the other parts of India.

Talibanisation of the Islamic Revolution is a revolutionary movement which provides a military thrust to the Muslim struggle for the unification of the Muslim Ummah and its consolidation into a world power.

A logical continuity pervaded the various phases of the Jihad—the religious war waged. The spread of Jehadi war groups in India is an inseparable part of the Islamic Revolution which Pakistan spearheads. Whereas the Jehadi war groups in Jammu and Kashmir are committed to the liberation of Kashmir and its unification with the Muslim homeland of Pakistan, the Jehadi war groups in India have committed themselves to the liberation of the Muslims from their subjection from the Hindus in India. Ideologically the Jihad claims an extra-territorial right, over and above all international obligations recognised by the international community, to protect the Muslims in India against the dominance of the Hindus.

The bipolar balance of power provided enough space for the Islamic Jihad to wage the religious war, it envisaged, for the consolidation of the Muslim Ummah into a Muslim International. However, the end of the bipolar balance of power with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the emergence of a new unipolar world order, suddenly dissolved all the space, which the Islamic Jihad had occupied in the bipolar world. The Islamic Jihad drove straight to a head on collision with the unipolar world order. Al Qaeda struck the first blow when it attacked the United States.

### Dangers Ahead

The political and military campaign Pakistan has carried on in Jammu and Kashmir during the last six decades of the Indian freedom is aimed to open the way for the expansion of its power eastwards, into the warm Himalayan rugged countryside. This area stretching in between the river Sind and the river Ravi, formed the part of the Sikh State of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who had after a long military endeavour fortified it into the northern frontier of India.

The expansion of Pakistan into Jammu and Kashmir will demolish the Northern Frontier of

India and lead to (a) the de-Sanskritisation of the Himalayas strategically the most important factor in their security (b) exclusion of India from any balance of power in Asia and (c) expose the north-Indian States of the Himachal, the Punjab and Haryana to invasion and foreign intervention.

Pakistan is an integral part of the Anglo-Saxon-Muslim alliance. The western powers have built it, to protect their military and political interests in the Middle East, the Far East and South-East Asia and the security of their maritime interests, in the Indian ocean and the Malacca Straights, the water way opening into the Pacific. Perhaps, India is the only country in Asia, which has exhibited scant interests in the security of the Indian Ocean. Had it not been so, perhaps, the Indian Government would have guarded the Ram Settu more closely rather than have clamoured for its demolition.

India has, out of sheer inability to muster courage to stand up to the threat the Pakistan-China. Axis poses to its security and its interests. For India, the Indian ocean and the straight on Malacca, should have been the first concern of any strategic plans, as the Himalayas should have been. Any foothold Pakistan gets in Jammu and Kashmir will open the way for the expansion of the Taliban in the north of India. The China-Pakistan Axis, is aimed to close India into a pincer hold in the north as well as the south. Intriguingly, India has never questioned the silence America has maintained on the implications of the China-Pakistan Axis, for the security of South-Asia.

The Indian belief that Pakistan could be brought round to settle down to accept a state of peaceful coexistence with India if it was assured of its security and its ideological commitment to Islam was recognised, is highly misplaced. The Indian attempt to seek a compromise on Jammu and Kashmir, to satisfy the ideological commitments of Pakistan to the unification of the Muslim Ummah will only strengthen the China-Pakistan Axis further.

India has to realise that Pakistan has in recent years, embarked on a war of subversion in India with the aim of bringing about the fundamentalisation of the Muslim social organisation in India. India continues to be a largely un-integrated political culture and more exposed to subversion. The spread of terrorism to rest of India which Bombay attack underlined can be ignored by India at its own peril.

## Partners in Fighting Terrorism

(From Page 8)

knowledge. Today's FBI is a security service, fusing the capability to understand the breadth and scope of threats, with the capability to dismantle those same threats.

But we understand that we do not operate in isolation. Through our international training programs at the FBI Academy [in Virginia], we are on a first-name basis with thousands of officers around the world—a brotherhood and sisterhood of partners. And in a time of crisis, that familiarity—that friendship—fosters an immediate and effective response.

### Community outreach

We must continue to work with our law enforcement and intelligence partners around the world. But we must also work here in the United States with the citizens we serve, to identify and disrupt those who would do us harm.

Too often, we run up against a wall between law enforcement and the community—a wall based on myth and mis-perception of the work we do.

We know that the best way to tear down that wall is brick by brick, person by person.

Yet, we understand the reluctance of some communities to sit down at the table with us. They may come from countries where national police forces and security services engender fear and mistrust.

Oftentimes, the communities from which we need the most help are those who trust us the least. But it is in these communities that we must re-double our efforts.

One pattern in particular concerns us.

Over the years since September 11 th, we have learned of young men from communities in the United States, radicalized and recruited here to travel to countries such as Afghanistan or Iraq, Yemen or Somalia. They may be recruited to participate in the fighting, or, in the extreme case, to become suicide bombers.

A man from Minneapolis, [Minnesota] became what we believe to be the first U.S. citizen to carry out a terrorist suicide bombing. The attack occurred last October in northern Somalia, but it appears that this individual was radicalized in his hometown in Minnesota.

The prospect of young men, indoctrinated and radicalized within their own communities and induced to travel to Somalia

to take up arms—and to kill themselves and perhaps many others—is a perversion of the immigrant story.

The parents of many of these young men risked everything to come to America, to provide their children with a brighter, more stable future. For these parents to leave a war-torn country only to find that their children have been convinced to return to that way of life is indeed heart-breaking.

And it raises the question of whether these young men will one day come home, and, if so, what they might undertake here.

These parents are understandably worried about the welfare of their children. We, too, are concerned—not only for these families, but for the larger community.

Members of the FBI's Community Outreach teams meet with members of these communities to look at these issues.

Together, we are making progress. But there remains much work to be done.

The simple truth is that we cannot do our jobs without the trust of the American people. And we cannot build that trust without reaching out to say, "We in the Bureau are on your side. We stand ready to help."

### Conclusion

The world we live in has changed in countless ways. And while change can have negative consequences, it can lead to new discoveries. It can herald new perspectives, new ideas, and new ways of doing business.

Yet, even in times of great change, certain constants remain: the desire for safety and

security...the hope for peace and prosperity...and the need for solidarity against forces that might otherwise divide us.

These constants are the same in communities and countries around the world. It is these constants that we in the Bureau strive to protect each and every day.

The universe of crime and terrorism will no doubt continue to expand. And we in the FBI will continue in our mission to find what we believe to be out there, but cannot always see.

We understand that when one of us is at risk, we are all at risk. An attack against one of us is an attack against all of us. And any failure is a collective failure.

Only by moving forward together, as one community, will we make lasting progress.

*Speech by Robert S. Mueller, III, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C.*

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## Prakash To Place Things In Proper Perspective

(From Page 1)

Mrs. Raina but the mindset that made her to do it. This was pointed out by the chairman of Panun Kashmir Dr. Ajay Chrungoo. He said that Literary or cultural policing is not our aim. We want to send home a message that if such distortions are made the community has the intellectual ability to understand such distortions and respond to them. Such distortions are unnecessary cultural constraints and we have to ascertain our cultural mobility which has kept us alive through ages.

**In fairness, this attempt of PRAKASH does not threaten to finish all debate, but in fact, begins the debate where anybody has the right to disagree. We have a habit of being comfortable with distortions which act as intellectual constraints. Placing things in the proper context ensures cultural mobility which PRAKASH considers its duty.**

Speaking on the occasion the Chief Guest, Dr. Shashishekhar Toshkhani, who has translated Lalded's vakhs into Hindi underlined the awful distortions of the vakhs. The booklet written by Prof. Kaul was released by noted political scientist and thinker Dr. M.K. Teng who also spoke on the occasion.



By Upender Ambardar

THE rituals are traditional beliefs representing iconic symbols, which have layers of stories, legends and ancient wisdom embedded in them. They also give valuable insights into social, cultural and economic expressions of human presence in the bygone times. Many Kashmiri Pandit families follow a strict code of conduct supplemented with overriding faith and enormous devotion in observing Shivratri rituals. These families are recognised by the surnames of Gurtoo, Malla, Kak, Jaiikhani and Naqaib's. In addition to them, a few families belonging to the surnames of Raina, Razdan, Bhan and Tikoo's also follow a rigid vegetarian and undiluted customs handed over to them both orally and by practice. For them any dereliction in observance of the traditional rituals is not only a religious offence but also an unparadonable sinful act.

Due to the unquestionable faith reposed in the established rituals, all such families are broadly known by the name of Gurtoo's. The ritualistic purity sustained with unbroken devotion and faithful allegiance spanning over centuries of time is a characteristic and pronounced feature of them. The fierce religious discipline and amazing purity exhibited by them in guarding this indigenous strain of religious variant exemplifies their unaltered tradition. They deserve all the accolades and acclaim for having preserved their centuries old clan specific rituals and in the process also having kept their essence intact.

Driven by immense faith, the Gurtoo families desist to blur the traditional line as even a minute aberration or wrong doing in the ritual observance is believed to have fearsome outcome. The Shivratri rituals of Gurtoo clans not only strike a connectivity with the preceding times when Vaishnavite influence occupied a pivotal space in our belief system but also represent a spill over of the past in the form of their present day rituals.

Interestingly, the word 'Gurit' is also associated with the best quality clay in Kashmir which is known for the finest purificatory properties. Locally known as 'Gurit Maech', it is procured from Sampora area of Pampore tehsil of Pulwama district of Kashmir. Incidentally, it is not without reason that 'Gurit Maech' or clay mixed with water and cowdung is utilised for smearing the rooms, whenever the houses in Kashmir are to be spurred up for the auspicious events as it is supposed to remove all the traces of con-

taminations and ensure wholesome purity. Likewise, all those families, who steadfastly adhere to the purity of the rituals are commonly referred as 'Gurtoo's' in Kashmir.

The Gurtoo rituals are sacred commitments, which make us feel close to the Divine, opined Smt. Chunji Gurtoo, an erstwhile native of Kharyar, Habbakadal Srinagar and now putting up at Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. She informed that in Gurtoo families, the intake of non-vegetarian food including 'Tamsic' one is totally given up from Phagun Krishan Paksh Dashmi and vegetariansim is strictly followed. From that day in accordance with the 'Gurtoo specific clan strictures, excepting for 'Sattvic' vegetables, fruits and milk, the purchase of cheese and bread and getting them inside the house is forbidden. Adding to it, Smt. Chunji disclosed that in earlier times, on this days all the used earthen cooking utensils were broken and replaced by the new religious one's. The adherence to the code of purity and piety was so obsessive in the earlier times that Gurtoo families would not spare even the clay container used for storing charcoal ash locally known as 'Soore Laejh'.

Apart from it, even the iron vessel used for holding edible oil, locally known as 'Tila Vaer' was put in the roaring fire of the indigenous mud hearth (dhaan) to ensure the removal of all traces of impurity.

She also revealed proudly that day's ahead of the festival, painstakingly efforts and extraordinary care were undertaken to ensure scrupulous and spotless cleanliness of the house by smearing it with a mix of 'Sampur' clay, water and cowdung. The purificatory act of cleansing locally known as 'livun' was accomplished with enormous faith even in the wintry chill. Continuing in the same vein, she recalled that on 'Dyara dahum', i.e. dashmi, the potter and in some families potteress would deliver the earthen pooja vessels, called 'Vatak Bane', and freshly baked cooking utensils to be used for the entire year. In line with the auspiciousness of the occasion the utensils were taken inside the house after the ritualistic waving of water filled vessel around the potter and the utensils. The ritual known by the local name of 'Aalath' is an act of supplication to the Divine. Likewise, the procurement of the flowers, grass woven spherical seating bases called 'Aarie', grass woven string embedded with flowers and 'Bilvai' leaves, locally known as 'Vusur' were also

## Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Rituals Variants-III (Festival Customs in Gurtoo Families)

ensured usually on the same day through a courier known by the local name of 'Push'. Interestingly, 'Pushan' is a deity in the Vedas, having the etymological root 'Push', meaning the nourisher. As per a religious belief 'Pushan' is the protector of cattle and of human possessions and is said to bless the bride in marriage functions.

She also recounted that on Phagun Krishna Paksh Ekadashi, eleven saucer shaped earthenwares known by the name of 'Parvav' are seated on grass woven spherical bases 'Aarie' and their ritualistic pooja is performed usually in the morning.

The vegetarian dishes of 'haak', unpounded moong daal in combination either with nadru (lotus stem) or raddish are cooked and a small portion of them mixed with a bit of rice are put in these 'Parvas' as a mark of offering amidst religious invocations. On the next day i.e. Phagun Krishna Paksh Duvadasham, locally known as 'Vagur Bhah', an earthen vessel (nout or 'choud') according to individuals family 'reeth' filled up with water and walnuts is reverentially installed amidst pooja.

The rituals is known as 'Vagur Barun' and the most favoured dish is moong daal in combination with raddish. As per a local belief 'Vagur' symbolises the preparatory welcome extended to the family priest of the bridegroom, who visits the bride's home as a prelude to the actual marriage function. Smt. Chunji Gurtoo further revealed that on Shivratri a narrow mouthed earthen pitcher called 'Gagar', a symbolic representation of Lord Shiva, a wide mouthed utensil called 'doul' or a small clay pitcher known as 'Choud', symbolizing Goddess Parvati, are reverentially docked with 'mouli', flowers, Bilva leaves and 'Vusir'. They are afterwards seated on the grass pedestals 'Aarie' in the Pooja room, locally known as 'Vatak Kuth'. Additionally a small sized pitcher called 'Ram Goud', small earthenwares called 'Sanivarie', ling shaped 'Sonipatul' and Dhoop holder called 'Dhupazoor' are also positioned in the 'Vatak Kuth'. All the Pooja utensils are collectively known as 'Vatuk' the Pooja material as 'Vatak

Samagri' and Pooja ingredients as 'Vatak Masola'.

It was also disclosed that best culinary skills are employed to cook a lavish-spread of vegetarian dishes of 'moong daal' in combination with nadru, 'nadru yakhni', sour raddish slices, locally known as 'mujie kaela', deep fried crisp nadru slices called 'nadur churma', 'dum aalu' and sour methi on Shivratri. As per a centuries old reeth, a sort of distinctive ethnic drink having exotic taste and known by the local name of 'Madhu Panakh' is an integral part of Shivratri pooja of most of the Gurtoo families. The various ingredients especially almonds, cardamom, dates Kishmish coconut, bhang (cannabis), jujube and sugar crystals (nabadh) are thoroughly pounded and mixed with milk to get this specialised brew. It is a symbolic hallucinogenic drink believed to bring heightened consciousness and ecstasy in the worshippers. 'Madhu Panakh' is supposed to eliminate worldly distractions and ignoble thoughts and facilitate communion with the divine. Interestingly, god of the gods, Lord Shiva is said to be fond of narcotic preparation of bhang and milk called 'Siddhi'.

It is due to this reason that one of the names of Lord Shiva is 'Sideshvara'. On Shivratri, 'Madhu Panakh' is also offered to the earthen utensil of 'Nout' the symbolic representation of Lord Shiva.

Extending her conversation, Smt Chunji disclosed that Gurtoo families being 'Shivkarmis' display boundless devotion and reverence for Lord Shiva. It is in total contrast with most of the non-Gurtoo Kashmiri families, who have endless adoration for 'Bhairva' the fearsome manifestation of Lord Shiva. This varying devotional allegiance has correspondingly influenced the rituals and customs performed by them on Shivratri. In some Gurtoo families, the ritual of 'Parmujan' is done on the day next to Shivratri, i.e. 'Salaam' but in the process, they ensure the clearance of the symbolic sacrificial oblation material done for the departed souls, known by the name of 'Ankan'. It is completed on Shivratri evening itself.

Strangely, in most of the Gurtoo families, the vegetarian 'reeth' or tradition is done away with on Phagun Krishna Paksh Amavasya evening with the cooking of meat preparations of yellow meat, locally called 'Kaliya' or meat mixed with turnips or in combination with goat's stomach, locally called as 'demni gogzi'. It is due to this reason that 'Amavasya' in Gurtoo families is known as 'Demni Mavas'. It is in contrast to non-Gurtoo and non-vegetarian families, where 'Amavasya' is designated as 'Doon Mavas'.

A sizeable section of Gurtoo families cook meat dishes on the day next to 'Amavasya' i.e. Phagun Shukla Paksh Pratipidha as they shy away from taking meat on 'Amavasya' due to religious sentiments. Smt Chunji Gurtoo stated that 'Amavasya' related pooja was performed on the Vitasta river bank. The ritual involved taking the 'Vatak Nout' and 'Choud' or 'dulij' in a wicker basket to the river bank, where their contents were emptied in the flowing water before performing pooja of walnut kernels, which served as 'prasadh' or 'naveed' for the devotees.

The 'Visarjan' ritual is followed by symbolic cutting of the flowing river water seven times cross-wise with a knife. Understandably, the symbolic cutting of water reiterates our vows and commitments seven times to perform Shivratri related rituals with reverence, determination and steadfast devotion as the figure seven has a sacred and holy connotation in Hindu religious tradition. The Rigveda speaks of seven underworlds of 'Patala' of the earth known by the names of Atal, Vital, Satal, Rasatal, Talatal, Mahatal and Patal. They are said to be inhabited by Nagas, Daityas, Danavas and Yakshas etc. Vitala is believed to be ruled by Hatakesvara, a close confidant of Lord Shiva, while as Vasuki, the king of Nagas or snakes is said to reign supreme in Patala. The holy scriptures also speak of seven upperworlds, which are designated as Bhuvloka (earth), Bhuvvarloka (area lying between

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Prof. M.L. Koul

**T**HE Shaiva thinkers of Kashmir structured their thought model on the fulcrum of Shiva as the highest metaphysical reality. Shiva is synonymous with consciousness supreme. 'Chaitanyam atma' as formulated by *acarya vasugupta* invests the Shaiva thought with such a distinguishing feature as marks its divergence from other variants of absolutism. Chaitanyam as drawn from *chetna* as per Khemraj marks the absolute freedom of consciousness supreme or Shiva to know and act. It is the state of one ness (*aham*) and in no way impairs the absolute reality of Shiva. Though an active agent in the processes of creation (manifestation), Shiva is perfect, and transcendental. He is self-proved (*svata siddha*) and needs no logical pramanas to prove and establish His existence.

Besides being *svata-siddha*, Shiva is *prakash*, light of luminosity and *Jnan*, all-knowing, everything known to Him. Prakash also underlines Shiva's transcendence and equipoise in the state of transcendence. Shiva as against Vedanic Sat, Cit, Anand is only Cit and Anand. It is His Kutasth Swarup. His luminosity is His Prakashrupa and Anand is His gushing out (*Uchhalan*) to act out the *vilas* (sport) of creation. Shiva has no taints of limitation and succession. He is beyond *Vikaras* (deformities). He is the first and the last cause of the manifestation. Prior to His emergence of will to manifest what is inside Him to Himself, the universe with all its diversities lies in Him in a state of submergence. In his monumental work *Tantralok*, Abhinavgupta conveys the same position of Shiva which is commented upon as—

**'sa cha svata-siddha prakashatma parmashrupa parmashvar Shiva aiva'**

Shiva is not only Prakash but Vimarsa also. Vimarsa as per Dr. Jaidev Singh is the sciring of Shiva's own consciousness. Vimarsa is Shakti, the nature of Shiva. It denotes Shiva's power to act. As per Shaiva texts diamond is prakash, but it is absolutely deficient in knowing itself as prakash. But Shiva knows Himself as prakash. Various names have been given to Vimarsa. It is Kartritva, Swatantrya, and Parashakti. Had Shiva been prakash only the universe would not have appeared. It is because of Vimarsa that Shiva manifests the universe on the screen of His own consciousness. All that we find in the universe is an *abhasa* and each *abhasa* is self-expression of Shiva. What we find outside in the universe is inside Shiva

## The Reality Of Shiva from Kashmir Shaivism to Lalla Ded Vakhs

only—*yadantastad sahir*.

The Shaivite monists of Kashmir have taken a different position on the *Vedanic* standpoint of *Vivartvad* which means imposition of world on Brahman through ignorance (*avidya*). To justify their non-dual position they assert that Shiva through his Swatantrya Shakti imposes world on Himself through His own *maya*-Shakti. The *Vedantists* are afraid that if *Maya* is taken as the Shakti of Brahman, it means dragging Brahman into the world of impurity. Had they taken such a position of *maya* as the Shakti of Brahman, their Brahman would have metamorphosed into Shiva of Kashmiri thinkers. Unlike the *Vedantists* the *Shaivites* do not negate the world to reinforce the metaphysical reality of Shiva. When Shiva is pure luminosity (*prakash*), which is the sheet anchor of all *abhasas*, He is transcendental. When He is immanent in the world, He is *Vimarsa*. Shiva is an active agent in manifesting the world. He is the first and final cause of the manifested world.

Shiva and Shakti, to Kashmiri thinkers of monism, are not two separate entities or polarities. They are one and only one. When Shiva through His divine will wants to see what is inside Him, He is Shakti. Had he no will power to manifest Himself to Himself, He would have been inanimate and life-less (*Jada*). Shiva's Swatantrya lies in willing, knowing and acting. Shakti is the potency of Shiva to create the universe. His divine activities are known in Shaiva parlance as His *Kriya*. Activities of willing, knowing and acting are not His *Vikaras* (deformities) as is the case in *Vedanta*. Kashmiri Shaivites take *Jnan* and *Kriya* in combination. Their position is not that of *Vedanta* which holds *Jnan* and *Kriya* as two separate categories, one cancelling the other. Shiv is *Kriya*, the universe that He creates (manifests) is His doing. His *Kriya* does not taint the purity of His being. Shiva is *Maheshwar* (Lord), not because of His prakash or *Jnan*, but because He acts to manifest the universe. His lordship is in His manifestation of the world. Shiva is both transcendental and immanent.

Shiva performs five acts (*panchkretya*). He creates, preserves, withdraws, obfuscates and showers grace (*anugrah*). His five-fold acts define Shiva's Swatantrya (absolute freedom). In *Svacchand Tantra* we have—*srishti samhar kartaram vilai sithiti karkam anugrah karam devam pranatarti vinshanam*

It needs be emphasised that Shiva as the sovereign lord has no compulsions to commit five acts. He has no lag for the filling of which he performs five-acts. He is all perfect and *purna*. His inherent nature of being *purna* and perfect gets in no way impaired by His act of manifestation of the phenomenal world. He creates but has no purpose to create. His creation and creative impulse underline his swatantrya to do anything. He creates out of anand which establishes His *Vilasa* of Lordship (*maheshvariya*). In his celebrated work *Shiva-strotravali utpaldev* sings that Shiva steeped in His *ananda* imagines diverse objects of the world out of His free-will just for *leela* (sport). In *Paratrimshikha* Abhinavgupta writes that the vibration of Shiva's anand is the universe.

'*Akul*' & '*Kul*' are two agamic terms that have off been used to denote Shiv and Shakti. '*Akul*' is Shiva who is synonymous with consciousness supreme. '*Kul*' is the Shakti that creates the universe. These two terms have come to non-dual *Shaivism* from *Kaulachar* that was practised at many places in India. Their meanings have been retained by the Kashmiri thinkers. In *Paratrimshika* Abhinavgupta has extensively dealt with the terms of '*Akul*' and '*Kul*', one denoting the transcendental Shiva as consciousness supreme and the other as the Shakti of that consciousness tending to create.

### Shiva in Lalla-Ded Vakhs

Lalla Ded Vakhs are deeply soaked in Shiva-consciousness. The attainment of Shiva-hood is her ultimate destiny. Initiated in the Shaiva praxis by her preceptor, Sidda Srikanth, Lalla Ded devotedly and single-mindedly worked out the *upayas* (methodologies) that her celebrated preceptor had introduced to her. Her Vakhs lucidly reveal that she is fully aware of the real swarup of Shiva. She sings out that Shiva is Chidanand, Cit and Anand, *Jnan* and Prakash. Cit is the consciousness supreme which is the source of life and universe and anand is the gushing out (*Uchhalan*) of that consciousness supreme. She also sings that Shiva with whom she has to gain identity is Prakash as He illumines in His own light, celestial light and is *Jnan* as He is all-knowing.

As Lalla Ded was a Shaiva Yogini she has experienced the luminosity of Shiva's consciousness through the relentless pursuit of Shaiva trajectory. She has not just shone in His Prakash as Muslim mystics would in the

light of God, but she is an inalienable part of that luminosity and is totally soaked in it. As her Vakhs convey she has intensely felt the condition of getting merged in the luminous state of Shiva's consciousness. She is not merely speculating, but expressing her felt-experience in a language that objectifies that experience, though subtle and nebulous. Being one with Shiva's Prakash and *Jnan*, His entire mass of divine consciousness, Lalla has risen to the status of one who is liberated while living. She has no confusions and dilemmas of an *anu* (*Jiva*) who is tossed about in the dualities of the world.

**Lalla Ded sings—*Chidanandas Jnan prakashas***

***Yimav Chyun tim zeevantai mokhta vishaymis samsarnis pashyas abodi gandah shyat-shyat ditya.***

Shiva is a creative agent. He can be likened to a painter who delineates the universe on the canvas of His own consciousness. When He creates, He is the Shakti. He and His divine consciousness pervade the universe, whether animate or inanimate. From man to everything living to dead objects have immanence of Shiva. He is not like a monotheistic God who creates the world and leaves it alone. The creator and the created never meet. Shiva is present in everything living or non-living. As an ultimate destiny everything finds its resting place in Shiva's consciousness supreme. Lalla Ded says:—

***Gagan Chaya Bhutal Chay Chay Dyan Pawan Ta Rath***

Lalla Ded knows the inherent nature of Shiva, who is anahat, pranav, unhindered sound of oum, kha-swarup, shunyalia, aham, I consciousness, bindu and nada and as pure consciousness has no name and form, caste, colour and gotra. Lalla Ded is aware of the trajectory that she has to warily follow to attain emergence into the pure consciousness of Shiva, wherein the stir of creativity lies undifferentiated from the vast ocean of that consciousness. As an initiate she has to practise pran-apan to pacify her chitta (mind) from kshob (disturbance) brought about by currents and cross-currents of diverse thoughts. She has to pass through states where there will be a void or support-lessness and also flashes of illuminating consciousness uplifting her from the crippling limitations that have bound her as a *jiva*. Shiv, to her, is the only deity that quali-

fies to ride the 'trigunatmac' horse as put in the allegory.

Lalla Ded's Shiva is—***anahat kha-swarup shunyalia yas nav na varan na guthur na raef aham vimarasa nada bindai von sui deeva ashwa war chyadyas***

Lalla Ded is in full know of her human condition. She is a *Jiva* beset with enormous web of limitations. Her Shiva has six attributes which He can harness at His mere will with nothing to restrain Him. He has the attributes of sovereign power (*maheshwariya*), omnipotence (*sarva-kartritva*), Omniscience (*sarvajnatritva*), all-inclusiveness (*purnatva*) eternality (*nityatva*), and all-pervasiveness (*vyapaktva*). What essentially distinguishes her from Shiva is that He masters His in-built attributes while she is in a state of servitude to the limitations that have enmeshed her.

Lalla Ded pours out—***yimai sheya chya timai sheya meya shamgala chaya byan tatis yohai byan abeeda chya ta meya chya shyan sami ba sheyi mushis***

Shiva is transcendental, beyond the confines of time and space, but He is equally immanent, present in everything He incessantly creates on the screen of His own consciousness. His is not the case of a semitic God who creates the world and withdraws from it for fear of losing His unity. Shiva creates all the world of animates and equally creates the world of inanimates. A dead stone also has the spark of His creative consciousness, but the spark is slightly weak. Whatever appears in the world is within the ambit of His all-pervasive consciousness.

Lalla Ded Conveys the immanence of Shiva—

***Shiva chuya zavul zal vahravith kranzan manz chuy tarith kyath***

Shiva as prakash or in transcendence is rest, equipoise and perfect equilibrium. He brims with anand (bliss). The canvas of universe that He incessantly opens out and draws in as a matter of sport (*Leela*) is His garden where He deilghts in the flowers of smell, taste, sight, sound and touch. The multifarious diversity that Shiva creates is His act of lordliness and it in no way disturbs His poise and tranquility. Lalla Ded as a yogini living in the flowery world of smell, sight et al is so well-poised in her

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By Dr. Shashishekar Toshkani

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

There was *Madana Trayodashai*, festival dedicated to the god of love. On this occasion a husband would demonstrate his love for his wife by personally giving her a bath with sacred water scented by herbs. Similarly, at the end of the three-day Mahimana celebrations, well-adorned ladies would freely and joyfully play with men. On Sukha Suptika or Deepawali night, the well-adorned wife, could display her charms to her husband in the exciting privacy of the specially decorated bedroom and savour his compliments.

That is not all. There were special occasions when men were to make ladies of the house happy by giving them new clothes as presents. One such occasion was on the Navahimapata-utsava or the New Snowfall Day—a festival that was celebrated by the Kashmiri Pandits till they were exiled from their native land. On the full moon day of Margashirsha (January-February), the householder is enjoined by the Nilamata to invite his sister,

paternal aunt and friend's wife, besides a Brahmana lady, and honour them with gifts of new clothes. Presentation of gifts to a friend's wife! That could happen only in a free society.

An enlivening feature of these beautiful festivals was, music, dance and dramatic shows. These were an essential part of the festivals that the early Hindus of Kashmir celebrated, and the ladies watched these shows with great joy. Not only watched them but must have participated in them. And the ladies were attractively attired, well decorated and well perfumed during these festivities. Surely, this must have added great charm and beauty to their life. Another thing even more important to be noted is that these ancient social festivals have a religious setting.

Coming to religious life, the presence of women in the performance of various rites, rituals and ceremonies was regarded as essential. And that is how things should have been in a society where people regarded Kashmir, their native land

## Early Kashmiri Society Status of Women

an embodiment of goddess Uma. This is very significant, for it shows that the Mother Goddess cult has occupied a central place in the religious beliefs of Kashmiri Hindus from the earliest times, a cult that explains respect for women as an aspect of reverence for the divine feminine. A host of goddesses began to be worshipped in Kashmir from Uma and Durga, Lakshmi, Saraswati and Mahakali to the very popular and very local deities like Sharika, Ragya, Tripura and Jwala. Shaiva and Shakta Tantricism, which became very popular in Kashmir from the 7th century, identifies Shakti with Supreme Reality, which, it says is "female in essence". That makes us understand why an aspirant taking to the Kulachara mode of worship is asked to look upon women with extreme reverence.

One of the most noteworthy features of early Kashmir society was that women had access to good and liberal education. They were taught among other things, literature and fine arts and given practical training in music, dance and drama, which were considered as accomplishments fit for them. There is ample evidence for this in Kaihana's Rajatarangini, Somadeva's Katha-sarit-sagara, Damodargupta's *Kuttanimata Kavya*, Bilhana's Vikramakadeva Charit and several other works. The great Sanskrit grammarian Pamni gives the formation Kathi, for a female student to Kathaka school of Black Yajurveda to which the Kashmiri Pandits belong. An idea of the curriculum can be had from the Kuttanimata Kavya. A girl was taught variety of subjects, we learn, including literature, Bharata's Natyashastra, paintings, aboriculture, cookery, cut—work in leaves (*patra-chcheda*), vocal and instrumental music

etc. In a nostalgic mood Bilhana remembers towards the end of Vikramakadeva Charit the accomplished women of Kashmir who not only spoke Sanskrit and Prakrit as fluently as their mother tongue, but, also composed poetry in it. In theatrical performance and dancing they excelled the celestial maidens.

Several women have played a significant role in shaping the political history of Kashmir. Yashovati became the first queen in Kashmir to be enthroned as a ruler—even though as a regent. Queens like Sugandha and Didda gave very impressive account of their administrative acumen. Many others, like Khadana, Amritprabha, Chakramardika, Kalyandevi, Ratnadevi and Kamla Devi built shrines and marketplaces and towns. Chandrapida's queen *Kalyanadevi* was exalted by the King as "Mahapratiharapala, something like the Chief Chamberlain. Suryamati, the queen of King Ananta helped her husband to overcome his initial difficulties in

administering the State. Queen Kalhanika, was sent on a delicate diplomatic mission of bringing about a rapprochement between *Jayasinha* and *Bhoja*. This presupposes that these queens must have received some training in the art of administration and diplomacy previously.

As for the common woman, we do not know what occupations, if any, were open to her besides that of a housewife. We have a water carrier sculpted on a tile from Harwan. Perhaps some women worked as flower-sellers too. Most of them, however, took care of their family and children, acting as wife and mother. There is evidence to show that pre-puberty marriages of girls did not take place. In fact, works like Kshemendra's Deshopadesha indicate that girls were married at a mature age. Though fidelity in marriage was regarded as an ideal, polygamy seems to have been quite prevalent among the rich and the well-to-do men. The kings had "seraglios full of queens and concubines". Widows; were supposed to live an austere and highly moral life. Prevalence of *sati* among the rich and aristocratic families points to some of the blemishes which ancient Kashmiri society suffered from.

Though we do not come across any example of polyandry, prostitution seems to have been quite common. "Although prostitution was tolerated as an inescapable evil," writes Ajay Mitra Shastri. "the society looked down upon prostitutes and condemned men indulgent to them in unmistakable terms". Authors like Damodargupta and Kshemendra were closely acquainted with the trade. Damodargupta's *Kuttanimata* gives us an insight into the prostitutes' mode of

behaviour, their proficiency in literature and fine arts, their greed for money and customs connected with their craft. Kshemendra too in his *Narmamala*, *Samaya Matrika* and *Deshopadesha* draws detailed and graphic pictures of prostitutes' life and exposes the moral laxity that had crept in his contemporary society. Kalhana and Somadeva also make references to the system of 'devadasi' (dedicating girls to a temple for dancing and singing) that seems to have prevailed in Kashmir from quite early times, and could be described as a form of prostitution.

On the whole, however, it is a happy picture of Kashmiri women that emerges from literary sources. Dr. S.C.Ray has drawn our attention to very significant fact in this context. To put it in his own words "Women in Kashmir probably had some property rights and independent legal status. Kalhana in his Rajatarangini and Kshemendra in his Samaya Matrika seem to indicate that a widow inherited her husbands' immovable property after his death, rather than his sons". This is something really very significant, and needs further research.

This discussion about social organization in ancient and early Kashmir is by no means complete and conclusive, but we can safely draw certain inferences. The first and the that must be noted is that though there was an awareness of the four traditional castes, *Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra*, the early Kashmiri society was not rigid about the caste system. In fact, it was divided more along occupational lines than caste lines. The *Brahmanas* were no doubt highly respected, but because they valued learning above everything else and formed the intellectual class. The religious rituals and ceremonies were performed by the priestly class among the *Brahmanas*, and not all *Brahmanas* were priests. Second the most important occupational class in the society was that of the agriculturists, followed by the rich and prosperous merchants and traders and the various upward mobile artisan classes. It were the Damaras among the agriculturists who became very powerful and influential as feudal landlords and interfered with the affairs of the State, holding at times the entire administration to ransom. There was also the administrative class, which was comprised of the nobility and the bureaucracy. The latter was referred to by the cover name of *Kayastha* or the king's officers engaged in collecting revenue and taxes, but they did not belong to any specific caste. Their oppressive and exploitative methods and their greed and corruption have been severely criticized by writers like *Kshemendra* and *Kalhana*. Thirdly, and lastly, women occupied a high position in the society and enjoyed freedom unknown in contemporary societies elsewhere in the world. Tantricism of the Shaiva and Shakta variety which led to the spread of the mother goddess cult in Kashmir regards Supreme Reality to be feminine in essence and calls for revering women as manifestations of the eternal feminine or Shakti.

--To be continued



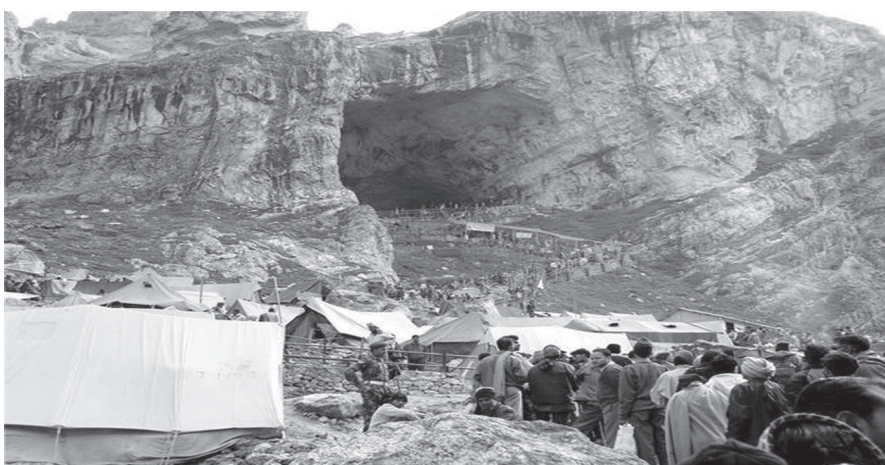


By Yoginder Kandhari

**A**MARNATHJI YATRA has routinely been mired in controversies ever since outbreak of militancy in Kashmir valley. Communal forces in the Valley, separatists and political parties alike, have been in the forefront to conjure up pretexts to oppose smooth conduct of this Yatra. Kashmiri Muslims fully understand the economic benefits of this annual event yet, bread on rabid communal fodder; they oppose this age old Hindu religious activity in Muslim majority Valley for reasons religious. Last year's uproar in the Valley, over transfer of land to Amarnathji Shrine Board, crossed all limits of reasonableness to manifest extreme religious intolerance. State administration had almost capitulated to the communal demands from the Valley had Jammu not risen in a rare spontaneity against Kashmiri Muslim hegemony to compel State administration see reason and restore semblance of secular order. It is not that Kashmiri Muslims want Yatra to be discontinued; they love it for commercial gains but hate to allow it as it impinges on their communal mindset.

Much that Kashmiri Muslims may want us to believe that the Holy Cave of Amarnathji was discovered by a Muslim in eighteenth century; the truth is that Amarnathji Tirtha finds mention in Neelmatpurana and Rajtarangni predating their claim. Due to poor communications, cold climate and lack of facilities, earlier the Yatra was limited in duration and participation. Besides local Kashmiri Pandits, the Yatra was undertaken mostly by Sadhus with a sprinkling of Gujarati and Bengali pilgrims. Yatra would commence from Akhara Building in Srinagar and move to Durga Nag, at the foot of Shankracharya hill, for performing puja of the holy mace before proceeding to the Holy Cave via Pampur- Awantipur -Bijbihara -Mattan -Pahalgam-Chandanwari- Sheshnag- Panjtarni. It would culminate, as to this date, with the darshan of ice Lingam on Shrawan Purnima. Facilities en-route and at the staging camps were generally provided by voluntary organizations with minimal governmental assistance. However, with improvement in communications and affordability, the number of pilgrims grew year after year. Today, Amarnathji Yatra has assumed the significance of a major Hindu pilgrimage and pilgrims include NRIs in hordes. Increasing numbers necessitated establishment of a statutory body to conduct the Yatra. Accordingly, much to the chagrin of separatists and other Valley based communal parties; Shri Amarnathji Shrine Board (SASB) was established in 2000 by an Act of Jammu and Kashmir Legislature on lines of Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine Board, Katra. With

## ANUAL AMARNATHJI YATRA: HEADS WE WIN TAILS YOU LOSE



establishment of SASB, there has been a marked improvement in facilities available to the pilgrims and, more importantly, these are now affordable. Thus, the popularity of the Yatra grew manifold and lakhs started queuing up for darshan compelling SASB to extend the Yatra duration to two months from 2005 onwards. There was a lot of breast beating against this extension by the then Chief Minister, Mufti Mohd Sayeed but indomitable Lt. Gen. (Retd.) S. K. Sinha, the then J&K Governor and Chairman of SASB, stood his ground forcing the Chief Minister to relent.

However, upgrading of the facilities has not kept pace with the grandiose plans for facilities drawn by the SASB and a lot more needs to be done. Upgradation plans are suffering neither for want of willingness on part of the SASB to execute its responsibilities nor for adequacy of funds. Attitude of communal Kashmiri political establishment and bureaucracy is the major stumbling block. Otherwise, how can one explain that the road alignment from Ranga Mor, on Srinagar-Leh Highway, to Domel, on route to the Holy Cave on Baltal axis, has not been blacktopped even though central government has released Rs.20 Cr, about four years back, for the purpose. The state government would not let it happen. Kashmiri politicians have raised environmental concerns over this issue while the same politicians conveniently ignore the fact that beautiful Gulmarg meadows have been ravaged by a crisscross of blacktop roads. Today, Gulmarg has more concrete cover than the green one. But, there are no compunctions over it for it does not facilitate a Hindu religious activity.

### Amarnathji Yatra and Kashmiri Muslims.

Kashmiri Muslim business community, local administration, separatists and political parties, though with stakes in the annual Yatra, nurture an ulterior agenda of erasing all Hindu religious and cultural linkages from Kashmir. Each Yatri is valued at Rs.30,000/= by local business and the convention has it that he has to be divested of that amount prior to his departure from the Valley. Last year an estimated 4 lakh Yatris visited the Holy Shrine and the amount of money that was pumped into the Valley's economy is a matter of simple calculation. This amount was distributed throughout the length and

breadth of the Valley from a pithoo, lugging baggage en-route the Holy Cave, to the Shikarawala in the Dal to a ponywala in the meadows of Gulmarg et al. Thus, the business class wants the Yatra to continue but on its own terms and conditions. Yet, Yatris are treated shabbily and even threatened should they not fall in line.

With establishment of SASB, Yatris started enjoying better facilities and that too on affordable rates thus reducing, to some extent, the loot by the locals. Resentment from the locals started brewing. One can not help but quote an instance from 2007 Yatra season when SASB had 'dared' to call for labour contract tenders for setting up various facilities along the two routes to the Holy Cave. The contractor who had quoted lowest rates was coerced to stay away and the local contractor, who had the monopoly for labour contract till then, too boycotted the SASB in a show of defiance to latter's authority. The stalemate ended only when SASB reached an understanding with this local contractor and that too on his terms and conditions. By then the Yatra was already in full swing. With no pre-fabricated huts erected, one can well imagine the harrowing experience the Yatris underwent. Needless to say, all the huts ultimately did come up but only by the end of the Yatra season. Mostly, these huts remained unoccupied since the Yatra had petered off by then. The local contractor had thus sent a strong message to SASB without in any way impairing his annual revenue.

Further more, that year the housekeeping contract for the prefabricated huts had been awarded to a party from Jammu. This contractor too was boycotted by the locals as no labour was forthcoming for unloading truck loads of bedding meant for the huts until an agreement was reached with the locals at exorbitant rates. Even the basic amenities, like water and electricity, were not restored to the camps resulting in major security and sanitation problems. With no lavatories erected, it was a common sight to find Yatris, including ladies, relieving themselves in the open. It was a sabotage designed to serve every Kashmiri stakeholder's interest. The local labour proved more than a point to the Shrine Board. Besides causing a lot of inconvenience to the Yatris, it reaffirmed its monopoly over rates and right to the

contract besides giving enough fodder to the separatists and political parties to rake up sanitation and environmental concerns. Harassment of the housekeeping contractor from Jammu helped the local business as he, inspite of having been awarded contract up to 2009, opted out.

Local administration openly targets SASB for poor Yatra management thus building-up a case for the local Tourism Department to takeover all the arrangements for the Yatra. That arrangement would suite all for they then can share the booty. Less said about the local police the better. Medical Department too was not to be left behind. Centre allotted Rs. 1.1 Cr. and 1.5 Cr. to the state government for providing medical cover for the Yatra in 2007 and 2008 respectively. Not even 25% of the budget was spent for the right purposes.

### Environmental Concerns – A Myth.

Mehbooba Mufti often loses her breath while raking up Amarnathji Yatra controversies. Her major assault on the Yatra has always been via environmental concerns. Mainstay of her argument is poor sanitation in camps and perceived danger Yatra poses to the ecology of the area. As for sanitation, she needs to be educated that the technology being used for treatment of human waste, in various staging camps, is the best available in the world. She would be better advised to take a cue from the Yatra arrangements and replicate the same technology in Hazratbal complex for there is a crying need to block effluents from contaminating the Dal Lake further. She needs to worry more about shrinking circumferences of the Dal and the Wular lakes and unabated concrete invasions overwhelming Sonamarg, Pahalgam and Gulmarg rather than exposing her rabid communal mindset by aimlessly opposing Amarnathji Yatra without any logic or reason. Shrine Board is extremely sensitive to the environmental concerns and has not constructed a single permanent structure in the area. Incidentally, only concrete structures to have come up above the ground level are Jamia masjids at Baltal and Panjtarni. Erecting and dismantling temporary structures, year after year, cost Shrine Board dearly yet the Board does not bemoan that loss; for it's commitment to ecological preservation is unflinching and unlike rabble-rousing and self-seeking Kashmiri politicians and bureaucrats. Separatists too have nothing different to agitate about. Kashmiri political parties, separatists and bureaucrats are hand-in-glove in raising controversy after controversy about the annual Yatra.

### What does SASB need to do now?

Under the prevailing circumstances, SASB has been doing a fair job so far. However, a lot more needs to be done to make the Yatra more affordable and comfortable for all classes of Yatris. SASB should not lose sight of the very objectives of its incorporation. First and foremost, it must not succumb to the communal forces inimical to conduct of Yatra itself by permitting its brazen commercialization by the locals. This could be done by:

(Contd. on Page 17)



By Sanjay Godbole

'Karad' is one of the important cities and centers in the district of 'Satara' in Maharashtra. 'Karad' is situated 17° 17' N. Latitude and 74° 13' Longitude and lies in the valley of rivers Krishna and Koyna. Karad has been assuming importance centuries after centuries on account of several unique features and specialties. We also get stray references from the chronicles of ancient history as to how this place got to acquire its present name "karad". There is a place called 'Bharuth' near 'Jabalpur'. In the inscription surfacing at the stupa at Bharuth [2nd Century B.C.] a mention has been made, of the donations given by the 'Bhikku sangham' [Confederation of Bhikkhus] of Karad. This mention refers to "karad" as 'Karahakat'. There are rock cut caves at "kuda" near "Alibaug". At 'Kuda' Karad has since been referred to as 'Karahakat'. The oldest available remains in the precincts of Karad are the Buddhist rock cut caves at "Agashiva". These rock cut caves belong to Hinayana sect. There is an inscription in these rock cut caves stating that these caves were donated to the Bhikkhu Sangham by 'sanghamitra'. Some archaeological experts are of the opinion that looking to the style of the rock cut cave and the Sculpture and the monasteries in them this rock cut cave belonging to Hinayana Sect must belong to the second century.

In the area surrounding Karad many remains frequently surface. These remains are mostly in the form of terracotta's, ancient coins, beads and potsherds. The Royal Asiatic society has taken a due cognizance of the remains surfacing in this area. In the rainy season, all rivers are in spate. After the spate water is over, numerous ancient coins are found. Previously, all such coins were deposited with the District collectorate at Satara.

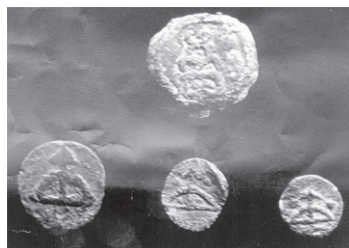
The Asiatic society has made a special mention that majority of these and such coins belong to the western Kshatras. The Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Pune has a Lion's share in surfacing the various remains found near Karad. The Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, has brought to light a very ancient Jain idol. Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune initiated an excavation project at an ancient

## EXPLORATION AT 'KARAD'

hillock near the ramparts (of a fort) called (pant Kot) in the year 1948 at Karad. During this excavation, the following articles surfaced, belonging to Satavahana period Ring-wells, dishes, utensils, earthen pots,



(Roman Style Pottery)



(Ancient Coins From Karad)

Roman styled potsherds and Chinese Celadon type wares & utensils. In addition to these, Satavahana period pedestals, ivory sticks for eye make-up i.e. application of Lamp black (Kajal), terracottas & coins were also surfaced. The research scholars of Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal and Shri. Y.R. Gupte, the Assistant director Epigraphy Karad also has published a

detailed report as to the history of Karad. Shri. B.M. Purandare, has found a Roman bullae from the area surrounding Karad, Mr. G.H. Khare Praised Shri. Purandare on this count.

Even as on today, the area around Karad abounds in ancient coins. Majority of these coins are struck in Lead. On obverse of these coins, an image of a Lion and on the reverse a symbol of an arrow and a bow are depicted. These coins invariably make a reference to the 'Kumara' dynasty, and have been brought to light from this area. It is from this very area an important coin from numismatic point of view has been brought to light. This coin weighed 3.200 gms, was oblong in shape and was made of Lead. On the obverse side, there is a motif of a Lion; and on the reverse side there are letters reading as 'Maha Senapati Kumaras' in the Brahmi

Script around the Swastika symbol. While studying the pattern and the type of this coin one is sure to remember the Swastika type coins struck by Mahasenapati Manamahisha of Kondapur in Andhra Pradesh. I published an exhaustive note of that coin in the newsletter (May 1997) of the Oriental Numismatic Society. It was at this site only that the famous oriental scholar, Shri Bhandarkar came across a copper-plate belonging to 'King Krishna' the third of (he Rashtrakuta Dynasty. This copper plate refers to Karad as 'Karhat'. At Karad, one comes across many remains belonging to the Muhamedian regimes of medieval times. A majority of those remains belong to the Adilshahi period or times. The deputy chief of the Bijapur court was stationed at Karad at that time. Those, desirous of undertaking the Haj pilgrimage traditionally went to Dabhol harbour via karad in those times. An entry gate situated in the north of Karad was called the

minarets 106 ft. high by the side of this mosque. A legend is making rounds in 1659, here that fazal Khan, the son of Afzal Khan after he [Afzal Khan] was slain, went into hiding in these



(Roman Bullae & Terracotta Objects)



(Coin of Kumara Dynasty)

minarets. Rooms and baths are built in the precincts of this mosque for convenience of the pilgrims. There is a specific reference in the stone inscription that the above work of construction, was completed in the year 1580 A.D. [Year 983 as per Hijari calendar]

One can obtain a sight of these Minarets from at a distance. With a view to make an indepth study of this structure, I went inside the minarets, after obtaining the necessary permission from the authorities. The steps inside the Minaret were built in stone and the tread and rise were abnormally wide & high. The diameter (inner one) of the minar was like a room, according to my estimate. I could also have a close look at the stone inscription detailing the establishment of the foundation of this mosque. The inscription of this Adilshahi mosque was in Persian. During the tenure of my mission of exploration at Karad, I tried very extensively, to know whether any Persian documents or manuscripts could be made available to me. I learned that some gentleman at Karad was in possession of a collection of Persian verses. I however, could not contact him at that time. All the same, I could see an

incomplete manuscript of 'Sheikh Saadi's' poems of Mughal period called 'Gulistan'.

There is an ancient 'Eid gah' meeting ground during 'Eid' at Karad [Eid- gah a meeting ground for offering Namaz prayers for a large congregation] It is 250 feet long and its construction was completed during the year 1577 A.D. [Year 980 as per Hijari Calendar]

Between the years 1992 - 1995, A.D. I myself and one of my friends (late) Shri Shrikant Sahastrabudhe went to Karad, in search of ancient remains. There was one Mr. Garge, a local resident of Karad who was a collector and compiler of such old and rare and historically precious items and had made a sizable collection of sculptures. We saw Mr. Garge's entire collection preserved in a local school. Had some one cared to take out a small handbook or brochure giving informative details of all the antiquities, it would have gone a long way to help the students of ancient history & art in systematically studying the same.

During our study tour of Karad we frequently visited the scrap dealers and goldsmiths & jewelers and many times we could discover ancient coins or old brass wares or copperwares. Majority of coins surfaced at Karad belonged to medieval sultans [Such as from, Adilshahi, Bahmani & Nizamshahi sultans]. In some of the instances, the coin chronology dated back straight to Satavahana Period. At Karad, numerous coins have surfaced belonging to 'Ashmak'. At Karad mainly the coins belonging to "Kumara Dynasty" who were tributary to "Satavahana" have surfaced. One such coin has since been described earlier. At Karad many 'Lead' coins were available which were mostly associated with or pertinently related to Satavahana and / or Kumara dynasties. On some of these coins, more importantly, we found that a symbol consisting of a 'Bow and Arrow' was depicted, a fact which indicated that these coins belonged to "Kura" Dynasty.

At Karad, many a time, terracotta Roman Bullae are reported during explorations. Since Roman coins were famous in the world for their excellent craftsmanship and artistic form, these Bullae were made from the impressions of these coins as a die - cast - mould. These

(Contd. on Page 17)

### Some such coins could be described as follows

1) obv : chaitya	wt: 2.600 gms
Rev : Ujjain symbol :	Size : 1.4 cm
2) obv : Bow and Arrow	wt: 2.600 gms
Rev : Three arched hill	Size : 1.2 cm
3) obv : Bow and Arrow	wt: 0.80 gms
Rev : Tree in railing	Size : 0.8 cm
4) obv : Bow and Arrow	wt: 1 gms
Rev : Lion facing left with tail curled up	Size : 0.7 cm

'Dabhol' gate. There is also a large sized well, in the west of Karad, said to belong to Adilshahi period. In the surrounding area one sees the remains of the embankments of an old water storage tank.

There are two Dargas built in 1350 AD & 1391 A.D. in Guruwar peth at Karad. [Peth is an area identified in the name of a week day.] One of these Dargahs is having considerable height. There is also an old monument in Shaniwar peth in karad, known as Khwaja Khizar Dargah'. Most of the Dargahs do have sanctioned annual gifts or gratuities since the times of Adilshahi regimes. The most picturesque and attractive Building in Karad happens to be the mosque built by Ibrahim Khan between the year 1557 A.D. & 1580 A.D. during the regime of Ali Adilshah the first. There are imposingly magnificent



## Heads We Win Tails You Lose

(From Page 15)

- Compiling an exhaustive information brochure containing all the details about Yatra including the rates fixed for available facilities and services. Such brochure should be posted on the SASB website and its printed copies also be made available to Yatris.
- Establishing all the facilities for Yatris, like prefab huts, medical aid posts etc, well before commencement of the Yatra. So far ancillary facilities to the camps, like electricity, water supply, telephone connectivity etc, are provisioned by local authorities much after commencement of the Yatra thus causing a lot of inconvenience to the Yatris. This anomaly needs to be sorted out.
- Irrespective of being owned by Shrine Board or by the private operators, SASB should take full commercial control of all services and facilities by: -
- Fixing rates, well in advance, for all the services provided by the locals and advertising those prominently. Mere fixing of rates, as has been done thus far, is a halfhearted measure to prevent overcharging as the actual

realization is then left solely to the integrity of the private operator. That precisely was the reason why, in 2008, pilgrims hiring ponies, on the traditional route, had to dish out amounts upwards of Rs.11,000/= per pony or Dandiwalas, on Baltal route, brazenly fleeced old and infirm Yatris by settling for nothing less than Rs. 22,000 per trip or private tent owners charging Rs. 150/= per bucket of hot water from the shivering Yatris. Such is the secular texture of the Yatra. As a counter measure, SASB needs to establish counters, to be manned by its staff, for booking of such facilities by the Yatris.

- Not outsourcing of booking of prefab huts and helicopter tickets to travel agents since they have been utilizing availability of quotas with them as a tool for selling expensive tour packages to the Yatris. SASB should handle such bookings itself. Minimum 75% of the available quota should be set aside for booking on spot by the pilgrims across counters to be established by SASB while balance 25% should be released on Shrine Board website for booking by the Yatris in advance..

- Drastic reduction in helicopter service fare on Baltal-Holy Cave-Baltal sector. Current fare structure is exorbitant and, realistically, same should be pegged around Rs.5,000. An argument that the fare has been fixed through process of tendering does not hold much water since its reduction would be resented by none other than the service operators. A commercial audit of the pricing would reveal that the operators are running away with mindboggling profit of more than Rs.90,000/- per flying hour.

- Provision of adequate parking space for the vehicles at the staging camps. It is a common knowledge that inadequacy of parking space at Baltal, besides causing acute traffic jam right from Sonamarg to the Camp location, is a source of easy pickings for local cops on duty. Greater the chaos fuller the pockets of the very personnel who have been entrusted with the job of restoring order to traffic. A simple solution is to shift parking to Sonamarg and to run a ferry service there from.

SASB also needs to upgrade medical facilities at every parao. Evacuation of seriously sick patients by helicopter needs a more deliberate integration of all agencies than the loose arrangement which is in place at present. To make medical cover

responsive, the equipment needs to be augmented with volunteer doctors and other paramedical staff rather than by those deputed unwillingly through a duty roster.

Shrine Board must also consider the option of sponsoring an alternative route to the Holy Cave via Manali-Leh- Sonamarg. After all, a number of groups did take this route to reach Baltal after the agitators had choked all the roads in Kashmir during last year's Yatra season and these Yatris had nothing to complain about. Besides obvious economic benefits accruing to remote Ladakh region which has been starved of adequate developmental funds till now, it shall puncture communal arrogance of Kashmiri Muslims' claim to monopoly over the conduct of this Yatra. This route also offers an ideal site at Gumri for operation of an affordable helicopter service since flying time to the Holy Cave would be drastically reduced to just three minutes. Handicap of severe cold conditions at some places, along this route, could well be taken care of by erecting better facilities for the pilgrims for then there shall be none to raise the bogey of environmental degradation. Plans to construct rail link to Leh along this axis may ultimately prove to be a boon for the Yatris and the people of Ladakh region.

Lastly, SASB needs to revamp its organizational structure. It needs capable managers at the helm rather than retired government servants. It needs to shrug itself off bureaucratic inertia and galvanize into a dynamic organization capable not only of efficient management but also be able to visualize and stimulate long term planning. But, that is not as great a challenge as the one posed by concerted affront intended at the Hindu heritage in Kashmir and on its linkage to mainland India by communal forces in the Valley. SASB needs to discern machinations unleashed by the forces hell bent to paint Kashmir completely green. Shrine Board must decipher last year's Amarnathji land agitation, in Kashmir, as yet another dimension of the ongoing war to dislodge India from the Valley. Amarnathji Yatra is not merely a pilgrimage; it is one of the many manifestations of the very concept of India.

Kashmiri Muslims of all hues want the Yatra to go on till eternity but on their own terms. On one hand, they regard it as a pure economic activity while on the other they show scant regard to the religious sensitivity of the very people who constitute it. It is Kashmiri Muslim hegemony at its best, conveying 'heads we win tails you lose'.

## The Reality Of Shiva from Kashmir Shaivism to Lalla Ded Vakhs

(Contd. from Page 13)

awareness that she sees Shiva in the world, yet beyond the confines of the world as a perceptible garden. She is at a station where she is absolutely content and joyous having dips in the ever-gushing nectar of Shiva's consciousness supreme. She calls such dips as 'dying' because it is a state of mergence. Lalla Ded sings:-

*Lala ba chayan suman бага барас  
vuchum Shivas Shakhāt meelith tavah  
laya karmas amryat saras  
tati maras ta karyam kyha*

It is a matter of common observation that water as an element under freezing conditions gets frozen into the form of snow and ice. When the sun shines upon snow or ice, it gets melted, back into the state of water. The element of water, the process of getting frozen and snow or ice, though sequentially three in number are essentially one. Water as the basic substance under a freezing process turns into snow or ice. Similarly the fundamental fluid of Shiva's consciousness having a stir of creativity in a sub-merged condition assumes varied forms under the willing impulse of Shiva Himself. Diversity as we find in the multi-faceted universe is eternally one with the creative consciousness of Shiva. It is an eternal process of opening out (unmesh) and withdrawing in (nimilan)

Lalla Ded sings out-

*Turi salil khot ture  
himi trai gayi byan abyan vimarsa  
chyatani rava bhati sab samai  
shiva mai charachar jagpashya*

The frightful and ominous clouds of bigotry and intolerance had enveloped the skies of Kashmir when Lalla Ded was treading the native land of Kashmir. The forcible conversions with the aid of Muslim state power had already kick-started. In her trenchant exhortation to the hordes of Sayyid-Sufis acting as sappers and miners of Islam she clamours out the immanence of Shiva and need to follow the path of self-recognition as part of Trika Darshan to see essence of Shiva in men of all faiths:-

*Shiva chuya thali-tahl rozan  
mozan hynd ta musalman  
trukhai chuyukh pan praznav  
soya chai shivas saet zani-zan*

## EXPLORATION AT 'KARAD'

(Contd. from Page 16)

- Bullae's surfacing at Karade are 2:- cm in diameter and have two small apertures pieced in these so that these could be sported as necklaces.
- Numerous ancient remains such as Roman styled red polished ware, glass bangles, Terracotta earrings, pots, sherds, Roman wares with decorative motifs, earthen beads with motif, Bangles made out of Conch shells, have surfaced in Karad. All these must have reached Karad due to international trading activities.
- Gold coins of later chaluksyas in the shape of a horse - shoe very frequently surfaced in karad, meaning thereby, that these were in vogue or in circulation, in those periods.
- In addition, Medieval period earthenware pots and utensils also are found in the precincts of Karad, though sporadically. On account of these ancient remains surfaced at Karad, it is evident that Karad was a prominent trade centre during 'Satavahana Period'. The caves belonging to 'Hinayana' sect and the remains of jain idols clearly establish the significant rapport of people practising jain & Buddhist faith with the city of "karad". like the ancient period, the importance of Karad has not been belittled in any way during Medieval periods. This fact is borne out by the presence of the structures existing and other related remains surfaced at Karad.

## Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Rituals Variants

(Contd. from Page 12)

- earth and sun, where Munis and Sidha's are said to reside), *Swarloka* (region between Sun and Polarstar, Maharloka (abode of Bhri gn Rishi and other saints).
- Janaloka (abode of mind-born sons) i.e. 'manas-putras' of Lord *Bramhav*, *Taparloka* and lastly *Satyloka*, also known as '*Bramha Loka*', where Lord Bramha is believed to reside. The digit seven also denotes seven holy and pilgrimage cities of Ayodhya, Mathura, Gaya, Banaras or Kashi, Kanchi of Canjeveram, Avanti or Ujjain and Dwarka. Seven also symbolises seven *Saptrishis* or *Prajapatis*, who are also known as 'manas-putras' or mind born sons of **Lord Bramha**. As per *Satapatha Brahmana*, they are *Gotama*, *Bharadvaj*, *Vishwamitra*, *Jamadagn*, *Vasishtha*, *Kashyapa* and *Atri*. According to Mahabharata, they are *Marichi*, *Atri*, *Angiras*, *Pulaha*, *Kratu*, *Pulastya* and *Vasistha*. Seven also stands for seven names of Rudras, the fearsome and frightening manifestations of Lord Shiva, which are *Bhava*, *Sarva*, *Ishana*, *Pashupati*, *Bhima Ugra* and *Mahadeva*. It also represents seven sacred holy rivers of *Ganga*, *Saraswati*, *Sindhu*, *Gomati*, *Gandhak*, *Saryu* and *Beas* or *Vipasha*. The number seven is also associated with '*Saptpadhi*' ceremony of going around the '*agni*' seven times at the time of marriage ceremony, symbolising togetherness of the spouses for emotional strength, wealth, food, progeny, long life, prosperity and eternal association. The said number also represents the seven streams into which the river Ganga is believed to split after descending down from the matted hair of Lord Shiva. The digit seven also symbolizes seven sacred mountains, seven sacred trees of *Bilvav*, *Peepal*, *Ashvatha*, *Banayan* and *Mangoo* etc. and seven segments of earth called *Jambu*, *Kura*, *Palaksh*, *Shalmali*, *Kranch* and *Pushkar*.

—(To be continued)



- Mar 1: Terrorists shot dead an SPO at Kastigarh, Doda. An OGW of HM was arrested in Pulwama. Pranab Mukerjee said that Pakistan has to dismantle terror network.
- Mar 2: One person was injured in an explosion outside an Army camp in Handwara, Kashmir. A bomb hoax created panic in court complex Janipur. Chief Minister Omar Abdullah said that the outsider militants could be given safe passage if they leave behind guns. Law Minister Rahim Rather said that AFSPA can't be repealed by the state. There was no Poonch guest for PoK today.
- Mar 3: Terror attack on Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore leaves six cricketers and their assistant coach injured while eight people including security guards of the players were killed.
- Mar 4: Two blasts rocked Srinagar as terrorists made abortive bid on the life of SHO Saddar and attack on Rajbagh Police Station. Security forces busted a terrorist hideout and recovered arms and ammunition in Chakrishpora, Bandipore.
- Mar 5: The hoax caller Raj Kumar, whose call created panic in the HC complex, has been arrested in Jammu. Karvan-e-Aman cancelled on Pak request.
- Mar 6: One person was killed as clashes broke out between protesters and forces in Nowhatta, Srinagar. Four persons including two security personnel were injured in two separate blasts in Doda and Ramban districts. VDC members held protests in support of their demands.
- Mar 7: Two IED's were defused in Kupwara. Tensions grips Srinagar as security forces enforce restrictions to foil wide spread protests. TADA Court awards life imprisonment to HM comdr Mohammad Ayub Dar alias Ashfaq in Moulvi Farooq murder case.
- Mar 8: Restrictions continued in Srinagar. A TA jawan Zaffarullah Khan desecrated Army and escaped with three rifles reportedly to join the terrorist ranks. An Army jawan shot himself to death in Doda.
- Mar 9: Two HM terrorists were killed in Battas-Dharam, Gool. Two jawans were injured in an encounter in forest area of Handwara, Kupwara, Hindu Shrines Bill was introduced by the government in Assembly.
- Mar 10: A Sarpanch was killed by terrorists in Mahore. An Army jawan was held with catridges at Jammu Railway Station.
- Mar 11: Two HM terrorists were arrested in Pulwama and Baramulla districts.
- Mar 13: Two IED's were defused in Haryana Top in Reasi and two hideouts were busted in Bharat, Doda. A HuM terrorist was arrested in Baramulla. India handed over replies to Pak questionnaire on Mumbai attack.
- Mar 14: Three LeT terrorists including a Pakistani were killed at Sarwa village in Keshwan, Kishtwar. A financial coordinator of LeT was arrested in Rajouri. Two terrorists were killed in Handwara. Pranab Mukerjee seeks action from Pak on terror attacks.
- Mar 15: A Pak infiltrator was killed on IB in RS Pura sector. Three IEDs were defused in Poonch. Army refuses to join Govt. probe into Sopore killings.
- Mar 16: Two IEDs were defused in Srinagar and Baramulla districts. Former Governor J&K, SK Sinha said that Mufti Sayeed acted as the spokesman of militants and several ministers were hobnobbing with separatists. Panun Kashmir alleged that the State Assembly is being used for communal and separatist agenda. Pak political crisis blewover as Zardari agreed to reinstate deposed judges including Chief Justice Iftikhar Geelani.
- Mar 17: A terrorist hideout was busted and arms and ammunition recovered in Batmaloo, Srinagar. Antony assured Omar Abdullah of action against guilty in Sopore killings.
- Mar 18: An LeT women terrorists was arrested in Thathri, Doda. Home Minister sounded High Alert in J&K during elections and said that Army report on Bomai killings will be presented soon. Home Minister reviewed security situation in UHQ meet.
- Mar 19: An Assistant Commandant and three others of CRPF were suspended as police filed murder case against CRPF men in Pulwama killing. An HM terrorist was arrested at Wussan, Ganderbal.
- Mar 20: Three terrorists were killed as Army foiled an intrusion bid in Kupwara; four Army personnel sustained injuries in the encounter. Seven ring leaders of stone plotters in Nowhatta, Srinagar were arrested by police in a novel way. Army probe held a JCO and two jawans responsible for Bombai killings as government pitches for shifting of the camp.
- Mar 21: Two more terrorists were killed in Kupwara as Pak troops violated ceasefire yet again in Uri. Home Minister alleged that Pakistan was not probing link of official agencies in Mumbai attacks and denied FBI and India access to investigate. Arms and explosives were recovered in Mendhar, Poonch.
- Mar 22: A Major was among four Army personnel killed in Kupwara encounter; a terrorists was also killed in today's operation. Three terrorists of HM were arrested in Anantnag and arms and ammunition recovered from their possession. Arms and ammunition was recovered from Nangali forests in Poonch.
- Mar 23: Death toll in Kupwara operation rose to 19 as five more terrorists and four jawans were killed in today's encounter. An HM terrorist was killed in Shopian. A civilian was killed by unidentified gunmen in Bandipore.
- Mar 24: Toll in Kupwara operation rose to 25 with death of six more terrorists in Handwara. An HM terrorist was arrested from Jewel Chowk, Jammu while an OGW of terrorists was also arrested when he was purchasing combat dresses for terrorists. Army has decided to relocate Bomai Camp. Antony directed Army to deal firmly with terrorists. Omar Abdullah accused Pakistan of activating terrorist launching pads. People in Kashmir mourned death of a Kashmir soldier killed in Kupwara operation.
- Mar 25: Even if Army claimed that intelligence network thwarted infiltration bid in Kupwara, Army Chief said that Pak Army support to terrorists who were killed in Kupwara was possible. Army lodged protests against cease-fire violation with Pak.
- Mar 26: A top LeT Comdr was among four terrorists killed as there was another infiltration bid in Gurez. A top HM terrorist was arrested in Mahore, Reasi. Omar Abdullah briefed PM on law and order situation.
- Mar 27: A terrorist was killed in Rajouri while an LeT terrorists surrendered in Doda. Three HM terrorists were arrested in Kashmir Valley as operation against infiltrators in Gurez has been hampered by inclement weather. 50 people were killed in Pak mosque attack.
- Mar 28: Two terrorists were killed in Tral, Pulwama. A terrorist hideout was busted in Reasi and an IED defused in Rajouri. Govt is to approach WG in Centre-State relationship to give its report.
- Mar 29: A terrorist was killed in Lolab, while searches continue in Gurez, Army said that terrorists might have sneaked back into Pakistan. The US asked Pakistan to cut ties with Al Qaeda, LeT and Taliban.
- Mar 30: Two terrorists were killed in Shopian. An Army jawan was killed in Reasi. Geelani was detained by Police as he was to launch anti poll campaign. 13 people including some terrorists were killed as terrorists attacked Police Academy in Lahore.
- Mar 31: A terrorists was killed in Kupwara. A HM terrorist surrendered at Miran Sahib in Jammu. Pakistan Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud claimed responsibility of Lahore Police Academy attack and warned strikes in US and Pak.
- April 1: An LeT terrorist was arrested in Mohripura, Anantnag. Governor J&K and Army Commander Northern Command reviewed over all security situation in the state.
- April 2: A top LeT terrorist Yusuf Gujjar was among three terrorists killed at Sarwan in Keshwan, Kishtwar. Two brothers were shot at and injured by terrorists at Bei Nullah in Dharmshal, Rajouri. Seven day long Army operation was called off as no fresh contact was established with the terrorists. There are reports that the terrorists might have sneaked back into PoK. Mumbai attack mastermind Muzamil was on J&K terror radar as the intercepts found him asking Salahuddin to push more and more terrorists in J&K.
- April 3: A terrorist and a Army jawan were killed in an encounter in Trehgam, Kupwara. Five activists of Hurriyat (Geelani) were arrested in Srinagar. Union Home and Defence Secretaries reviewed security and poll arrangements in J&K. President advocates for latest weaponry to Army. BJP promises POTA like law and abrogation of article 370 in its election manifesto.
- April 4: An Army jawan was injured but three suspected terrorists managed their escape in an encounter at Seel in Doda district. Army recovered arms and ammunition in Rajouri. Amidst reports of increase in infiltration with 400 terrorists waiting to enter J&K ahead of elections, government has asked for beefing up security to thwart any attempt of violence during election. Another suicide attack left eight dead in Pakistan where 30 suspected terrorists were killed in US drone attack.
- April 5: A terrorist was killed in an encounter in Trehgam, Kupwara four security personnel suffered injuries in yet another encounter in Lolab. An Army jawan was found dead in his camp at Bandipore. There are reports that Taliban have sneaked into J&K. After yet another suicide attack in Pakistan that killed 30 Shia worshippers India said that dismantling terrorist network in Pakistan was in her own interest.
- April 6: Two Army jawan were killed in an encounter in Lolab. An Army jawan shot himself dead in Kokernag. Seven persons were killed and 61 others injured on the eve of PM's visit to Assam.
- April 7: Two terrorists were killed in Lolab. Arms and ammunition was recovered in Rajouri and Udhampur districts. Maintaining that the alertness will neutralise infiltrators, Union Home Minister said that militant groups were determined to infiltrate into J&K.
- April 8: A fake Army jawan was arrested from Railway Station Jammu. Army said that it was not aware of Taliban presence in J&K.
- April 9: Two Bangladeshis were arrested from Raika forests near Bhatindi, Jammu. Ahead of polls, the number of terrorists in Doda district has increased as there has been increase in LeT and HM cadres. CRPF is to raise 10 Btms to fight terror. The US and Pakistan differ in fight against Taliban and Al Qaeda.
- April 10: An intruder was shot dead by terrorists at Suchetgarh border. A woman was killed in an explosion in her house at Bhaderwah. A terrorist hideout was busted in Mahore. A terrorist hideout was destroyed and large quantity of arms and ammunition recovered in Pattan. Prime Minister described intrusion as serious threat to poll process.
- April 11: A tragedy was averted as security forces detected and defused an IED planted along roadside in Baramulla town. A terrorist hideout was busted and large quantity of arms and ammunition recovered in Janidhara forests in Rajouri. Arun Jaitley said that BJP is committed to abrogation of Article 370. Separatist leader Sajjad Lone is to contest parliamentary elections from Baramulla Constituency.
- April 12: A JeM terrorist was killed and a captain injured in an encounter in Pulwama. Even if Farooq Abdullah denied any presence of Taliban in the Valley and said that the reports were deliberate to destroy tourism Mehbbooba described reports deliberate leaks to scare away voters.
- April 13: The 36 hour long in Pulwama ended with recovery of bodies of two terrorists and injuries to a captain. Geelani threatened massive agitation if the political detainees were not released.
- April 14: Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor said that women militants were being trained across LoC and infiltration may rise due to polls. He also denied of any trace of Taliban in the state but added that anyone belonging to any organisation who disturbs peace will be neutralised.



## CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

(From Page 18)

- April 15: Reacting Salahuddin's threat to disturb elections, Farooq Abdullah said that HM cannot stop elections but Army maintained that it has taken the threat seriously and is working to ensure free and fair polls. Prime Minister ruled out resumption of talks with Pakistan unless Pakistan stops use of its territory or anti-India terror activities and added that Pakistan's nuclear assets are in danger.
- April 16: A woman was killed and her son sustained injuries as terrorists barged into their house at Donadoo in Anantnag and fired indiscriminately. 70 crossed sides in Karvan-e-Aman. 51 percent polling recorded in Jammu parliamentary constituency. Hurriyat decided not to give poll boycott call.
- April 17: 12 people were hurt as people protested against Hurriyat decision of not to give poll boycott call. A VDC member committed suicide at Thakra Kote in Reasi. A CRPF cop died mysteriously in Darhal, Rajouri. Army said that terror camps still exist across the LoC.
- April 18: A female terrorist Zahida was among the three terrorists of LeT killed in an encounter at Bagla in Bharat, Doda. Zahida is the only woman terrorist killed in two decade long militancy. Two IEDs and grenades were seized in Thannamandi, Rajouri.
- April 19: Yet another female terrorist Dilshada and HM Comdr Mukthiyar were killed in an encounter in Kashtigarh, Doda. A terrorist, a surrendered terrorist and a retired cop were killed and two suspected terrorists arrested in different incidents across Kashmir valley. Two persons were found dead mysteriously in the Valley. Farooq Abdullah accused terrorists of infringing on right to democracy. LeT is reported to have changed captured top brass with new faces and asked its cadres to take

precautions while infiltration.

- April 20: A terrorist and a CRPF jawan died and four securitymen were injured in an fierce gun battle in Pattan, Baramulla. A terrorist hideout was busted in Tral and arms and ammunition recovered there. In the sensational kidnapping and killing case of VC KU and GM HMT in 1990, court acquitted accused as CBI failed to prove the case. 103 cross LoC at Chakan-da-Bagh. AK Antony accused Pakistan of continuing policy of state sponsored terror.
- April 21: Five people were killed and seven other injured as terrorists blew up a Tata Mobile at Surankote. Two cops were injured in an encounter at Shalini Nullah in Deoli, Doda. A terrorist hideout was busted in Kralpora, Kupwara. A report of council on foreign relations in US and authored by Daniel Markey says that if rapid Talibanisation of Pakistan continues, the next generation of the world's most sophisticated terrorists will be born, indoctrinated and trained in the nuclear-armed nation, Pakistan.
- April 22: A CRPF jawan was injured in terrorist firing in Tral, Pulwama. An ex-serviceman and PHE official were among four held for Surankote blast. Centre admitted infiltration of 50 terrorists in J&K. President Patil said that terror infrastructure shall be dismantled in the neighbouring country.
- April 23: An HUJI terrorist was arrested in Kupwara and arms and ammunition recovered from his possession. 49 crossed sides in Karvan-e-Aman 45.3 percent voters exercised then franchise in Udhampur Constituency.
- April 24: Terrorists gunned down an NC activist in Tral while security forces neutralised two HM terrorists in Sopore. A JeM terrorist and his OGW were ar-

rested in Tral. Two terrorists were reportedly engaged in a gunbattle with security forces in Domal forests in Bhaderwah.

- April 25: 14 LeT cadre were held in connection with the Surankote blast as police claimed to have cracked the case. Pakistani terrorist Moenullah Shah of North West Frontier Province, who was arrested, said that 56 ultras infiltrated through Gurez sector and spitted beans on training and other procedures.
- April 26: LeT, JeM and LeJ (Lashkar-e-Jhangvi) joined hands under banner "Muslim United Army". Omar Abdullah accused that self rule slogan was floated at BJP's behest. Two persons, including a PWD official, were arrested after helping terrorists to escape in Domel, Bhaderwah.
- April 27: A Peshawar terrorist Abu Babbar was killed at Shruti top in Mendhar, Poonch. AK Antony reviewed situation on LoC and asked troops to foil intrusion bids. Zardari claimed Laden dead but added that there was no proof to it.
- April 28: A top HM terrorist was killed at Dera Top in Marmat, Doda. An Army jawan was injured in a terrorist attack in Tral and an NC activist survived a bid on his life in Batmaloo, Srinagar. Army chief admitted substantial rise in Infiltration.
- April 29: Army said that more terrorist were waiting across LoC for infiltration.
- April 30: Two LeT Comdrs were killed and a jawan injured while three local police officials had a narrow escape in a fierce encounter in Bhaderwah. Two OGWs of HM were arrested in Awantipore, Pulwama. Mufti Sayeed and Mehbooba Mufti stayed away from polling as Anantnag resisted 26 percent polling while less than 7 percent Kashmiri migrants exercised their franchise.

## THOSE WHO LEFT US

(From Page 2)

67. Smt. Mohini Kachru W/o Late Sh. M.L. Kachru R/o M.C.J. No: 925, Lane-16, Rajpora Mangotrian Jammu. 15/2/2009.
68. Smt. Somawati Koul W/o Late Sh. Govind Koul of Dantar Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 660 Lane 5/D Ext. Suryavanshi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 16/2/2009
69. Sh. Jawahar Lal S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen of Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 143, Lane No: 14, Laxmi Nagar, Sector-2, Muthi Jammu. 16/2/2009
70. Smt. Rajlaxmi Tickoo W/o Sh. H.L. Tickoo R/o Willington Estate W-1/C-II Phase-5, DLF Gurgaon. 16/2/2009
71. Dr. Bushan Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Damodhar Koul erstwhile resident of Sathu Barbarshah Sgr; presently Puran Kutheer Dharmal Barnai Jammu. 16/2/2009
72. Smt. Shanta Ji Koul W/o Sh. JN. Koul of Upper Shiv Nagar, Jammu. 16/2/2009
73. Smt. Prabha Dhar W/o Sh. Kanhaya Lal Dhar of Khan-Khai Soktha Nawakadal Sgr; presently resident of 81/2 Vijay Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 17/2/2009
74. Sh. Kashi Nath Koul of Lok Bhawan Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 186-B Lane H-Durga Nagar Sector-2 Bantalab Road Jammu. 17/2/2009
75. Sh. Pawan Ji Machama S/o Sh. Chuni Lal Machama of Karapora Khushki Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of 122-Ganesh Vihar Lower Muthi Jammu. 17/2/2009
76. Sh. Pushkar Nath Koul (Posh Bab) S/o Late Pt. Ram Chand Koul of Kani Kadal Habbakdal Sgr; presently resident of Shalimar Garden Gaziabad (UP). 18/2/2009
77. Sh. Neel Kanth S/o Late Pt. Narayan Dass of Bonagund Verinag Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 242/243, Phase-3rd Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 18/2/2009
78. Sh. Mohan Lal Khar S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Khar of Agha Hamam Babapora Habbakdal Sgr; presently resident of New Priya Darshani Appt. Flat No: 189, Plot No: 19, Sector-5 Dwarika New Delhi. 18/2/2009
79. Smt. Roopawati Dhar W/o Late Sh. Sat Lal Dhar of Ganpatyar Sgr; presently resident of 206, Vipin Garden Kakrota Uttam Nagar, New Delhi. 19/2/2009
80. Sh. Dwarika Nath Bhat originally resident of Krankshavan Sopora Kmr; presently resident of Nagrota Camp Jammu. 20/2/2009.
81. Sh. Mahishwar Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Raina originally resident of Khayar Pahalgam Kmr; presently residing at Suryavanshi Nagar Lane No: 1, H.No: 89/4, Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 20/2/2009
82. Smt. Raj Laxmi Misri W/o Late Sh. Girdhari Lal Misri R/o Kathial Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at Chandigarh. 20/2/2009
83. Sh. Prem Nath Wanchoo S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Wanchoo of Malyar/Narsingh Garh Sgr; presently at Washington D.C. (USA). 20/2/2009
84. Sh. Moti Lal Kak S/o Late Sh. L.N. Kak of Karan Nagr, Sgr; presently residing at N-140 New Palam Vihar Gurgaon Haryana. 20/2/2009
85. Sh. J.N. Bambroo S/o Late Sh. Nath Ram Bambroo R/o Akura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 644, Sector-11, Panchkulla Haryana. 21/2/2009
86. Sh. Krishen Jee Sharma originally resident of Sathu Sheetal Nath Sgr; presently residing at Sector-B-2 Laxmipuram Chinore Bantalab Jammu. 22/2/2009
87. Smt. Sona Batni Pandit W/o Late Sh Shiv Ji Pandit of Zainapora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of GOpal Nagar, Phase-I, H.No: 91-92 Najab Garh New Delhi. 22/2/2009
88. Sh. Radha Krishen Koul originally resident of Omanagri Briariangam Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 73, Lane-4, Sham Vihar Gole Pully Talab Tillo, 22/2/2009.
89. Sh. Prithvi Nath Bhat of Khumoh Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 383, Nagrota Camp Jammu, H.No: 198, Durga Nagar Sector-2. 22/2/2009
90. Sh. J.L. Khazanchi W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Khazanchi originally resident of Sathu Barbar Shah Sgr; presently resident at 53, Bhagwati Nagar, Sector-1, Jammu. 22/2/2009
91. Smt. Basanti Koul W/o Sh. Pushkar Nath Koul originally resident of Brah Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Kabir Colony Lane No: 12, H.No: 348, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 23/2/2009
92. Sh. Bhushan Lal Koul S/o Sh. S.L. Koul of Sopore Kmr; presently resident of Shalimar Garden, S-4, B-32, Saraswati Apts. Ext-2, Sahibabad (UP). 23/2/2009.
93. Sh. Shadi Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Sarwanad Raina of Frisal Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.NO: 12-B, Basant Nagar, Janipur, Jammu. 23/3/2009
94. Sh. Mohan Krishen Pandita S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Pandita of Maimoh (Magam) Pattan Kmr; presently resident of PD-III-C Vishaka Enclave Pritampora Delhi. 23/2/2009
94. Sh. Damodhar Pandita S/o Late Sh. Raghav Ram Pandita of Biddar Kokernag Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 32, Block-9, Gulshan Ground Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 24/2/2009
95. Sh. Satish Labru S/o Sh. Brij Lal Labru R/o Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 311, Sector-12(A) Panchkulla Haryana. 24/2/2009
96. Sh. Kashi Nath Suri S/o Late Sh. Bagwan Dass Suri of Mahjoor Nagar Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 447, Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 24/2/2009
97. Sh. Chaman Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Madhav Lal Kaul originally resident of Uttersoo Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 2, Raj Bhawan Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 26/2/2009
98. Sh. Omkar Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Niranjan Nath Dhar of 457, Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently resident of D-136, Sector-41, Noida. 26/2/2009
99. Sh. Ram Krishen Dassi S/o Late Sh. Tota Ram Dassi R/o Salia Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 163, Sector-4, Sharika Vihar Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu. 27/2/2009
100. Sh. M.K. Kachroo S/o Late Sh. S.L. Kachroo of 35 Kharyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 59/3, Pamposh Colony, Janipur, Jammu. 28/2/2009
101. Sh. Gopi Nath Koul (Ount) of Karfali Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 5, Sector-2, Pamposh Colony, Janipur, Jammu. 28/2/2009
102. Smt. Somawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Prathivi Nath Bhat of Wadipora Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Camp Muthi Phase-I, Jammu. 28/2/2009



**D**URING the present Obama presidency in USA, lot of din has been created about the relation of unresolved Kashmir issue to the growing radicalisation and militarisation within Pakistan. Efforts are on to link the success of war on terror in Afghanistan with the final settlement of Kashmir issue. In the post 26/11 situation the abetment of the sections of Pakistani state in the terrorist activities in India has received lot of international attention, Pakistan's growing isolation has however forced both USA and Great Britain to interieve and arrest the trend. The visit of the UK's secretary on foreign affairs J. Milliband to India became controversial because of his brazen comments not only to absolve Pakistani state of its involvement in promoting terrorist activities in India but also linking the success of war on terror in the region to the resolution of Kashmir issue. The strategic perspective in United Kingdom and United States of America about Pakistan needs to be understood with more clarity. This cannot be done without understanding the strategic perspective of the Great game for which Pakistan was created out of India.

We reproduce here the excerpts of the assessment of the Post Hostilities Planning Staff of the war cabinet of Churchill, the views which the British Viceroy Lord Archibald Wavell as well as the assessment of Chiefs of staff. about the imperative of creating Pakistan.

--Editor

**O**N the orders of Churchill the Post-Hostilities Planning Staff of the War Cabinet prepared a report named as, 'the security of India and the Indian Ocean'. Following excerpts of the report are relevant in the context already referred to here:-

"The USSR is the only major power which would be capable of seriously threatening our interests in India and the Indian Ocean area by 1955-1960".

It is of paramount importance that India should not secede from the empire or remain neutral in war".

"Its (India's) value (is) as a base from where forces would be suitably placed for deployment within the Indian ocean area and in the Middle East and the far east."

"Its position in relation to our air and sea communications; from the UK and the Middle East to Australia and the far east," and

"The contribution which India is capable of making to the war effort to the British Empire in consequence of its large reserve manpower".

"Soviet oil fields in the Caucasus would be vulnerable to attacks from airfields in (north-west) India and since the sea communications in the Persian Gulf and in the Arabian Sea carry a major portion of the oil produced in the Middle East and are therefore of great strategic value."

"We must ensure that whatever constitutional changes occur, we retain the right to station military strategic reserves in India..There might be political objections to stationing the strategic reserves in India proper after she has been granted Dominion Status.. Central Headquarters India have suggested that Baluchistan as an alternative to India proper, on the ground that it may be relatively easy to exclude this territory from the Dominion of India."

The above excerpts of the evolving strategic perspective of Great Britain, carried the first definitive hints of detaching a part of India and hence the seeds of the nation of Pakistan.

Lord Archibald Wavell, in February 1946, produced the blueprint detailing the areas of British India that should go to Pakistan. This blueprint was implemented in 1947. However it was kept secret to avoid any impression of a British initiative or hand in the division of India.

The years after leaving India, in June 1949, Lord Wavell addressed the Royal Central Asiatic Society in London thus: "There are two main material factors in the revolutionary change that has come over the strategic face of Asia. One is air power, the other is oil. Oil, which is the source of air power, concerns very deeply with that part of Asia with which this society deals, since the principal known oil reserves of the world lie in the Persian Gulf. The next great struggle for world power, if it takes place, may well be for the control of these oil reserves. It may centre on Western Asia, the Persian Gulf, the approaches to India...This may be the battleground both of the material struggle for oil and air bases, and of the spiritual struggle of at least three great creeds—Christianity, Islam, Communism....and of the political theories of democracy and totalitarianism. In such a struggle the base of the western powers must surely be in the Middle East...".

Another strategic aspect of the creation of Pakistan including the urgency to do so was underlined by Lord Wavell in his letter to Clement Atlee the Prime Minister of India. He wrote thus, "the first and foremost important is Pakistan issue. It is essential that HMG should have a policy on this...They may decide that the unity of India is of such importance that they will in no circumstances allow a complete partition of India and discount the adverse effect this will have on Muslims not only in India but in other parts of the world and are prepared to face the consequence (that might include) civil war in India and enmity in other Muslims countries".

On 6/7 February Lord Wavell had for the first time forwarded

the blueprint of the future Pakistan to HMG which was implemented almost to the letter when India attained independence eighteen months latter. As per N.S. Sarilla this was one of the most important communications sent by any Viceroy of India ever since the inception of that office, though ignored by most historians. Wavell unfolded his blueprint for Pakistan as follows:

"If compelled to indicate the demarcation of genuinely Moslem areas I recommend that we should include:-

- a) Sind, North-West Frontier Province, British Baluchistan, and Rawalpindi Multan and Lahore Divisions of Punjab, less Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts.
- b) In Bengal, the Chittagoing and Dacca Divisions, the Rajshahi division (less Jalpaigiri and Darjeeling) the Noida, Murshidabad and Jessore districts of Presidency divisions; and in Assam the Sylhet district.
2. In the Punjab the only Moslem-majority district that would not go into Pakistan under this demarcation is Gurudaspur (51 percent Moslem). Gurudaspur must go with Amritsar for geographical reasons and Amritsar being sacred city of Sikhs must stay out of Pakistan.
5. We should make it clear in any announcement that this is only an indication of areas to which in HMG's view the Moslems can advance a reasonable claims, modifications in boundary might be negotiated and no doubt the interests of Sikhs in particular would be carefully considered in such negotiations. Some such saving clause is indicated by importance of preventing immediate violence by Sikhs..
6. In Bengal the three Moslem-majority districts of Presidency divisions must I think be included in Pakistan, though this brings frontier across the Ganges. The demarcation includes in Pakistan all Moslem-majority districts and no Hindu majority districts.

7. There is no case, consistent with the principle suggested in the breakdown plan, for including Calcutta in Pakistan. The Moslems will probably try to negotiate for its being made a free port. If negotiations fail Eastern Bengal's prospects as a separate autonomous state will be seriously affected. But Moslems, if they insist on Pakistan, must face up to this problem".

This breakdown plan eventually became the scheme B. The then Prime Minister of Britain Clement Atlee wrote to the Cripps Cabinet Mission on 13 April, 1946 as:-

"You may work for an agreement on the basis of Scheme B (Pakistan) if it seems to be the only chance of agreed settlement. I send you in paragraphs 2 to 7 the views of the Chiefs of Staff for your information and for the use at discussions."

The views of the chief of the staff further elucidated the strategic vision for creation of Pakistan. The views of the chiefs of staff were as follows:

- (2) An agreement involving a loose all-India federation is far better than scheme B. We recognise however that this may be impossible of achievement. The alternative Scheme B (Pakistan) in spite of the disadvantages listed below is better than no agreement at all as this would lead to widespread chaos.
- 3) The disadvantage of Scheme B (partitions are as follows):-

Pakistan lies across the two entrances to India from Peshawar to sea in west and from the Himalays to the sea to the east.

In her hands would lie the responsibility to bar or open the road into Hindustan. Air bases from which India can be attacked lie in Soviet Central Asia and in Western China. The easiest and quickest routes to the large cities of India from these bases lie over the territories of Pakistan, both in the West and East of India. Similarly the air bases from which counter measures can be

taken lie mainly in Pakistan. It can therefore be said that the territory of Pakistan is vital to the defence of India as a whole.

- 4) Scheme B would destroy the homogeneity of the India Army, which is now strong and well equipped and in charged with the defence of all India. There would evolve the forces of Pakistan, the forces of Hindustan and the forces of many Indian states; each weak, each with its own standards of training, its own scale of equipment and its own tactical ideas. Even if all were acting in common for the defense of India, cooperation would be far from easy unless all acknowledged a central directing authority.
- 5) To operate effectively the communication of Hindustan and Pakistan must supplement each other as they were designed to do. Again Central Control is essential.
- 6) In Pakistan there is almost no industrial development, Karachi is at the end of a long and vulnerable railway, and Chittagong is in a similarly exposed position. The fight a war Pakistan must rely on Hindustan for producing a part of the war-like stores required and for importing and transporting the rest, without a Central authority this would not be possible.
- 7) In the case of Pakistan (west) it seems likely that she would tend to identify for her interests more with the Moslem lands of Central Asia, weak, unstable and exposed though they may be than (sic) with Hindustan. This might well lead to Pakistan being involved in wars not properly of vital importance to Hindustan, not to India as a whole. Or she might through fear engendered by her own weakness uncover the vitals of India by not resisting on the natural battleground of the hills of the Indian frontier?"



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