

# Tightening of the Noose



By Dr. Ajay Chrungoo

**T**HE evil guiding the government policy on internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus has to be fathomed and faced in its stark nakedness. On 21 January, 2010, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Service Selection Board, brought out the Advertisement Notice for 81 posts, supposed to be filled as a part of the employment package for 3000 'Kashmiri Migrants' declared by the Prime Minister of India. The Notice published in the local news papers also included the proforma of the 'Agreement' to be signed by the applicant Kashmiri 'migrant' in order to be appointed after getting selected for the particular post. The format of the agreement to be signed is revealing:

..The executioner has been appointed on probation as \_\_\_\_\_ in the \_\_\_\_\_ Department \_\_\_\_\_ subject to execution of this Agreement and inter-alia on the explicit condition that this appointment as such shall subsist only so long as he serves in the Kashmir Valley; and

Whereas, that the appointee shall be considered for regularization on the basis of performance and \_\_\_\_\_ satisfactory completion of period of probation in accordance

with afore mentioned rules and

Whereas, that the appointee agrees to serve in Kashmir Valley and will at no stage opt or seek for transfer outside Kashmir Valley; and

Whereas, that the appointee agrees that in case he migrates again from Kashmir Valley at any stage for any reasons whatsoever, he will stand automatically terminated from the services and shall have no claim against any post under the State; and

Whereas, if the appointee wilfully neglects or refuses to perform duty in Kashmir Valley the appointing authority shall immediately terminate the service; and

Whereas, the appointee will at no stage seek to opt for transfer outside the Kashmir Valley.

Now, therefore I accept the said terms and conditions of appointment...

For any Kashmir Hindu, what is being said in this agreement, brazenly and between the words and lines, should not be difficult to understand. But there are willing amongst the Kashmiri Hindu to give such undertaking only to get the job.

The studies conducted on the behaviour of victims of genocidal processes clearly tell us that victims of genocide cultivate a fatal wishful thinking. They always, want to believe that the worse is already over. Or that what has already happened is the climax and the world in which they are living and the government which is at the helms will not allow the worse. The victims have a suicidal naivety of reading each step taken by the perpetrators to tighten the genocidal noose around them as a concession.

A small sample of the contemporary empirical evidence reproduced below will help us to measure the depth of the evil enshrined in the text of the 'Agreement' reproduced above.



A Kashmiri Hindu migrant camp at Jammu.

\*Kashmiri Pandit Sangarsh Samiti, an organization of Kashmiri Hindus still living in Kashmir Valley, sent an open letter to the Prime Minister of India on 16 November, 2009 as well as the Chief Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir state, as also to the various Muslim leaders of the Valley. The letter states, "On 15th November, 2009, two of our members went to Bhairav Ghat, Chattabal, at Srinagar, to take some pictures of the temple ruins so that its fate could be settled with the concerned authorities. But the members of the Majority Community who had encroached the temple land abstained them from taking pictures and used unparliamentary language against the Kashmiri Pandits and their religious places. They started the slogans like '*Jis tarah humne tumhare mandiroan ko jalaya hai vaise hi tum logon ko jalayenge, aur kisi ko pata bhi nahi chalega*'. The way we have burnt your temples, in the same way we

will burn you and no one will know about you. '*Yahan sirf Islam chalega*'. Only Islam will prevail here. '*India ko lagta hai ki tum logon ko vapas layega, jo bi aaye ga mara jayega, hum log phirse gun uthayenge*'. India thinks that they can bring Kashmiri Pandits back to Valley, whosoever comes will die, we will again raise arms against you. The mob there even manhandled the members of KPSS and they had to leave the place. Even they could not file an FIR against the mob due to the life threat given by these hooligans belonging to a particular community... KPSS strongly condemns the act and appeals to the separatist leadership to look into the matter and reply back within a stipulated time so that when at one hand they recommend the return of Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley then why on the other hand their men are thirsty for KP blood...KPSS requests the State and Central administration to re-

think about their proposal to bring back the Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley instead register the fresh lot of migrants who will leave the Valley in coming days if the situation is not taken care of in due course of time...KPSS also appeals to the international community to take the matter seriously and ensure that all necessary steps are taken to safeguard the Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley."

This appeal by an organisation of the Hindus still living in Valley is revealing given the fact that it involves grave risks.

■ The state government recently gave the numbers of the Kashmiri Hindus living in the Valley on the floor of the assembly. The State government puts the number of Kashmiri Hindus living in Valley just above 800 families and the actual

(Contd. on Page 4)

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

1. Sh. Sri Kanth Raina S/o Late Sona Ram Rania R/o Chinigund Verinag Kmr; presently residing at 749, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 30/7/2009
2. Sh. Vinod Bakshi S/o Jatinder Bakshi of Sterling Apart. Chairmwood Village, Faridabad. 30/7/2009
3. Sh. Jawahar Lal Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Tickoo R/o H.No: 100, Drabiyar Habakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 4, Sector-3 Model Town Gangyal Jammu. 30/7/2009
4. Sh. Rattan Lal Jallali S/o Late Pt. PN Jallali originally resident of 456 Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently residing at Row House No: 9, Lukand Heritage-I, Pune. 31/7/2009
5. Sh. Shiv Jee Bhat R/o Bomai Sopore Kmr; preently residing at TRT No: G-9, Phase-IV Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 31/7/2009
6. Sh. Chuni Lal Budki S/o Late Sh. Mukand Lal Budki R/o 126/3 Vivek Vihar, Soap Factory Paloura Jammu. 31/7/2009
7. Sh. Rajinder Nath Misri S/o Late Pt. Shankar Nath Misri of 499-A, Gandhi Nagar Jammu. 1/8/2009
8. Sh. Raghunath Raina (Razdan) of Razdan Mohalla Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 1/8/2009
9. Sh. Jawahar Lal Dhar S/o Sh. Shiv Ji Dhar originally resident of Haihama Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 158-B, Uttam Nagar Kunjwani Jammu. 1/8/2009
10. Smt. Shanta Safaya W/o Sh. RK Safaya of Vathora Kmr; presently resident of Durga Nagar, Sector-III, Jammu. 2/8/2009
11. Sh. Badri Nath Raina S/o Late Nand Ram Raina of Kathsu Pahalgam, Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 40, Lane No: 2/6 Block-B, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 2/8/2009
12. Sh. Triloki Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Damodhar Koul R/o Budgam Kmr. 3/8/2009
13. Sh. Badri Nath Raina originally resident of Kathsu Pahalgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 138, JMC Upper Barnai Jammu. 3/8/2009
14. Smt. Jai Kishori Peer W/o Late Sh. Triloki Nath Peer originally resident of Narparistan Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 1, Lane-5, Bawani Nagar Gole Pully Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/8/2009
15. Sh. Badri Nath Vali S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Vali of 115 of Sathu Nakashpora Sgr; presently residing at Delhi. 4/8/2009
16. Sh. Chuni Lal Bhat of Bhawani Nagar Chandpora Harwan Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 14, Lane-3, Bharat Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 4/8/2009
17. Sh. Hira Lal Mattoo S/o Late Sh. Sona Lal Mattoo originally resident of Khankahsokhta Safakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 135, Col. Colony Bohri Jammu. 5/8/2009
18. Sh. Durga Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Balbader Nath Raina R/o Habakadal Sgr; presently residing at Udhampur 5/8/2009
19. Sh. Makhan Lal Kher S/o Sh. Balbader Kher R/o Neel-Sheel Vihar, Paloura Doke Jammu, H.No: 108. 5/8/2009
20. Sh. S.N. Kachroo S/o Late Sh. Balbader Kachroo originally resident of Noorpora, Teh. Awantipora Kmr; presently residing at 30-A, Ashok Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 6/8/2009
21. Smt. Shobawati Koul (Dharmarathi) W/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Koul originally resident of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 37-IB East Ext. Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 6/8/2009
22. Smt. Renu Pandita W/o Sh. Veer Ji Pandita originally R/o Delina Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 77, Gole Colony, Sharika, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/8/2009
23. Smt. Sham Rani Kath W/o Late Sh. Kundan Lal Kath R/o Gole Market, Karan Nagar Sgr. 7/8/2009
24. Smt. Soomawati Raina W/o Late Sh. G.N. Raina R/o 3-Gogji Bagh Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 145, Lower Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 7/8/2009
25. Smt. Parmeshwari Dhar W/o Late Sh. ML Dhar R/o Zaindar Mohalla Habakadal Sgr; presently residing at Lane-5, Surya Vihar Bohri Jammu. 8/8/2009
26. Smt. Leelawati Thatha R/o A-98, Sector-34, Noida. 8/8/2009
27. Smt. Sarla Bakshi W/o Sh. SK Bakshi resident of H.No: 15 Lane No: 8, Karan Nagar, Jammu. 9/8/2009
28. Smt. Rani Raina W/o Late Sh. RK Raina of Karfali Mohalla Habakadal Sgr; presently residing at B-5, Doordarshan Qtrs. High Court Road Janipur, Jammu. 9/8/2009
29. Smt. Umashori Bhan W/o Late Sh. Zind Lal Bhan of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at A-12, Shalimar Garden Ext. 2nd, Gaziabad. 9/8/2009
30. Smt. Gauri Shori Raina W/o Late Sh. P.N. Raina originally R/o of Ganpatyar Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 333, Secdtr-1, Ext-P Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 10/8/2009
31. Sh. Arjan Nath Raina Nehru S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Nehru R/o Chandpora Habakadal Sgr; presently resident of H-3/C Om Nagar Udhewalla Bohri, Jammu. 10/8/2009
32. Sh. Avtar Krishen Pandita S/o Sh. Janki Nath Pandita of Kachwa Muqam Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 400, Sector-3, Gangyal Jammu. 11/8/2009
33. Smt. Lalita Dhar W/o Late Sh. D.N. Dhar of 123, Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at H.No: E-311-A, Sector-27, Atta Market Noida. 11/8/2009
34. Sh. K.L. Wali S/o Late Sh. .N. Wali R/o 18-A, Extension New Plots Jammu. 11/8/2009
35. Sh. Sri Kanth S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee R/o Dumtabal Kokernag Kmr; presently R/o of B-01, TRT Nagrota Jammu. 11/8/2009
36. Sh. Ravi Wakhloo S/o Sh. D.K. Wakhloo resident of H.No: 153 Patel Nagar Akhnoor Road, Jammu. 12/8/2009
37. Smt. Usha Raina W/o Sh. KK Raina R/o 581-Laxmi Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 12/8/2009
38. Sh. Janki Nath Mam S/o Late Kashi Nath Mam originally resident of Drabiyar Habakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 426, Lane No: 4, Adarsh Nagar Barnai Bantalab Jammu. 12/8/2009
39. Smt. Sonamali Raina W/o Late Kanth Joo Raina originally resident of Wagam Teh. Chadoora Budgam Kmr; presently residing at Hari Niwas, 37, Doon Gati Defence Colony Dehradun. 12/8/2009
40. Smt. Shobawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Srikanth Bhat of Kreere Nagbal Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 113, Lane-2, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 13/8/2009
41. Smt. Bitu Dhar W/o Tej Krishen Dhar R/o Maratgam Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 102, Govind Nagar, Sector-2, Gole Gujral Jammu. 13/8/2009
42. Smt. Ratan Rani Kotha W/o Sh. Som Nath Kotha of 16 Ashok Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 13/8/2009
43. Sh. Prithvi Nath Bakshi S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Bakshi R/o Wachi Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at A/2 Buta Nagar, Paloura, Jammu. 14/8/2009
44. Smt. Prabhawati W/o Late Sh. Raghov Ram Pandit R/o Levдора Qazigund Kmr; presently residing at TRT M-15, Nagrota Jammu. 14/8/2009
45. Sh. Gash Lal Thusoo S/o Sh. Sri Kanth R/o Gotingoo Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 214, Phase-1st Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 14/8/2009
46. Sh. Triloki Nath Tikku S/o Sh. Shiv Jee Tikku R/o Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at Jammu. 15/8/2009
47. Sh. S.L. Koul S/o Late Sh. L.N. Koul of Monghama Pulwama Kmr; presently residign at Dina Nagar Barnai Bantalab Jammu. 15/8/2009
48. Sh. Hirdey Nath Kaul S/o Late Sh. Mukund Kaul of 95- Pamposh Colony Natipora Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 218, H, Durga Nagar, Sector-2, Talab Tillo Jammu. 15/8/2009
49. Sh. Makhan Lal S/o Late Amarchand R/o Bijawa, Pattan Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 107, Durga Nagar, Sector-1, Jammu. 15/8/2009
50. Sh. Gwash Lal Koul R/o Bonagund Verinag Kmr; presently resident of 690/A Vinayak Nagar III, Muthi Jammu. 16/8/2009
51. Sh. Mohinder Nath Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Balbader Tickoo R/o Malik Bagh Zaindar Mohalla Sgr, presently residing at USA. 16/8/2009
52. Sh. Inderjeet Bhat S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Bhat originally resident of Inder Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 168, Lane-6, Kabir Colony Talab Tillo, Jammu. 16/8/2009
53. Smt. Shobawati Drabu R/o Malik Angan Fatehkadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 250, Govind Nagar, Sector-3, Talab Tillo Jammu. 16/8/2009
54. Sh. Kashi Nath Dhar R/o Frisal Yariporta Kmr; presently residing at H.No: G/162 Shanti Nagar, Topsherkhania Jammu. 16/8/2009
55. Sh. Shadi Lal Hangloo S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Hangloo of Hangalgund Kmr; presently residing at Block-D, Qtr. No: 4, Police Housing Colony Channi Himmat, Jammu. 16/8/2009
56. Sh. Damodhar Raina R/o Frisal Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 32, Sector-2, Pamposh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 16/8/2009
57. Sh. Hirday Nath Koul of Danter Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Dream City Muthi Jammu. 16/8/2009
58. Pt. Nand Lal Zutshi S/o Late Pt. Aftab Ram Zutshi of Thab Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 352, Sector-3, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 16/8/2009
59. Sh. Janki Nath Kher S/o Late Sh. Shanker Pandit of Chillipora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of C-34, A-1, Shalimar Garden Ext.2 Gaziabad (UP). 17/8/2009
60. Sh. Makhan Lal Pandita of Pargochi Shopian Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 28, Sector-1, Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 17/8/2009
61. Master Sunny Koul S/o Sh. Rajinder Koul originally resident of Hushroo Budgam, Kmr; presently resident of H.No: WZ 16723/15 Nagal Raya, New Delhi. 17/8/2009
62. Smt. Pushpa Malla (Koul) W/o Sh. Narinder Koul originally resident of Zaindar Mohalla Habakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 154, Sector-2, Roop Nagar JDA Housing Colony Jammu. 18/8/2009
63. Smt. Sheela Moza W/o Sh. D.N. Moza of Kani Kadal Sgr presently resident of 795, Secdtr-5, Double Storey Vashali Gaziabad (UP). 18/8/2009
64. Sh. Pran Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Koul of Seer Hamdan Anantnag, presently residing at Qtr. No: 357, Block D-1, Phase-III, Purkhoo Camp Domana Jammu. 18/8/2009
65. Master Ankush Koul S/o Sh. Roop Krishen Koul of Mirhama Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at Near Bimla Medical Hall Rohi Morh Gadigarh, Miran Sahib Road, Jammu. 19/8/2009
66. Sh. Suresh Kumar Sehgal S/o Late Sh. Prem Saroop Sehgal originally resident of Channapora Sgr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 673, Jarhi Phase Camp Nagrota Jammu. 19/8/2009
67. Pt. Ram Chand S/o Late Sh. Thakur Chand Pandit R/o Shogpora Magam Handwara Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 120 B/10, Sector-1, Vinayak Nagar Muthi Jammu. 20/8/2009
68. Smt. Sheela Ji Kher W/o Sh. Soom Nath Kher originally resident of Kalwal Mohalla Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 24/A, Sector-1, Durga Nagar Jammu. 20/8/2009
69. Sh. Prem Nath Moza S/o Late Sh. Tika Lal Moza originally resident of Mallaratta Bohri Kadal Sgr; presently residing at G-100/101, Shanti Nagar, Top Sherkhania Jammu. 20/8/2009
70. Smt. Gouri Shori Mujoo W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Mujoo originally resident of Sathupayeen Barbarshah Sgr; presently resident of 19/1-A, Kanishka Residency, Ashoka Enclave III, Sector-35, Faridabad. 20/8/2009
71. Smt. Roopawati Pandita W/o Late Sh. Shanker Nath Pandita R/o Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Lane No: 1, Rama Krishna Vihar Udheywalla Bohri Jammu. 21/8/2009
72. Sh. Dawarika Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Kanth Ram Raina R/o Zainpora Shopian Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 423 Vinayak Nagar, Sector-12, Muthi Jammu. 21/8/2009
73. Sh. Manohar Nath Koul originally resident of 253, Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 22/10 (Old) Ashok Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 21/8/2009
74. Sh. Sham Lal Koul originally resident of Bataboni Chattabal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 66-C Lane-I, Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 21/8/2009
75. Sh. Jia Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Sri Kanth Koul originally resident of Dewar Tral Kmr; presently residing at Sector-I, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 22/8/2009
76. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhan S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Bhan formerly resident of 218, Narsingh Garh Sgr; presently residing at 18 Mohinder Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 22/8/2009
77. Smt. Shoabhawati Pandita W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Pandita originally resident of Gund Gushi Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at O.R.T. Complex Nagrota Jammu. 23/8/2009
78. Smt. Laxmishori Bhat W/o Late Sh. T.N. Bhat originally resident of Bana Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 142/2 Arjun Nagar Janipura Jammu. 23/8/2009
79. Smt. Phoola Wali W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Wali R/o Ganpatyar/Channapora Sgr; presently residing at F-90, Sec. 27, Noida (UP). 24/8/2009
80. Smt Anjana Chaku W/o Sh. B.L. Chaku R/o 8-B/D Green Belt Gandhinagar Jammu. 24/8/2009
81. Sh. Bal Krishen Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Tickoo R/o C-15/208 Shalimar Garden Ext. IInd, Shiv Chowk Sahibabad Gaziabad (UP). 24/8/2009
82. Sh. Bindraban Raina S/o Late Dina Nath Raina of village Abalwan, Shopian Kmr; presently resident of Phase-III, Muthi Camp, Jammu. 25/8/2009
83. Sh. Moti Lal Bakaya S/o Late Sh. Madhav Joo Bakaya R/o E-70 Nidesh Enclave Channi By-Pass Jammu. 25/8/2009
84. Sh. Nagarjun Ganjoo S/o Sh. Bansi Lal Ganjoo erst-while resident of Sathu Barbarshah Sgr; presently resident of D-4/7, Shubam Apartments, Dilshad Colony Delhi. 26/8/2009

*Editorial*

# No My War or Your War

**T**HE terrorist attacks in Russia, particularly those of suicide bombers on Metro trains, is a continuity of the war Islamist International is waging on the civilised world. It is a reminder to both Government of India and Government of USA that a small signal of weakness, not to speak of any concession, anywhere in the territories where Jihad is being waged, can lead to the flare up of Jihad all over.

The signals given by the Obama administration that it may come to terms with Taliban and eventually with Al Qaeda to extricate itself from the region has created an impression that Jihad is invincible. The weakness being shown by certain quarters of Government of India to come to some accommodation with the separatists in Jammu and Kashmir is undermining not only the national security but also does not augur well for the peace in the region .

For more than six decades government of India has pursued a policy of incremental concessions to the Muslim separatist politics in the State. The perceptions guiding the policy have underlined the necessity of compromises to douse the sentiment of separatism. With each concession the separatist sentiment grew in strength in Jammu and Kashmir.

The model of engaging the moderate varieties of separatism and communalism over the years blossomed into underground Muslim separatism with an overground network of support structures preserved and perpetuated by the so-called moderates.

Americans seem to have adopted this model now in Afghanistan and Pakistan. As the Government of India abandoned all legitimately moderate forces on the ground in Jammu and Kashmir to win over the separatists, the Americans are abandoning everything in the region which can be genuinely their support, to salvage themselves.

For the time being Pakistani Army seems to be having its way. Its strategic perspective is being embraced by the Americans. Not only is its perspective on solution on Jammu and Kashmir being encouraged by the Americans, but also its views on Afghanistan are finding more resonance amongst the American planners of the present.

In an endeavour to douse the fires of Jihad, the epicentre of Jihad-The Pakistan is being promised both a forward movement in the east and a strategic depth in the west. More precisely the perception of the Al-Qaeda strategic planners, that Pakistan is a place of strategic depth for International Jihad is proving more correct than the assessments of governments in India and USA. With the strengthening of the strategic depth of Jihad, the global terrorism will only grow, as the events in Russia, Pakistan or even Jammu and Kashmir are showing.

Recognising the continuity of the Jihad waged by Islamist International and not compartmentalising it into my war and your war is the imperative necessity for the civilised world. Hitler rose to power in Europe because powers in Europe viewed his rise only in terms of my interests and your interests. What happened because of this attitude is History. Half of Europe including the great power of France was decimated. British escaped occupation only by quick of fate in the form of Dunkerke fiasco of Hitler.

A similar situation is developing in this region. India like Russians are fighting the grim battle for the defence of its frontiers. Americans will commit a mistake if they think that Iraq, Afghanistan or Pakistan is only a strategic space which they can barter away for better interests. Americans are also fighting in Asia for the defence of its frontiers.

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# Tightening of the Noose

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number of persons below 4000. The figures given by the State government are much more than the figures which various surveys conducted by the Kashmiri Hindus living in Valley have underlined. These independent surveys have put the number of total Hindus living in Valley presently well below 3000. In 1996 when the elected government took over after a prolonged stint of Governor's rule in the State, the number of Kashmiri Hindus given by the government from time to time was always between 10,000 to 15,000. For political reasons of undermining the gravity of situation in the Valley, the governments at the helm of affairs have always indulged in exaggerating the number of Hindus living in Kashmir. But if we take the government figures as true, even then, retrospectively the deterioration of the situation cannot be hidden or fudged. The number of Kashmiri Hindus living in Valley, compared to the government figures of 1996, when the democratic process started, has fallen by more than sixty percent. The number of small entrepreneurs who chose to stay put in the Valley even after events of 1990 has almost evaporated.

The appeal by the Hindu organisation of Valley to Prime Minister reveals a dark reality of a continuing genocide.

■ The state police approached Panun Kashmir office recently to help them in persuading the survivors of Nadimarg massacre to come forward to give witness against the arrested terrorists involved in the massacre. Nadimarg survivors outrightly refused to come forward to give witness. They had very pertinent reasons relating to the total lack of faith in the sincerity of the state government and their own security. The reasons they gave are revealing. They said that immediately after the massacre in which 22 Kashmiri Hindus were killed Sh. L.K. Advani visited the place but to their utmost dismay, insisted his security personnel not to allow any of the victims to come closer to him. One of the victims broke the security cordon and shouted what security assurances can the state government offer when, all the policemen living just in the adjacent house refused to come to their rescue while terrorists were making their way into the houses eventually killing twenty two persons. They revealed that one of the eyewitnesses was approached by the government officials them-

selves to withdraw his witness. They said that the state government wilfully revealed the names of those, to the public, who had offered themselves as eye witnesses of the massacre when the same should have been kept strictly confidential. They said when Dr. Farooq Abdullah publicly said that the judge, who pronounced the judgement for Afzal Guru, needed security, it sent shivers down their spine and they decided against offering any witness. They also asked the reasons for the reluctance of the State government to transfer the case to Jammu or any other part of India. They said they had already paid enough price for staying put in Valley and were no longer ready to pay more price.

\*Two Hindus from the same Nadimarg village were appointed as laboratory assistants in the migrant teachers cell in Jammu. Subsequently they were promoted as teachers and transferred to Shopian in Kashmir Valley. They joined their new posting in January. After joining they experienced intense harassment at their new place of posting. They approached their officer in charge who was not only dismissive but also insulting in his behaviour. Feeling totally insecure, the two teachers abandoned the place of their posting and approached the government to adjust them at their previous place of posting in Jammu. They also gave a written consent to retrospectively forego their promotion and the benefits there off.

■ A Hindu unmarried girl (name kept secret) was appointed on compassionate grounds under SRO 43 in a government deptt at Ganderbal after her father who was working in Relief Commissioners office passed away. She had to abandon her job after experiencing intense harassment and is now back to Jammu.

■ Another Hindu girl (name kept secret) was appointed some time back in a government department in Anantnag district. The very first day in office a Class-4th employee made obscene overtures towards her. She appealed to an elderly employee of the same department for intervention. His behaviour was more obscene and insulting. While the other employees of the department looked helplessly, a clerk of the same department advised her to have 'nikah' with him to escape humiliation and harassment. The young lady returned to Jammu and approached a Pandit leader, who has been in recent

times canvassing for return of Kashmiri Hindus to Valley, to help her. The leader told her that for escaping from such humiliation she will have to give up her job or otherwise she will have to put up with this situation.

■ Two more recent anecdotes are of value in the context of our discussion here. A Kashmiri Hindu of Kupwara district went to his native place to offer his condolences to the family of a Muslim friend who had passed away. The late friend had helped the Kashmiri Hindu during his exile in

shocked when the minor daughter of his relation from Kashmir said in all innocence to his father, 'Daidiya, Daidiya, Yeti Kyazi Chi Lokchi Naatu, Kasheeri Hai Chi Asi Asaan Baji Naatu'.

'Why do we have small mutton pieces here. In Kashmir we have big pieces'. The pieces of mutton from a lamb are always smaller than the pieces of beef.

These very recent anecdotes reveal a lot. They should make anyone particularly a Hindu to see the 'Evil' deep inside right upto its core. The 'Agreement'

was not a necessity and the relief which Hindus have been receiving is basically a burden.

The successive State governments have followed a dictum in their handling of the colossal tragedy of internal displacement of Kashmiri Hindus and that is, "We will do nothing for the migrants which will be an incentive not to return". This dictum has made the government and the political class to block any help to Kashmiri Hindus and pushed the government to enforce and perpetuate destitution amongst Kashmiri Hindus particularly the youth.

We are witnessing a process of making victims of genocide to capitulate totally in front of the perpetrator. Internationally reputed scholars and eminent citizens came out with a strong joint statement in commemoration of the Armenian Genocide of 1915. The statement said, "Denial murders the dignity of the survivors and seeks to destroy remembrance of the crime".

The 'Agreement' which displaced Kashmiri Hindus have to sign to get a job for survival destroys their dignity and also any process of remembrance of the crimes which were committed on them and which are being committed on them and which will be committed against them in the future.

Last word, when government of India chose to declare a relief and employment package to displaced Kashmiri Hindus linking it to their return, it was only a declaration of their abandonment. And when Manish Tiwari said that Kashmiri Pandits were forced out by Jagmohan and Arun Jaiteley told his activists in Jammu not to be used the word 'genocide' for the tragedy which had befallen Kashmiri Hindus, it only signified that the noose of genocidal attrition of Kashmiri Hindus is tightening further.



Panun Kashmir Secretary Sh. B.L. Kaul interacting with community members at Jammu. --Photo/K.S.

Jammu. He went to the graveyard where his friend was buried to lay flowers on his grave. Local Muslims were accompanying him and they also offered their 'Nimaz-e-Fatiha' at the grave of the departed soul. On his return just outside the graveyard he found children playing marbles. (Saz-u-Guti). The boy who was hitting one marble with the other would say, 'Kafir Haa Moodh -I have killed the infidel', whenever he succeeded in hitting the marble on the ground with the marble in his hand. From the graveyard the Kashmiri Hindu proceeded towards the house of his departed friend. Just in the compound he found children playing hide and seek. One group which was seeking the hidden ones was reciting, "Bata Kot, Bata Kot Ratitoaney, Honyi Hund Doad Chyavnavitaney" (catch, catch the Pandit boy, and make him drink the milk of a bitch). Seeing the discourse communalised to this extent that even the folk plays of children were filled with communal hatred, the Kashmiri Hindu returned to Jammu crest fallen.

A Kashmiri Hindu living in Valley all these years came to attend the marriage of his relative. His close relation with whom he was staying was

which Kashmiri Hindu youth have to sign in case they are employed means that they have to accept the social order existing in the Valley radicalised, communalised and criminalised beyond description in toto and unconditionally.

The agreement, whatever its legal validity, is a proforma of consent for total capitulation. It is also a declaration of voluntarily abandoning of all rights and immunities which the constitution offers to any citizen. To have the job, a Kashmiri Hindu, has to persevere and put up with any situation in the Valley. The irony of the situation is that for all the jobs for which the Hindus have to sign the type of 'Agreement' produced here, will be financed by the Central Government.

The message is clear, any concession to Kashmiri Hindus from government of India entails a submission to the social and political order in the state which unleashed the genocide on Kashmiri Hindus and also persisted with its perpetuation. We are witnessing the denial of the genocide as well as its abettment by both the State and Central governments. The 'Agreement' by implication alludes that the internal displacement of Hindus

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# Stake Holders in Jammu and Kashmir



DR MOHAN KRISHEN TENG

WHEN the Indian Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh expressed the decision of the Government of India to take on board all the 'stake holders' of Jammu and Kashmir in order to reach a settlement, he was in real terms proposing a paradigm shift in the Indian stand on Jammu and Kashmir. The reference by the Prime Minister to the 'stake holders' is a dangerous interpolation in the vacillating positions taken by the Government of India on the very unity of India.

The partition and the upheaval which accompanied the founding of Pakistan, cost millions of lives of people who had fought for the freedom of their country and were consumed by the process which commenced with the Direct Action campaign the Muslim League launched in August 1946. The transfer of power led to the emergence of two countries, India and Pakistan, with their territories defined by the partition plan and the process of integration of the States, the lapse of British Paramountacy over the princely States, set into motion. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to India was accomplished by the ruler of the State, Maharaja Hari Singh, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Indian Independence Act, enacted by the British Parliament and the Instrument of Accession drawn by the State Ministry of India.

It must be known that after the partition plan was announced on June 3 1947, the States' Department of Government of India was divided into two parts: the States' Ministry of India and the States' Ministry of Pakistan. Sardar Patel took over the charge of the States' Ministry of India while the Muslim League appointed Sardar Abdur-Rab-Nishtar to head the States' Ministry of Pakistan. The Indian Independence Act and the partition plan did not incorporate any provisions in respect of the Instrument of Accession. Infact, the two divisions of the States' De-

partment, the States' Ministry of India and the States' Ministry of Pakistan drew up the form of the Instrument of Accession for the rulers of the princely States in order to enable them to join either of the two Dominions. The States' Ministries provided for such exigencies as well in which the princely States were unable to take a decision on the accession of the State till the transfer of power was completed and the ruler wanted more time to take a decision, but sought to continue the existing arrangement of trade, transport, communications, currency etc. that subsisted between the British India and the princely States during the British rule. For such exigencies the States' Ministries drew up separate instruments known as Standstill Agreements. The Standstill Agreements were strictly restricted in their content and application and provided for the continuation of the existing arrangements between the States and the British India.

It needs to be mentioned again here that the princely States were Kingdoms of the native Indian potentates, which formed an integral part of the British empire in India and were liberated from the British Paramountacy with the dissolution of the British Empire in India. The princely States did not become a part of the two Dominions with the lapse of Paramountacy, but they did not fall apart from the political arrangements, the transfer of power in India envisaged. The British Government made it clear that it would neither recognise the independence of the States nor admit them as independent Dominions of the British Commonwealth. Not only the British, the Americans too, refused to recognise the independence of the princely States, when some Muslim rulers approached the American Diplomatic Legation in New Delhi to solicit the recognition for the independence of their States.

Evidently the princely States were not land masses over which their rulers exercised proprietary rights. They were actually a part of the Indian nation, which the British divide into two separate constitutional organisations. Nor did the States form a no-man's land in India, which any of the two Dominions or any other foreign power could claim on account of the religion of their rulers. The transfer of

power in India did not divide the whole of India. Actually the partition was confined to the British Indian provinces, leaving the princely States out of its purview.

It also needs to be clarified here that the accession of the princely States underlined the irrevocable merger with the Dominions they acceded to. The accession made them a part of the Dominion and subjected them to its sovereignty. Accession of the States formed a part of the process which described the territorial jurisdiction of the two successor states of India and Pakistan.

The Jammu and Kashmir State, which had offered a Standstill Agreement to the two Dominions was invaded by Pakistan. The accession of the State to India followed as a matter of course. Nehru was misled by Mountbatten, when the latter advised the Indian Prime Minister, to secure the accession of the State to India as an incumbent condition for the deployment of the Indian troops in the State. India could not have left the State undefended. The British had not provided for any exigency in which a princely State needed to be defended from external threat and invasion. So long as the British were in India, the responsibility to defend the States fell upon them. But after the British left the Indian shores, the responsibility to defend the States fell upon India.

Inside the Security Council as well as outside the Security Council the Indian Government insisted upon the finality of the accession of the State to India and its inviolability. The Indian Government refused to recognise the contention of Pakistan that the Muslim majority composition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir accord that country any right to claim it. India could not have allowed Pakistan to jeopardise its freedom as well as its strategic interests in the Himalayas which formed the hinterland of the Indian frontier in the north.

The partition was foisted on Indian people against their will by the Muslims with the support of the British. The British were no longer the masters in India, and India was under no constraints, to allow Pakistan achieve its territorial ambitions in Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad where the Muslim ruler was involved in intrigues to align with Pakistan in order

to keep his State out of India. Jammu and Kashmir was vital to India because it formed the central spur of the northern frontier of India and crucial to the security of Himalayas. Hyderabad was situated deep inside India, south of the Vindhyas.

The lapse of Paramountacy was an unilateral process which underlined the withdrawal of British power from India. The Princes as well as the people of the States, the religious communities forming ethnic majorities in the States, were not a party to the lapse of Paramountacy. The two successor states of India and Pakistan, formed by the division of the British India, as well, were not a part of lapse of Paramountacy. Who does the Manmohan Singh Government identify as the 'stake holders' in Jammu and Kashmir? There cannot be any stake holders to the unity of India, which is indivisible and inalienable.

The recognition of the right of any people in any part of India, to claim a veto on the unity of India is a negation of the nation of India. The Indian nation does not rest on the proportion of the population of the many communities which form the Indian people. The Indian unity is an expression of the secular integration of the Indian people on the basis of the right to equal-

ity. The British divided India because they were a colonial power. No government of India, not even the government headed by Manmohan Singh, can preside over the vivisection of India on the ground that the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir claim a separate freedom.

The transfer of power in India in 1947, envisaged the liberation of the Indian nation from the colonial rule of the British, which the British refused to concede without recognising the corresponding claim made by the Muslims in India to a separate nation. The lapse of the Paramountacy, as explained here, underlined a parallel process for the liberation of the princely States and their integration with the successor States.

The partition of British India, the lapse of Paramountacy and the accession of the princely States were a part of the process of the transfer of power in India. Who, except India, is the 'stake holder' in Jammu and Kashmir. It is pertinent to note that when the National Conference leadership claimed separate charge in the Constituent Assembly of the State, independent of the accession of the State, the Indian Government refused to recognise any such claim.

*\*(The writer heads Panun Kashmir advisory).*

## Homage



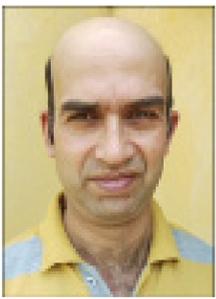
Sh. Raj Nath Naqaib

*A great Panun Kashmir Soldier departs*

It is with a feeling of love and respect that we pay homage to **Sh. Raj Nath Naqaib** and share same with many people who have known him within the Kashmiri Hindu community.

Our love goes to Mrs. Naqaib and the family.

**PANUN KASHMIR**



BY DILEEP KUMAR KAUL

**T**HE importance of a place varies from person to person. Some individuals seem more likely to develop place attachment but we still cannot classify “place people” as a distinct personality type. But all Kashmiri Pandits have some sort of attachment with Kashmir. They love its Landscape, at least, and keep photographs of it in their rooms. These photographs give them a sense of ownership to that place. Ownership, not in the legal sense but in the psychological sense that we have some special relationship with that particular setting. Place centered attitudes may be personal but they are religious and spiritual as well and this aspect I have touched in my previous articles. Almost every Kashmiri Pandit home has some book related with cultural or any other aspect of Kashmir which is another aspect of place attachment. After so many years of separation from Kashmir, KPs in general have more appreciation of Kashmir as a place.

Is separation from a place necessary for the appreciation of it? I think it is, because there must be some distance between the self and the object to appreciate it. And if this distance is enforced as has happened to us, several attitudes towards the place are likely to develop. One very common and easy attitude is that the distance from our place Kashmir has been enforced upon us several times throughout our history. Let us live in peace outside it. We do not want to go back. Another attitude is of ascertaining Kashmir as our place, owning it at least psychologically and announcing our meanings of it as a place. The former one is a path of no resistance. The later is psychological resistance that emphasizes our

# TRANSCENDING THE ROOTEDNESS

## *Continuing place discourse*

discourses of our place. There is a third attitude as well which a Panun Kashmir document explained as “sickness of slavery” and the Kashmiri Pandit community in general condemned it. A sickness that may be called, but let us see how this type of phenomenon works. Here we take into consideration two instances of such sickness.

A prominent Kashmiri Pandit Physician and an advocate of a separate homeland for Kashmiri Pandits was speaking on an occasion where Dr. Farooq Abdullah was (what else could he be) the chief guest. The physician (Kashmiri Pandit), was addressing the gathering and said that he could not be ShriyaBhat, (the saviour of Kashmiri Pandits) who also was a physician but it was possible for Farooq Abdullah to be Badshah (Badshah had rehabilitated KPs in Kashmir).

Another instance is of a prominent retired Kashmiri Pandit bureaucrat. In a gathering he had said that no Kashmiri Pandit can become a leader unless given acceptance by Kashmiri Muslims (just understand the similarity – Badshah brought us back). This statement had angered Kashmiri Pandits.

Let us examine the discourse of Shriyabhat and Badshah. Badshah is considered the inspiration behind the so called hollow concept of Kashmiriyat. But Shriya Bhatt is nowhere in this discourse. It was he who had treated Badshah's boil and had demanded nothing for himself but return of Kashmiri Pandit's, persecuted by Muslim marauders. And Badshah was dubbed as a secular king. Few people know that Badshah had not abolished Jazia but only lessened it to half, so much he was under the influence of Muslim Ulema. Nobody tries to understand that Shriyabhatt was just one

talented KP and why and by whom such a talented community was persecuted and thrown out of Kashmir? That persecution was on before Badshah, became milder during his period and continued after him into our times. And the Muslim rulers of Kashmir in contemporary times are following the same policy, trying to make all atrocities look milder through every possible discourse. The rule of Muslims is marked by such a mindset.

But we are trying to examine the psychology of that KP physician and KP bureaucrat. They are stagnantly rooted in a milieu in which Muslim rulers of the state have been trying to conceal their machinations of usurping the state through discourses like Kashmiriyat. Still their place of habitation is the Kashmir of that milieu. This rootedness is an unreflective state of being in which their personalities have merged with the milieu. This is totally contrary to the sense of place which involves human intentionality.

This rootedness to some extent was the sickness of all of us. It is an outcome of an urge to associate with our place. The above mentioned physician and bureaucrat are trying to associate with their place. But psychologically they are dwelling in Kashmir which as a place is characterized by Badshah and Shriyabhat (which the physician of our times said that he could not be but a Muslim ruler could always be Badshah which means that he himself has given himself and

Shriyabhat a backseat). The physician while saying this is unmindful of the fact that he is devaluing his place (Kashmir), its continuity and present change through which we are living.

It is within the sphere of this rootedness in their milieu that the thinking of such people works. There is total insensitivity towards the flow of time which has brought us to this point where we, from a distance, can see and understand our place which is Kashmir. It was within the same discourses that we visualized Kashmir but most of us have transcended that mindset now. This attitude of stagnant rootedness in place, in fact, erodes the place. This mindset, in fact is the opposite of Panun Kashmir because Panun Kashmir is the product of the mindset of a community that was uprooted and is aimed at maintenance of a sense of place. It is sensitive towards the flow of time and that is why the idea of Panun Kashmir is not a stagnant entity. It is an evolving continuity that has successfully countered the discourses that facilitate the

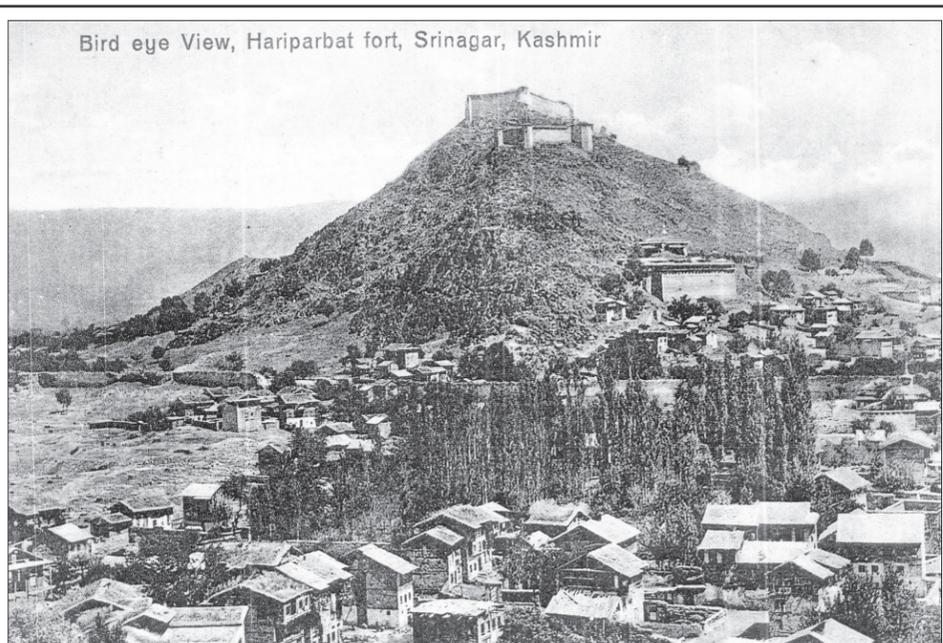
mindset of rootedness in a period of time.

The insensitivity towards the flow of time needs to be understood when we discuss rootedness. Nature and history both are changing entities. Kashmir is primarily a natural entity though that aspect of it has been repeatedly used to conceal the machinations of majority Muslim politics. The whole thing is made equal to one fact i.e. whether Kashmir is fit for tourism or not and anything possible is done to maintain it like that. Statement by Kashmiri Hoteliers and other people associated with tourism are shown on television that how they have suffered because of terrorism. And if they are doing their business without any hindrances everything is okay. The equation is  $Kashmir = tourism$ . Everything else is very conveniently brushed under the carpet. In the whole thing there is no sense of flow of time. Examine the statement by the physician—He is unable to be Badshah but Dr. Farooq Abdullah should be Badshah. No sense of flow of time, the point of time in which he is uttering these words; no understanding of the fact

that history has changed a lot since Badshah and since Badshah was used as the base matter to illuminate the dark idea of Kashmiriyat. History and nature both are changing entities and with these our perception of place, our sense of it as well, is constantly refreshed. That is a truth of our lives. It is through such stagnant concepts that our thinking is being filled because if our history is talked about, the flow of time is talked about it will be embarrassing for the majority Muslim community.

Shriyabhatt was our ancestor. Ancestors are the foundations of a place. The physician used him as a manipulative rhetoric and reduced him to a mere political situation. That makes it clear that the mindset of rootedness tends to reduce everything to a single unimportant facet. It is a dangerous falsity that distracts our attention from Kashmir as a place its history and its future. We have to look for the traces of this mindset of rootedness in our thinking and eradicate them. The battles are to be won within ourselves.

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



Bird eye View, Hari Parbat fort, Srinagar, Kashmir  
In 1990 A.D. this photograph of Hari Parbat Fort was printed as a greeting card by a Britisher.  
--Photo Courtesy: Sanjay Godbole



BY YOGINDER KANDHARI

## Omar's Rehabilitation Policy

# FIRMING UP INSURGENCY & SEPARATISM

OMAR ABDULLAH, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, has announced that his government intends to bring back 'misguided' Kashmiri youth who have crossed over to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and Pakistan, obviously for arms training, during two decades of insurgency in the Valley. He attempts to score a political brownie point over the Mufti father-daughter duo, his vociferous political opponents in the Kashmir Valley. It may be recalled that a proposal to bring 'disillusioned' Kashmiri youth back to their homes had earlier been mooted by the senior Mufti but then, rightly so, there were no takers in the Union government for this largesse to those who were waging a war against the nation. However, this time both Omar and Chidambaram claim to be on the same page albeit the wrong one. What strategic foresight has prompted centre to bite the Omar bait, especially in the current surcharged security scenario in the region, is anyone's guess. Interestingly, Nasir Ahmed Wani, a close friend of the Chief Minister and also a minister in his cabinet, has come out in support of Omar's rehabilitation policy by drawing a bizarre analogy between the rehabilitation policy for militants and that for the Kashmiri Pandits who were forced into exile at gun point by these very Omar's 'misguided' boys.

In an attempt to steal some sheen out of Omar's latest move, separatists were quick to reject 'surrender' component of his proposal since it would paint their cohorts as losers in the ongoing Jihad to liberate Kashmir. Strangely, Omar did a u-turn to re-

christen his dice as 'rehabilitation only' policy. One wonders how insurgents can be rehabilitated without handing over their arms and, more importantly, abjuring cult of violence and religious intolerance which they espouse. It all points to a very disturbing scenario wherein Omar, unwittingly, appears to be furthering separatists' agenda. Such a proposal, if implemented, would adversely impact security, political and social context in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the nation as a whole.

### Security Implications

**Current Security Scenario.** Of late, there has been a steep increase in the number of encounters between militants and the security forces in the State, stand off grenade attacks and militancy related deaths. According to South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP), this year up, to 7th March, there already have been 64 fatalities which include 43 terrorists, 14 security personnel and seven civilians. After a gap of almost two years a fidayeen attack took place at Lal Chowk, the heart of the summer capital of the State. Infiltration by terrorists from across the International Border (IB) and Line of Control (LoC) in J&K is also on the rise. According to official sources, year 2009 recorded 485 incidents of infiltration as against 342 in 2008 thus registering an increase of 30% while security agencies estimate that more than 300 terrorists have crossed over to this side. During first two months of this year, militants made 25 attempts to infiltrate into our side in conjunction with five ceasefire violations by Pakistani forces, ostensibly to cover infiltrations by some important militants groups. As per available

official data (up to November 2009) 273 terrorists sneaked back to Pakistan, 93 were killed during infiltration attempts while 152 of them were neutralized across the state. State government estimates that about 600-800 terrorists are currently operating in the State. These figures present a gory scenario. To complicate the matters further, in 2009, UPA government pulled out 30,000 troops from twin

with focused violence. He added that Pakistan's covert agencies were hiring Kashmiris to pelt stones on security forces. Ajaat Jamwal, in his essay 'From Terrorism to Agitational Terrorism in Kashmir' published in South Asia Intelligence Review, says "Agitational terrorism is a far more sophisticated phenomenon than is currently being recognized by the authorities. Over ground support structures of

***In an attempt to steal some sheen out of Omar's latest move, separatists were quick to reject 'surrender' component of his proposal since it would paint their cohorts as losers in the ongoing Jihad to liberate Kashmir. Strangely, Omar did a u-turn to re-christen his dice as 'rehabilitation only' policy.***

border districts of Rajouri and Poonch leaving majority of 50 identified infiltration routes thinly guarded. All these events do not foretell a rosy summer for our security forces. At this juncture, talking about the return of the youth, whose faculties would sure have been Talibanized to the last strand, from across the border will be suicidal for our national interests.

A spate of public protests and repeated incidents of stone pelting indicate that the insurgency in the Valley has graduated into a more complex phase manifesting comprehensive assaults against the state authority and mass mobilization campaigns, aptly termed as 'Agitational Terrorism' by Lt. Gen. B. S. Jamwal, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Army's Northern Command. Recently, Mr. N. K. Tripathi, Special Director CRPF, Jammu & Kashmir Zone, on February 2010, revealed how terrorist regimes were crafting public demonstrations and protests in conjunction

terrorism including separatist and religious extremist political formations, civil rights NGOs, media organizations, subversive elements within the Government, international organizations operating from various countries in the West, have all been cast into roles in this campaign. Public protests and hertals (strikes) have been transformed into an assault on the credibility and symbols of the state."

**Impediments.** From the security stand point, challenges to implement this policy would be manifold. Firstly, database of the persons who have crossed over to the other side of the border is not available with any state agency. Even the figures projected by the State government are vague and its estimate ranges anything from 4,000 to 10,000. In such a situation what stops ISI and Jihadists from sending across battle ready terrorist via this route especially since, in the words of M.J. Akbar, a noted columnist, "...who has identified the proposed prodigals as

authentic? They did not leave their names and address with the Intelligence Bureau in Srinagar when they went off to prepare for their holy war. There are no special genetic traits that differentiate Kashmiris on either side of LoC. The Pakistani government did not control this lot directly. They were outsourced to outfits like the Jamaat-e-Islami and Lashkar-e-Toiba, so only people who would know a genuine cross-border warrior from a home grown one would be Jamaat or LeT. Would Delhi honour certificates handed out by LeT?" It, indeed, is a valid argument.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine the type of mechanism that would be put in place to ascertain whether there has been a genuine change of heart among those craving to return home. A mere plea by some of them to Omar Abdullah, during his recent Pakistan visit, does not certify their genuineness. Surrendering of arms alone is not a guarantee that they would not relapse into armed rebellion against the state.

Thirdly, one can well imagine fatal consequences of housing a pool of 4000 to 10000 fully trained and indoctrinated people amongst our middle. We need to learn our lessons well from recent history. Post independence, first attempt to militarize separatist sentiment in Kashmir was emergence of Al Fatah immediately after the Sacred Relic Agitation in 1963 when massive protests were witnessed in the Valley. It was for the first time that the separatists in the Valley realized that there existed a military option too to achieve their goal. Pakistan launched its second mission in 1965 to annex Kashmir and she was banking on the local support orchestrated by Al Fatah to achieve her goal. As is history now, this misadventure failed and

Al Fatah had to lie low for a long time. Subsequently, its cadre was rehabilitated in the mainstream by the successive governments in the State under the pretext that it had abjured violence and the separatist ideology. Some of its members were absorbed in state apparatus thus enabling separatists to institutionalize their struggle. Their strategy was to join the system to wreck it from within to achieve the ultimate goal. It needs to be understood that the strong foundations for the current armed insurgency was laid by Al Fatah cadre entrenched within the State establishment itself.

**Consequences.** One needs to place the proposed rehabilitation policy in context of current security situation in the Valley. With an alarming rise in incidents of infiltration, increase in militant encounters and agitational terrorism gaining popular support, rehabilitation of Omar's boys may prove to be the catalyst to foment another massive upheaval in the Valley leading to a powerful civil struggle, as witnessed in early 1990s in Eastern Europe, which would ultimately culminate in secession of Kashmir from Indian Union. One only hopes the political class and security think tanks in New Delhi have factored in all these possibilities before conceding to Omar's move unless some larger consensus has already been arrived at.

### Political & Social Implications

It is an established fact that revival of the political process in the State was greatly helped by the militants who voluntarily surrendered to the security forces and joined the mainstream. Despite severe reprisal

(Contd. on Page 8)

# Kashmiri Pandits - the Victims of Denial



BY MAHESH KAUL

A lot of hue and cry was raised by the J&K government by creating the so called Apex Committee to oversee the return and rehabilitation of the Kashmiri Hindus to their original habitat Kashmir. The atmosphere was ripe with the speculation of permutations and combinations that may emerge to send the Kashmiri Hindus back to Kashmir without realizing that the Kashmir which they had left to highlight the incompetence and impotence of the Indian political class and the Indian state to protect the rights of the minority in all respects in the Muslim majority state of J&K is today in the hard grip of the forces representing the fascist and Talibanised culture. And above all the politics of exclusion is the cardinal principle of the political establishment in the state in terms of the minority rights which has trampled the Indian nationalism in every sphere.

Two decades have passed as far as the forced exodus and ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandits is concerned but it is unfortunately shocking that this genocide has been trivialized by not correctly interpreting the fall out of this national shame. The Internal displacement of the Kashmiri Hindus has been trivialized by the Indian state in terms of economics. Without analyzing the real mindset and the contours of the ethnic cleansing inflicted on the community, the Central government is treating the community as the victims of the natural calamities like flood,

earthquake, etc. It is a problem that has vast religious, political and social dimensions that make it a case fit for national shame. It is sad on the part of media and political establishment of the Indian nation that secularism and democracy has been compromised in the J&K state for bailing out the majority community of the valley who could not protect the social structure of the valley as a whole. 1984 riots and the Godhra episode in 2002 have been accepted by the political parties across spectrum as the shameful fate of secular India. But the ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Kashmiri Hindus has not been accepted by the Indian state as the failure of the Indian secularism in J&K.

Commissions were constituted to look into the factors and forces that led the nation to the disgrace during 1984 and 2002 riots but none of that ilk has ever been constituted in J&K to look into the events and factors that forced the minority community of the Kashmiri Pandits to live as refugees in their own state and own country. Indian Policy makers and hence the Indian state is still in the state of denial and refusing the expulsion of the Kashmiri Pandits as a national shame. Moreover, it is in a state of denial to accept the religious, social and political fault lines in the state that have reduced the minorities as perpetual hostages to the majority to squeeze as much benefits as it can in the name of pseudo secularism and so called myth 'Kashmiriyat.'

The bonhomie which the political class is enjoying with the vested interests in J&K and the fringe elements in the community are trying to create a myth called 'Kashmiriyat'-It is a misnomer and more or less the political counterpart of the pseudo-secularism propagated by the left-liberal intellectual discourse in the Indian polity.

The fraction of the Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) perhaps a few thousand or even less who are living a life of second class citizens in Kashmir have been threatened to abdicate so that the process of Islamisation of the Kashmir Valley is complete. It speaks volumes about the social, political and religious ground realities in Kashmir. For the last twenty years this fractional chunk of the Kashmiri Pandits had tried hard to hold on to their ancestral properties in the valley by compromising their social, political and religious rights but now they have decided to call a spade a spade as they have been threatened by the majority community to leave otherwise they will be eliminated in no time. This is the state of secularism in Kashmir.

The policy makers are busy at the centre to use the Kashmiri Pandits as cannon fodder to give legitimacy to the myth called 'Kashmiriyat' and to implement the hidden solution to Kashmir problem under the garb of 'quite diplomacy' and 'unique solution' they are ready to bail out the majority community of the human rights

violation which they have committed by the expulsion of the Kashmiri Pandits from the valley. Indian state has given ideological concessions in Kashmir and now after complete expulsion of the Kashmiri Pandits it is all set to give the territorial concessions as far as the J&K is concerned to secessionists. It is the first step by the Indian political establishment of India and the political state to demolish the Northern frontiers of the Indian nation by diluting Indian territorial integrity in J&K, the frontline state in the Himalayan region without realizing its implications on India in terms of balkanization.

Indian state should pay heed to the ground realities and persecution of the minorities in Kashmir by reading between the lines the open letter from the Kashmiri Pandit Sangarsh Samiti (KPSS), Srinagar representing the fraction of Kashmiri Pandits living in adverse conditions. It reads "On 15th November, 2009 two of our members went to Bhairav Ghat, Chattabal, Srinagar to take some pictures of the temple ruins so that the fate could be settled with

the concerned authorities. But the members of the majority community who had encroached the temple land abstained them from taking pictures and used unparliamentary language against the Kashmiri Pandits and religious places. They started the slogans like "Jis tarah hamne tumhare mandiroon ko jalaya hai vaise hi tum logon ko jalayenge, aur kisi ko pata bi nahi chalega" "The way we have burnt your temples in the same way we will burn you and no one will know about you." "Yehan sirf Isalm chalega" "Only Islam will prevail here." "India ko lagta hai ki tum logon ko vapas layega, jo bi aaye ga mara jayega, hum log phir se gun uthayenge". "India thinks that they can bring Kashmiri Pandits back to valley, whoever will come will die, we will again raise arms against you." The mob there even man handled the members of KPSS and they had to leave the place. Even they could not file an FIR against the mob due to the life threat given by these hooligans belonging to a particular community."

This open letter

addressed to the Prime Minister, Chief Minister and the Separatist leadership should wake the Indian state from the slumber of denial and rise to the occasion to safeguard the minorities in the state.

The concluding part of this open letter should put the political establishment to shame in India as they have given open ground to the anti India elements in Kashmir. It further reads "KPSS requests the state and the Central Administration to re-think about their proposal to bring back the Kashmiri Pandits to the valley instead prepare to register the fresh lot of migrants who will leave the valley in the coming days if the situation is not taken care of in due course of time. KPSS also appeals to the International Community to take the matter seriously and ensure that all necessary steps are taken to safeguard the Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley."

Indian state has failed Kashmiri Pandits to bail out the Islamic fascism in the Kashmir Valley.

*\*(Writer is a PhD scholar at the Centre for Hospitality and Tourism Management (CHTM), University of Jammu).*

## FIRMING UP INSURGENCY & SEPARATISM

(From Page 7)  
against their families and relatives by militant organization these genuinely reformed militants remained steadfast in their commitment to Indian nation and helped her re-establishing its authority in the State. Unfortunately, such people have been forsaken both by the State and the Central governments. Without any patronage from the very state that they helped re-establish its authority, a large number of them and their kith and kin were killed or threatened with dire consequences so much so that most of them had to shift their families out of the Valley and in many

cases out of the State. One fails to understand why Omar Abdullah or Chidambaram have not cared to rehabilitate them before seeking amnesty for those who are still in Pakistan and whose credentials are yet to be established. Obviously, there is a compulsion to fast track rehabilitation of those who are still armed and discard those who abjured violence long back and proved beyond any doubt their loyalty to the nation.

Equating latest rehabilitation policy with the rehabilitation schemes drawn for Kashmiri Pandits is a weird justification. Mr. Wani must remember that Kashmiri Pandits

did not take up arms against the state nor did they go to Pakistan for any training. He is trivializing a human tragedy caused by the very people whose case he is pleading. Such a comparison has serious undertones and should not be considered as political naivety. Given Wani's proximity to the Chief Minister, it appears that the State government wants to project Omar's boys as victims of militancy- they could have suffered only at the hands of security forces- and internationally displaced people as a consequence. It is an attempt to internationalize this issue and that can have

### CONTINUATION

serious ramifications.

#### Conclusion.

Return of Omar's prodigals is bound to reignite secessionist urge within the Valley. They would constitute a viable force to reinforce mass uprising in conjunction with a vigorous armed struggle for Kashmir to wither from India. It would be a sure-shot recipe to firm up insurgency and the separatist sentiment in the Valley. May be it is time for people who matter in New Delhi to wake up.

*\*(The author is a Retd. Indian Army Officer).*

## People protest shifting of Army camp

KS CORRESPONDENT

SRINAGAR, Mar 24: In a major development, a large number of people of Gadbad village in Lolab valley of Kupwara district in North Kashmir protested against the proposed shifting of an Army camp located in the area.

The residents blocked all roads leading out of the camp area to prevent troops from moving from the place. They also petitioned senior officers including Commander 8 Sector Rashtriya Rifles to reconsider the decision to relocate the camp.

"We do not want the Army to shift its camp from here. They have protected us from militants and their excesses. We do not want the dark days to return. If required, we will approach the highest possible authority including in Delhi", said 75-year-old Ghulam Ahmad Sheikh.

Sheikh's two daughters were killed by militants in late 1990s.

Defence sources said it was the first instance where people have openly come out against shifting of a security forces camp from their area as they fear return of militancy there.

A Defence spokesman said the Lolab Valley was a hotbed of militancy till the establishment of various Rashtriya Rifles camps in the area provided a sense of security to the locals.

Defence spokesman Lt Col J S Brar said "readjustment of troops in active counter insurgency operations is a dynamic and ongoing process. However, this is a very heartening development. The senior officers are aware of the matter and the security grid will not be affected."

## Razdan 1st Indian Military Officer promoted in a wheelchair

KS Correspondent



DELHI: In a historic first, the Indian Army is set to promote an officer in a wheelchair - Brigadier S.K. Razdan (55) - to the rank of major general.

Razdan suffered a spinal injury during a gunfight in Kashmir 15 years ago on October 8, his birthday. It left the

paratrooper paralyzed from the waist downwards.

But his daring effort on that day won him the Kirti Chakra, India's second highest peacetime gallantry award. Taking on terrorists, he saved the lives of 14 women in that 16-hour operation at Damal Kunzipur.

Col (retd) S.M. Sud, Razdan's senior from 7 Para, said: "He can neither stand nor walk, but Razdan is a soldier's soldier."

Razdan would often tell his friends about how he had cheated death, but sometimes he regretted not being a martyr.

Army Base Hospital Commandant Maj Gen B.K. Chopra, who has treated Razdan, said, "His disability hasn't dulled his soldierly instincts."

Razdan will officially pick up the two-star rank as soon as there is a vacancy. Amputee officers have been made generals before but not wheelchair-bound soldiers.

## Shopian doctor in Kashmir caught on camera having sex

KS CORRESPONDENT

SRINAGAR: A major sex scandal has rocked Kashmir after an MMS clip allegedly featuring a senior doctor, charge-sheeted earlier by the CBI for fudging the samples in the Shopian women murder case, showed him having sex with a woman in his office.

Dr Ghulam Qadir Sofi, in-charge chief medical officer (CMO) Pulwama district, has been placed under suspension by the Jammu and Kashmir government.

The scandal surfaced

after a MMS allegedly featuring Dr Sofi having sex with a woman was circulated in Kashmir. The clip was allegedly shot in his office and later circulated among the media persons.

"As soon as I got information I immediately put him (Dr Sofi) under suspension and attached him with directorate of health services. Chief medical officer Shopian Dr Sonallah has been given additional charge of Pulwama. We are forming a committee and a proper enquiry

would be held in this case", said Dr MA Wani, Director of Health Services Kashmir. Police have also registered a case under section 376 (d) against him and investigation has been started. "We have registered a case in police station Pulwama and investigations have started. We want to assure the people that the guilty will be punished and the innocent will not be touched", said Kifayat Hyder, senior superintendent of police Pulwama. Hyder said there are many

unanswered questions which need to be resolved. "Hopefully we will crack the case soon", he said.

Currently on bail, Dr Sofi is one of the accused in fabricating the slides of the two women of Shopian. CBI in its charge-sheet filed in the Shopian women murder case said it has been conclusively established during the investigation that the slides sent for scientific examination were fabricated by Dr Nighat with active connivance of Dr Ghulam Qadir Sofi, Dr Maqbool Mir and Dr Ghulam Qadir Paul.

## Vimla Kaul is this year's nominee for CNN-IBN REAL HERO under Education and children category from North zone

KS Correspondent

For Vimla Kaul sitting at home was never an option. A visit to the Madanpur Khadar Village in Delhi in 1994 and Vimla knew she wanted to do something for the villagers. She started by teaching tailoring to the women in the village so that they could be financially independent. Vimla also noticed that there were children just whiling away their time in the streets. These children needed to be taught the basics before any school would give them admission. So she started a class for four to eight-year-olds in '96 with ten children. She also hired a teacher—a village girl who had learnt tailoring under her. By 1997 she was teaching almost 70 kids. Vimla Kaul also pushes for these kids to get admission in mainstream schools. 11 of her students have made it to the Sarvodaya School in the capital.

Vimla Kaul is 74 years old with an undying passion to teach. This retired teacher is making sure that the slum kids in the capital make it to the mainstream government school. She is the Real hero.

## Kashmiri association Lucknow organises Hawan

KS Correspondent

LUCKNOW: Kashmiri Association, Lucknow performed the *hawan* at its newly constructed Bhawan at Basant Vihar, Indira Nagar, Lucknow, on 21st of February 2010. The *hawan* was performed to rekindle the Shavite Philosophy so meticulously propagated and preserved in Kashmir since ages. The attention of the gathering at *hawan* site was drawn towards the well known Shiva Philosophers of Kashmir like Vasu Gupta, Abhinav Gupta, Sri Kantha, Utpala and Swami Laxman Joo of 20th Century. The Kashmiri Shavism being monism believes in "self recognition" and "*aham brahmosoami*".

The well attended gathering recited *bhajans*, slogans in praise of the Lord and for the Universal Brotherhood, mutual coexistence, peace and prosperity. The community has suffered untold miseries because of violence, terrorism and manslaughter and ruthless genocide since ages, especially from 1320 AD. The present exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from Kashmir is the 7th of its kind. The members of the community prayed for the return of peace in Kashmir laying stress for the preservation of its philosophy and its rich culture notwithstanding the fact that the community is homeless and forsaken lot in its own country. The members reaffirmed their resolve for the protection of their rights under law which they claimed has been denied to them.

Lastly, the members fondly remembered their loving ones including their kith and kin who have fallen to the bullets of terrorism and religious fundamentalism and appeal to the state and the central government for providing just an acre of land at a convenient place in Lucknow city so that the community of Kashmiri Pandits could have some central place to breathe freely and discuss relevant issues and take steps for the preservation of their culture and Philosophy. Strange as it is, the homeless Pandit community are "internal refugees" in their own country having been displaced and driven out of Kashmir from time to time for no fault of theirs. The *hawan* has rekindled a ray of hope in Kashmiri Pandit Community who continues to live and around Lucknow.

The review essay, as the title suggests, is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the assumptions drawn apropos terming Pakistan as a failed state. The second section focuses on assertions made by scholars, on the various aspects of state-society relations in Pakistan, which according to them are the building blocks for a weak/fragile Pakistani state. The third section focuses on precautions, which experts offer as important pointers to rescue/prevent Pakistan from deteriorating further, both economically and societally.

BY MEDHA BISHT

### Assumptions - is Pakistan collapsing?

IS Pakistan collapsing? Many would say the framing of this question is a political overture as it provides the fundamental crux for various arguments that argue for more external aid to Pakistan. Ahmed Rashid draws inferences to the underlying tenor of this rationale in his article 'Pakistan on the Brink'. Rashid comments on the crashing economy and the non-existent economic infrastructure unable to cater to the needs of the youth in Pakistan and points out that unless external aid is linked with a plan of action, Pakistan cannot be resuscitated. With 11 per cent of the territory being directly controlled and contested by the Taliban, Rashid points out, 'Pakistan is close to the brink, perhaps not to a meltdown ... but to a permanent state of anarchy'. He points out that the speed and conditions with which American Congress provides emergency aid to Islamabad will proportionally affect the Pakistan Government and the army's ability and will to resist the Taliban onslaught. Rashid is perhaps not the only au-

# PAKISTAN COLLAPSING?

## Assumptions, Assertions, and Precautions

thor to say that Pakistan is close to a failing state. According to the Foreign Policy Index of Failed States, 2009, Pakistan has been ranked tenth amongst 60 failed states. Hassan Abbas, another Pakistani expert, has defined Pakistan as a 'weak state in essence'. Considering these evolving views in the public domain, this section attempts to delineate the key drivers which frame Pakistan as a weak/collapsing/failed state.

If *Pakistan Can Defy the Odds, How to Rescue a Failing State*, Hassan Abbas points out the basic elements which are counterproductive to the political health of Pakistan. These are the contested idea of Pakistan, the fragile state of democracy in Pakistan, and the India-Pakistan rivalry which has impacted the foreign policy behaviour so much so that most of the resources, which should be used for development objectives, are being diverted to build the military capability of the state. Regarding the contested idea of Pakistan, Abbas draws attention to the two dominant discourses that have informed the identity of Pakistan as a state. The first is the one articulated by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Syed Ahmed Khan, and Dr Mohammad Iqbal, who saw in Pakistan a liberal Muslim enlightened state. The second belonged to the group led by Zia ul Haq, who redefined Pakistan by pursuing his political ambitions via appeasing religious political forces and introducing a set of archaic and very orthodox religious laws that over time empowered conservative and religious elements. The Jihad project, he opines, by the 1980s was further facilitated by the West, Saudi Arabia, and the Zia regime. Abbas, probing into the second factor, comments on the democratic history of Pakistan, which he says never took strong roots because of selected

patronage, financial dishonesty and feudalism'. With the intelligence agencies and the army remaining dominant institutions in Pakistan, the authoritarian nature of the state was sustained. The constitutional experience of Pakistan, reflective of being used by vested interests, and the volatile struggle between civilian and military elements, the author argues have not dissuaded Pakistan from following a democratic path, an element which he proposes should be strengthened through various constructive interventions.

The third factor, which has predominantly shaped Pakistan's behaviour, is its rivalry with India. Contest over Kashmir and a relationship embedded in deep mutual suspicion and regional rivalry, Abbas argues, has made Pakistan overlook its domestic priorities and the lack of educational infrastructure which he argues has given rise to various madarasas, which are providing fillip to radical elements. A similar state of affairs is seen in the health sector, which he argues is under great duress, pointing out that despite US\$58 billion in foreign aid being spent in Pakistan, the health sector remains largely underdeveloped. With challenges of weak governance, militancy, and economic insecurity feeding each other, the author proposes reforms which are administrative and developmental, where education and health are prioritized and promotion of progressive religious views is encouraged. He argues that relations with India should improve as it is necessary for the internal development of Pakistan. Abbas points out that as the lawyers' movement and media in Pakistan illustrate, democratic forces are the only hope for saving Pakistan and therefore should be promoted.

In *Pakistan: The State of the Union*, Selig Harrison points to ethnic tensions as the potential factor which could lead to the break up of Pakistan. Referring to the historical grievances of Sindhis, Pashtuns, and Baluchs, who have all been trying to get a legitimate share for themselves, he writes, '... although the Baluch, Sindhis and Pashtuns comprise only 33 per cent of the population, they identify themselves historically with ethnic homelands that constitute 72 per cent of Pakistani territory ... for the minorities, Pakistan (is equated) with the Punjabis and the Muhajirs, who are perceived as having occupied and annexed their territories forcibly without their consent'. The uprisings by these ethnic groups (Baluchs in 1973-1977 and 2005 and Sindhis in 1983), though, have been quelled by the Pakistan Army, and secessionist sentiments have remained dominant. Pakistan's interventions in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) since 2002, Harrison argues, have also intimidated the Pashtuns, who as a result have become increasingly radicalized. In this milieu, Harrison argues that 'Pakistan is a failing if not a failed state, with more than half a country able to defy the writ of the central government'. Harrison points out that the potential reason for a break up of Pakistan in the near future could be the worsening of India-Pakistan relations and the impact of the war on terror on the Pashtuns inhabiting the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) areas of Pakistan.

The uneven economic development, especially the exploitation of natural resources situated in minority provinces, is another area which is cited as critical for leading to a break up of Pakistan. How Pakistan resolves its provincial-state relations would be a test for the

country in the years to come. The gross inequality between various provinces and the inequitable treatment of the minority and the resources (water, gas, distribution of tax revenues), Harrison argues, has in it 'the principal driver of ethnic tensions'.

### Assertions: manifest radicalization and politicized security forces

Pakistan is and would be facing multi-faceted challenges in the times to come. In the present, key challenges are the lack of governance outreach to the tribal areas, which in turn is manifesting growing radicalisation, and inappropriate internal security preparedness, which generally manifests itself in lack of political will and ineffective counter-insurgency strategies.

Hassan Abbas points to the rationale behind some of these lacunae in his policy brief, *Police Reforms in Pakistan*, which focuses on factors which in the past have made the Pakistani state ineffective in delivering security provisions. Noting that over 400 police officers have been killed every year in terrorist attacks since 2005, Abbas points out the poorly managed police infrastructure which in his words is 'ill equipped, poorly trained, deeply politicized and chronically corrupt'.

Making a case for international support for police reforms in Pakistan to enhance law enforcement and counterinsurgency capacities, Abbas delineates the history of the Police Act 1961, which he claims is too outdated to meet the requirements of a modern democratic state. He writes that though the police department was reformed under the National Reconstruction Bureau in 2002, various amendments under the Musharraf regime were introduced to the Police Act in 2004, which led to the politicization of the police forces, thus taking away the operational autonomy it could have exercised in administrative and investigative spheres. One of the major problems that besets the police infrastructure, he points out, is structural, where there is a coordination disjunct between the police posted in the central and provincial

regions. Further, he argues that the senior command positions are often filled from the ranks of the Police Service of Pakistan, a central service, which often leads to a disconnect with the junior officers who are recruited through the Provincial Police Services. A lack of standard systems of hiring, transferring, and promotions, he points out, has further exacerbated the situation. Pointing out that the police force in Pakistan is the most corrupt institution, he underlines the glaring gap in the police to population ratio, which stands at 1:477. Hassan also underlines internal contradictions by pointing out that the infrastructure lacks training facilities, material help, and coordination between police, the civilian-run intelligence bureau, and the military-run intelligence agencies.

Mohammad Amir Rana's brief on *Taliban Insurgency in Pakistan: A Counterinsurgency Perspective* traces the growth of the Taliban in Pakistan and delineates factors that have enabled the Taliban to get support from the tribal population. The primary aim of this paper is to underline the approach which counterinsurgency tactics need to adopt while fighting militancy in Pakistan. Rana does this by highlighting some of the key factors which have enabled the growth of the Taliban. These, according to him, are militancy landscape, cross-tribal characteristics, legitimate cause which stems from following the Dcobandi school of Islam, political structural milieu, and the lack of governance. Under militancy landscape, Rana argues that 'the fact that there were 104 violent jihadi and 82 sectarian groups of varying strengths operating in Pakistan before September 9, 2001, gave enough ground to the Taliban for support, as many of these organisations had networks in the tribal areas'. Cross-tribal characteristics is the second important reason for the rise of Taliban as, according to Rana, different tribes in the Taliban are encouraged to form their own militias which removes any chance of one tribe dominating the other, thus negating secessionist

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tendencies that could jeopardize the Taliban unity. He notes that Pashtun ethnicity and religious ethos are some other reasons responsible for Taliban success. Considering legitimate cause as the third most important ingredient for the success of the Taliban, Rana emphasizes that the Deobandi school of thought in Islam provides the ideological base for all sects, thus binding them ideologically. Listing the fourth factor, he argues that the Taliban killed the Malikis, who were influential tribal elders, thus making the administrative system ineffective. In turn to address local grievances the Taliban established parallel systems of government, thus filling the vacuum in the 'ungoverned spaces' of Pakistan. According to Rana, the political structural milieu and the lack of governance have enabled the Taliban to gather support from the Pashtuns.

The author argues that the consolidation of Taliban groups is a big challenge for the Pakistan Government as every group that wishes to join Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) has to take an oath of commitment to Shariah enforcement. The author argues that it is essential that the Pakistan Government perceive the Taliban as a serious threat and outline a national counterinsurgency approach. Any absence of such strategy and efforts to increase the necessary preparedness could weaken the country, which he notes could increase the probabilities of radicalizing the country.

Meanwhile, Zaid Haider's paper, *Discussion, Mainstreaming Pakistan's Tribal Belt: A Human Rights and Security Perspective*, elaborates on the rationale behind a 'receding and regressive' tribal governance system, which according to him is the main reason for the increase of radicalization in Pakistan. Noting that one in five persons in FATA attribute religious extremism in the region to flawed governance, he quotes Afrasiab Khattak of the Awami National Party

(ANP), who draws attention to the question of 'dismantling militant sanctuaries and taking short and long term measures to open up the areas and integrate it with the rest of the country' if one intends to avoid the impending catastrophe. Haider provides a historical overview of the customary social and legal practices and the politics behind the lack of state writ and Pakistan's policy of non-interference in the region. Considering that the costs of an inactive policy have been high, Haider establishes a direct correlation between militancy and governance. Some of the factors giving rise to militancy, therefore, according to him are: (a) political vacuum; (b) denial and delay in justice; (c) presence of ungoverned areas; and (d) the rise of class conflict. An important distinction brought out by him is the ethnic versus class difference, as according to him, the militants organize themselves on a non-tribal basis which render clan or tribal distinctions irrelevant in these areas, a phenomenon which has disturbed the tribal structure. Four factors which according to him are the main reasons for hampering effective action on the part of the Pakistan Government are: the strategic location of the FATA; the vested interests of the Malikis and bureaucrats; tribal resistance to change; and the dire security situation in FATA, which gives rise to the belief that an enabling environment for development activities in the region is missing. Often the behaviour of a state is a response to its internal constraints, and these factors well convey Pakistan's intent and constraints to effectively cope with the FATA/NWFP region.

## Precautions: suggestions towards a preventive framework

This section focuses on the preventive measures offered by the reviewed authors to save Pakistan from collapsing. The measures range from enhancing financial aid, social, political, and administrative reforms, and review of security

infrastructure.

## Enhancing financial aid

External aid is one of the most proposed arguments offered by scholars to save Pakistan from collapsing. Azeem Ibrahim's Paper, *US Aid to Pakistan: US Taxpayers Have Funded Pakistani Corruption*, discusses this point in detail. Ibrahim points out that between 2002 and 2008, the United States' fight against terrorism has cost US citizens as much as US\$2,374,000,000. Arguing that aid to Pakistan is not a new phenomenon, he notes that between 1953 and 1961, Pakistan had received US\$2 billion of aid from the United States, which rose to US\$5.1 billion by 1982. Amongst the many shortcomings in the aid transfer to Pakistan, he points to the US policy of opaqueness on funds to Pakistan, misuse of development funds by the United States, a lack of agreed strategy of the use of funds, a lack of oversight mechanism on how Pakistan is using funds, and the impact of funds in impeding the democratization process. The author points out that most of the funds were not used adequately by the Pakistan military in fighting terror and that only 10 per cent of the money was for Pakistan's development. Dividing aid to Pakistan into five specific categories, he points towards the confusing accountability structures embedded in transferring aid.

The channels to which aid is dispersed are: first, the Coalition Support Funds (CSF) which covers the extra cost to Pakistan's military for fighting terrorism along with meeting the costs incurred by the states fighting with the United States on the global war on terror. Second, security assistance, especially military equipment to fight terrorism. It is noted that between 2002 and 2007, Pakistan was approved more than US\$9.7 billion worth of weapons sales. Third, cash transfers to the Pakistani Government. Though meant for supporting the budget of Pakistan, Ibrahim points out that once the money is received by the

government, there is a lot of resistance to channelize it 'for specific uses', a factor which has been counter-productive and is reflected in the unfulfilled development needs of Pakistan.

Fourth, development and humanitarian assistance is often delinked with the actions of the military as United States Agency for International Development (US AID) acts independently of the government. This factor, therefore, has not done much to improve the image of the United States in Pakistan. Fifth, covert funds are something which cannot be quantified, as most of the information on money spent under this category is classified. Considering this as a severe bottleneck, which has impeded accountability on aid transfer, the author suggests three ways to improve aid leverage in Pakistan. These are: (a) impose conditions only to prevent clear harm to expressed US intentions; (b) do not use conditions to manage institutions which are not under United States control as this would be counter-productive; and (c) draw a distinction on how Pakistan spends aid funds and monitors its financial actions. This, he says, would enable one to differentiate between the money given to Pakistan on the one hand and the resources which Pakistan spends on its own on the other. This factor, he says, is important for improving public support for the United States amongst different quarters in Pakistan.

Apart from the accountability factor, Selig Harrison also calls for greater transparency. This, he says, would reduce the power of the armed forces relative to other institutions of Pakistan. He points out that the budget for all services and for the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) should be put before both houses of parliament to enhance transparency in the political system.

## Social, political, security infrastructure, and administrative reforms

It is argued that unless political, administrative, and social reforms are un-

dertaken, Pakistan could well be on the way to a potential break up. Political reconciliation within Pakistan is thus offered as a strategy. In this context, Selig Harrison proposes that Pakistan should set the stage for negotiations with Baluchis and construction of military cantonments and checkpoints manned by Coast Guard units of the Frontier corps throughout the interior of Balochistan should be suspended. On political reforms, he writes that the 1973 Constitution should be implemented and all ambiguity concerning the powers belonging to the provinces should be revisited. This, he points out, could be done by eliminating the Concurrent list. He also adds that Part Five, Section 158 of the 1973 Constitution should be implemented and Part Two, Section Three should be nullified to avoid conflict with Article 70 (4), which gives autonomy to the provinces in resource exploitation. Thus, apart from arguing for the devolution of more powers, he argues that the central government should reach an agreement with Balochistan concerning the royalties to be paid for its gas, oil, and mineral resources. On administrative reforms, Harrison argues that the power of provincial governors appointed by the central government should be strictly limited by constitutional amendment in order to ensure that governors are not used by the central government to undermine the power accorded to the provinces in the 1973 Constitution.

Hassan Abbas emphasizes the strengthening of democratic forces in Pakistan for which he argues that the forces behind a vibrant civil society and the media should receive encouragement. Abbas also underlines the need for starting a consultative and legislative process, whereby he draws attention to the increasing alienation of the Balochs and the growing ethnic divide between the ANP-Pashtoon combine and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). He also adds that the education and health sectors

should be prioritized by the government and that the threat of Talibanization should be combated on the basis of progressive ideas. He locates the role of the media as an important catalyst on this front.

For making his case on strengthening police forces in Pakistan, Abbas in *Police Reforms in Pakistan* argues that half of all US funds allocated for counterterrorism and counterinsurgency support in Pakistan should be given to the police and other civilian law enforcement agencies and be closely monitored. He adds that there should be strong oversight and accountability of the disbursed funds and all the four provinces of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir should receive equal importance in the allocation of funds through a transparent process. Hassan Abbas also proposes specialized counterinsurgency training for selected junior and middle-ranking police officers in reputed international law enforcement training institutions.

Zaid Haider, on the other hand, emphasizes a sequential but substantive approach. He points out the need for engagement and participation of the people in governance and reform processes in the FATA. Haider delineates short-, medium- and long-term measures. He suggests the urgent need to extend the Political Parties Act, so that moderate parties can be encouraged to participate in the political sphere. However, he cautions that any effort to propose a Pakistani political setup demands that government should first make an effort to earn the trust of the people inhabiting the FATA. As a short-term measure, he also argues for curbing the powers of the political agent, which he says has become symbolic of FATA's repressive system. Haider points out that reviving the integrity of the judicial system in FATA is important and the *jirga* should be empowered to deliver effective justice in a time-bound manner. As a medium-term measure, Haider points out that local

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By Prof. M.L. Kaul

**B**hakti as per the traditional mould can be defined as motiveless service to God. It has close linkages with actions (*karman*) that human beings routinely perform during the span of their life. It is axiomatic that the world depends on actions (*loko ayam karma bandanah*). Actionless-ness is a marker of death and decay. In the dynamics of life action is what integrates a man in a bond of cohesion with other members of a social group. Renunciation has come to occupy a dominant position in the trajectory of Indian spirituality. But renunciation never stipulates giving up of action. But what is to be renounced is desire, attachment or fruit accruing from a particular action that is performed. In the words of Prof. Hiriyan, 'The Gita-teaching stands not for renunciation of action, but for renunciation in action'. Human beings within the bounds of this world have to act to live, exist and carry on the material activities, but what is desired is that any action of any form or hue should not have the motivations of desire, attachment or fruit. A motiveless action has a close nexus with knowledge too. A true *Jnani*, a knower, alone can surrender himself to God who has assured him of protection (*na me bhaktah pranashyati*). *Bhakti*, therefore, features total surrender to God.

The main locus of *bhakti* is *Maheshvar*, call Him Shiva, Ram or Krishna. The *bhakta* reposes full and unflinching faith in Him and totally depends on Him for grace (*shakhtipat*). Absolute dependence and unflinching faith formulate the two critical ingredients of *bhakti*. A sinless *bhakta* in the embrace of a virtuous life has full faith in his *Maheshvar* that He will liberate him from the rotating wheel of life and death. A *bhakta* even if mired in sinful life can also depend on Him to ferry him across the ocean of *samsar*. A *bhakta* can serve his *Maheshvar* as a servant (*dasa*) serves his master. He can cultivate a relation of friendship with Him and worship and adore Him for spiritual gains. This type of relationship has generated an enchanting treasure of aesthetics in the domain of art and poetry. There

## Bhakti and Worship in Scriptures in Kashmir Shaivism & Lall Ded Vakh

can be a *bhakta* who defies all constraints and starts loving his *Maheshvar*. But, in such a relationship of love, he rises above the trivial form of love in mundane life. The loving relationship with *Maheshvar* elevates him to such a state of heightened consciousness where margins between him and his *Maheshvar* fade away and the two become indistinguishably as one.

The *rishis* and *munis* have written tracts on *bhakti* which delineate their experiences in their varied relationships with *Maheshvar* either as servants, friends or lovers. What one gets from these expositions is that *Bhakti* is all through experiential, not a subject for theorisation. The fact remains that *bhakti* as an emotional expression of a *bhakta* can be portrayed in concordance with the world-view that he harbours. The great poets like *Tulsidas*, *Surdas*, *Vidyapati*, *Jaidev* et al have delineated their forms of *bhakti* as moulded by their views on man, world and *Maheshvar*. Despite philosophisation of *bhakti*, a *bhakta* is and has to be completely involved in his service, friendship or courtship unto his *Maheshvar*. The suffering (*arta*), the searcher (*Jijnasu*) and the self-interested (*artharathi*) are on the peripheries of *bhakti* as they in their forms of *bhakti* are not totally involved in the relationship that they forge with their *Maheshvar*. It is only the wise (*Jnani*) who is the true *bhakta* because of his total involvement in his object of service or love, that is *Maheshvar*.

Gleaning through the pages of the Indian scriptures of yore it becomes evident that *bhakti*, its contents, forms and contours have evolved through ages in consonance with the philosophical-cum-religious consciousness in India. The '*Nasidiya Sukhta*' of the *Rig Veda* typifies the *vedic rishi's* mind that is intensely curious to probe and know the origins of universe. Riddled with doubt and indecision, the *rishi* oscillates between *sat* (being) and *asat* (non-being). The whole *sukhta* vividly reflects his amazement at 'the prospect of universe' (*vishva*). He is completely lost in the perennial problem of knowing the origins of cosmos, how and wherefore of it. The *vedic rishi* is equally beset with a sense of fear in face of awful forces of nature. That is why *vedic gods* symbolise powers of nature. Observes

Max Mullar, 'These gods were the first philosophy, the first attempt at explaining the wonders of nature'.

The mammoth corpus of *Vedic literature* throws up the *Vedic Rishis* bearing a mind beset with 'wonder' and 'fear'. The two, singularly or in combination had not the potential to generate an impulse of '*bhakti*' and '*worship*'. In absence of a motivating impulse there could be no relationship, personal or impersonal, between the *rishis* and the plethora of gods. Yet, we glimpse the first germinations of '*bhakti*' and '*worship*' in the hymns (*richa*) sung by the *vedic rishis*. Sacrifices were offered to gods through *yajnas* only to propitiate them for bestowal of prosperity in life, abundance of crops and protection of cattle-wealth. They were also propitiated as not to wreak havoc on them through earthquakes, floods and other natural disasters. The *Vedic hymns* in general are purely formalistic deficient in the basic sentiments that pave way for '*bhakti*' and '*worship*'.

The *Upanishads* are an important milestone in the development of philosophical and religious consciousness in India. The first seeds that were sown in the *Vedic hymns* burgeoned forth in the *upanishadic* tracts as the crux of human excellence. Deflecting away from the formalities of sacrifices and 'complexus of ceremonies' *upanishads* pointer to a 'deepening inwardness' by focusing on '*Atman*', the Self, a region of new quest, vaster than the objective world'. Philosophical ruminations and over-all religious consciousness morphed into a genre that marked a departure from what we had in the *Vedas*. The *upanishadic* formulations and conceptualisations proved trend-setting and determined the future course of Indian philosophy and *dharma*.

Swami Ranganath Nanda puts, 'The *upanishads* not only gave a permanent orientation to the Indian culture and thought, but also blazed a trail for all subsequent philosophy in East and West'.

*Upanishads* in their essence are knowledge-oriented and also the path that they blazed is based on knowledge (*Jnan*). The knowledge-path (*Jnan marg*) poses insurmountable difficulties for a *bhakta* with an intent to tread upon it. It has been characterised as '*ksurasya*

*dhara nishita duratya durgam pathah*'. The high-brow *upanishadic* formulations like '*aham brahmosmi*', '*tat tvam asi*' and '*soham*', though replete with path-breaking philosophical content, could not attract the popular sentiment because of the lack of elements in them that form the sheet-anchor for '*bhakti*' and '*worship*'.

With the passage of time the knowledge-oriented spiritual goals suffered a dilution and space thus created was occupied by '*bhakti*' and '*worship*' that allowed a free play to aesthetics and human emotions. The emerging trend got crystallised in the *Narayan upanishad*, *Krishna upanishad* and *Ramtapni upanishad* that focussed on *bhakti* and *worship* of *Narayan*, *Krishan* and *Ram* as gods in human form. The three gods were presented as manifest forms of *Brahman*, as the ultimate Reality and got merged in the same ultimate principle. Though '*bhakti*' and '*worship*' were the main focus, the trend as such could not materialise as an independent path to God-realisation.

Buddhism debated philosophical and religious issues from ascetic and regressive points of view. '*Sarvam dukham ad Sarvam mithya*' were symbols of the Buddhist philosophy of pessimism and rejectionism. At the philosophical level the non-soul doctrine of the Buddhists coupled with the momentariness of everything failed to find resonance in the Indian mind. Kashmir as the pivotal centre of Buddhist thought and *dharma* stemmed the negationist trend when the Kashmiri Pandit thinkers as masters of the Buddhist philosophy gave it a positive and affirmative orientation. Mahayana Buddhism in a new mould blazed the trail for '*bhakti*' and '*worship*' of Buddha as a divine incarnation.

Shankaracharya as a colossus striding the domain of Indian philosophy and *dharma* gave a new orientation to the *vedantic* philosophy and *dharma*. He systematised it in a manner that Max Mullar in awe appraises him as 'the finest flower of Indian wisdom'. Shankar's philosophy is monistic in approach and logic. *Brahman*, to Shankar, is the absolute reality and phenomenal world is only illusory and false (*branti* and *mithyaa*). He has distrust for the role of

action for it has 'a reference to the world which is dual and false'. He emphatically stresses the path of knowledge (*Jnan marg*) as it leads a seeker 'out of the dualist eddies of the world'. Like *kierkegaard*, the existentialist, Shankar has pointed out the limitations of reason and intellect in self-realisation as it is an 'intuitively lived and felt experience'.

It was a rude shock to the *Saiks* when Shankaracharya authored a work like '*Saundariya-lahiri*' and '*stotras*' like the '*Dakshinamurti Stotra*'. In the said-works he appeared to impair his own essential position as a non-dual philosopher and the knowledge path he had advocated as a means to self-realisation (*moksa*). The very change in the philosophical position of Shankaracharya confirms his visit to Kashmir as described in '*shankar Digvijay*'. His contact with the Kashmiri Pandit Shaivites left him convinced of the Shaivite philosophy of non-dualism. The switch over to the path of '*bhakti*' and '*worship*' opened new vistas for the seekers keen to realise their spiritual goals and aspirations.

**Ramanujacharya**, *vaishnavite* to the core, made a judicious mix of non-dual thesis of absolutism with personal theism (belief in *Mahashvam*). He was not the innovator. In fact, such an attempt was already made in the *Bhagvatgita*, *Mahabharata* and the *Vishnu Puran* and *Bhagvatam*. It is apt to put that *Ramanujacharya* was mainly inspired by the *Alvar* saint-poets who had marked a trail of powerful tradition which a philosopher of the calibre of *Ramanujacharya* furthered and perpetuated. The non-dual thesis of *Shankaracharya* set in a frame of philosophical rigour was controverted by a plethora of Indian thinkers of repute. The critical treatment that they gave to the Shankaran non-dual thesis gave rise to the philosophical schools of qualified monism, pure monism, non-dualism and dual-cum-non-dualism. The new schools of thought with their own specific approach to the issues of philosophy were tagged with the label of *Viahsnavism* which made a significant contribution to the dissemination of '*bhakti*' and '*worship*' at popular level.

The *Alvar* saint poets from

(Contd. on Page 13)

## Bhakti and Worship in Scriptures in Kashmir Shaivism & Lalla Ded Vakh

(From Page 12)

Tamil-land fully crystallised the new trend of 'bhakti' and 'worship' through their enchanting hymns brimming with intense love of Vishnu. Instinctive knowledge of God and His contemplation are the dominant themes of their hymns. The saint-poets are the ardent devotees who have completely resigned themselves to the mercy of Vishnu and have expressed their total dependence on Him for deliverance. The deep impact of Rigveda on the Alvar saint-poets can be realised when they conceptualise the world as the body of Vishnu and feel transported to dizzying levels of *ananda* by dedicating themselves to His Service. The *alvars* in the tone and essence are extremely passionate in their yearning which is divergent from coarse and worldly passion. The philosophical frame to the Alvars was provided by the *Acaryas* like *Nathmuni* who had made their own insightful forays in the realms of philosophy.

The trend-setting wave of 'bhakti' and 'worship' travelled all the way from south of India to the North where an eminent sage, Rama Nand, found it significant for impulsing a new movement of 'bhakti' and 'worship'. To his numerous disciples he imparted the *mantra* of 'Ramayanamah' which unleashed a momentous movement of *bhakti* creating a heightened consciousness at grass-root level to stem the tide of Muslim invasion on the very civilisation and culture of India. Kabir, Gurunanak, Tulsi Das, Sur Das and other literary luminaries forming vanguard of the movement played their part as *bhaktas* with an amazing sense of history.

### Bhakti and worship in Kashmir Shaivism

Shankaracharya as an immaculate philosopher of non-dual absolutism considered 'bhakti' & 'worship' as antithetical to the rope-snake metaphor that establishes the primacy of knowledge (Jnan) in matters of release from the shackles of 'bandan' (bondage). Philosophically speaking, he made no attempt to explore a possibility of developing a concordance between *bhakti* and worship and his principal thesis of knowledge (Jnan). He thought that any type of reconciliation between *bhakti* and worship and his thesis of non-dual absolutism would fracture his total fabric of thought.

Kashmir Shaivism, though a philosophy of non-dual absolutism, does not contribute to the Shankaran thesis of exclusion of *bhakti*

and worship from the realms of non-dual philosophy. The Shaivites of Kashmir are essentially integrati-onists who have dialectically maintained the integrity of their non-dual thesis by giving legitimacy to the precepts and practices of *bhakti* and worship. Kashmir Shaivism has been appraised as 'more monistic than monism itself'. *Bhakti* and worship as per it do not in any way impair the tone, essence and unity of its thesis. A concordance has been established between *bhakti* and worship and knowledge (*Jnan*) by re-naming 'bhakti' as 'atma bhakti' and puja (worship) as 'atma puja' (self-worship).

A *bhakta* conforming to the Shaiva thought cannot perform worship or devote himself to the service of Shiva in a manner that smacks of dualism. He sees his own intrinsic-essence as Shiva when he worships Shiva or sets up a warm relation of friendship and intimacy with Him. Shiva as per the theoretical assumptions of Kashmir Shaivism has prominent attributes of omniscience, omni-presence, eternity et al. A *bhakta* while devoting himself to Shiva super-imposes the same attributes of Shiva on himself. So does the worshipper. This is how the Shaivite thinkers have resolved the conflict between *bhakti* and worship and knowledge of Shiva (*Shiva-Jnan*).

The Shaiva *bhakti* is superior to any form of *Jnan* (knowledge). Successes in the domain of Shaiva *yoga* do not crystallise without *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is both means to an end and an end in itself. The highest knowledge of non-dual philosophy is featured as the highest form of *bhakti*. Says utpaldev-

**Jnanasya parma bhumi  
tvad bhakti ty vibho  
karhi purna syat arthita**

*Bhakti* is considered spiritual knowledge (*adhyatam vidhya*). 'Shivo bhutva shivam yajet' is replaced by 'bhakto bhutva shivam yajet'. The state of identity with Shiva is not acceptable if its medium is not *bhakti*.

Utpaldev sings--  
**bhavat bhakti amrit  
asvat bodhyasya syat  
para api  
dasha sa mam preti  
swamin asvasyeva  
shukhtah**

*Bhakti* is the distilled essence of worship (*puja*). It is more efficacious and helpful in recognising one's essence as Shiva than *yoga* and its allied practices. *yogis* strictly practise *yam*, *niyam* and *pretyahar* to come to the state of *samadhi*,

but *bhaktas* ascend to the same state through *bhakti* (devotion) and maintain the state even in active consciousness (*vyuthan*).

*Bhakti* has been defined as *samavesh* which means direct entrance into the supreme consciousness of Shiva. 'milan' is named as *sukhi* and 'virah' is named as 'dukha'. *Sukha* is perpetual unity with Shiva and *dukha* is separateness from Shiva. In the lexicon of love-poetry they are usually phrased as 'samyog' & 'viyog'. To go to the shelter of Shiva (*sharan*) is to have unity with Shiva in normal active life. A true *bhakta* wears the same temper and attitude of equipoise when he is in unity with Shiva or when he is in a state of duality.

The Kashmiri Shaivites as celebrated aesthetes have classified *bhakti* as *rasa*. It is a continuous and perpetual source of joy, happiness and ecstasy. A *bhakta* when in union with Shiva finds himself in the same state of 'anand' which a lover of wine is immersed in. Bhatta Nayak and utpaldev apexing an uninterrupted tradition of 'bhakti' and 'worship' as was prevalent in Kashmir have often used wine as a metaphor. Both are poets of *bhakti* which, to them, is a *rasa* that not only intoxicates but also transports to partake of Shiva's consciousness that exudes the nectar of *anand*.

A *bhakta* establishes a personal relationship with Shiva as his *Ishta Deva*. He serves Him devoutly as a servant serves his master. The Shaivas consider the relation of a servant with his master based on 'dasta bhava' as superior to any other relationship with Shiva. He can be His friend. He can even establish a relation of courtship with Shiva. These are the manifold forms of personal relationships that a *bhakta* can forge with Shiva.

Shiva has a transcendental aspect as well. He is consciousness Supreme, something that is not tangible. Shiva in His manifest form of *Shakti* is the subject for Shaiva *bhakti*. It is the being of Shiva who is *chidanand*, that forms the subject and theme of the Shaiva *bhakti*. Negligible examples of impersonal form of *bhakti* are certainly available. But, the dominant relationship that *bhaktas* form with their *Ishta-deva*, Shiva, is warmly personal.

The Hindu history of Kashmir buttresses the view that Kashmir has been a seat of Shaivism through ages. The plethora of gods and goddesses in the Shaiva pantheon have been adored and worshipped. Temples have been built and consecrated to Shiva, Shakti,

Kumar, Ganesha and other *bhairavs*. People throng to Shaktipeethas for worship. The devotees firm in faith and conviction melodiously sing vedic mantras and Shiva-stotras. The way they worship establishes that there is a fusion of *vedas* and *agamas* in the methodology. The worship of *Ishta devas* and *Ishta devis* is resorted to 'deepen the gaze within'.

The worship of a god in a temple has been a standard practice of the Shaivas. Classified as external worship (*bahya puja*) it has been doctrinally recognised as beneficial to the initiates on the Shaiva path. To develop a mood of concentration and revert the gaze within, an initiate takes to external worship of any form. Such a worship is categorised as 'anavopaya'. By gradual stages he learns the highest form of *bhakti* and worship which is *atmabhakti* and 'atma puja'.

### Bhakti in Lalla Ded Vakh

No right thinking person can dispute the status of Lalla Ded as *Shaiva yogini*. She took the Shaiva-praxis to recognise her essential worth as Shiva. Lalla Ded was a *bhaktin* too, who is consensually ranked with great *bhaktas* like guru Nanak, Sant Kabir, Meera Bhai, Raidass, Tulsi Dass et al. Prof. B.N. Parimu in his monumental studies on Lalla Ded unequivocally calls her the fore-runner of the *Bhakti* Movement in India. As *yoga* and *bhakti* are not mutually contradictory to each other, Lalla meticulously practised *bhakti yoga*. Her self-image as a 'bhaktin' had fortified her against the zig zags and adversities of life and world, and had invested her person with absolute equipoise and equanimity of temper and deportment.

Says she--

**bo yod shankar bakhach  
asa**

**makris sasa mal kya peye**

Lalla Ded had been an ardent devotee of Shiva. When she was a child, she would foot her way to the Shiva temple at Harsheshwar for worship. She continued with the practice after she got married at Padmapur (Pampore). Chanting of *mantras* and the name of Shiva at the Shiva temples assisted her to gain calmness of mind and concentration too. She took to a plethora of practices till she deepened her spiritual awareness.

As a restless worshipper she joined a guru who put her on a path that could not help her in realising her spiritual yearnings. It is in pain and

agony she cries 'abakh chyan pyom yath razdane'. She gained confidence as a *bhakta* only after she got a *sat guru*, a perfect soul, who awakened her into a new consciousness of a true *bhakta* of Shaiva extraction.

As a conscious shavite, well-groomed in the theory and praxis of Shaivism, Lalla Ded had marched far on the high road of *bhakti* and worship. Under the insightful guidance and initiation of her *sat-guru* she realised that real *bhakti* was 'atma bhakti' and real worship was 'atma worship'. As shiva is the only subject and we are His emanations, not outside Him, but in Him only, He, therefore, cannot be accessed on the plank of a separate polarity. *Bhakti* and worship based on a premise that is separate from Him, are not a source to the spiritual recognition of one's essence as Shiva.

Lalla Ded came to a stage in her spiritual journey where she rose above the formalities of formal worship. That is why she stressed the unity of vital-airs with that of *pran* as *pranna* as essence of Shiva in life.

**Resonates Lalla--  
devo vata divar vata  
pyatha bon chuya ekvat  
kas puzi karak hoola  
bata**

**kar pran as to pavan as  
sangat**

*Bhakti* in Kashmir Shaivism cannot climax until a *bhakta* surrenders himself to the grace (*shaktipat*) of Shiva. This view of Shaivas is buttressed even by *Bhagvatgita*. Lalla Ded as a Shaiva-*Bhaktin* burnt away the dirt (*malas*) and killed her petty desires to arouse the divine volition (*Iccha*) and surrendered herself to Shiva for grace. Says she--

**dali travamus tati**

Lalla Ded had Shiva as her personal god. She had forged a variety of relationships with Shiva. She served Him as a servant, made friends with Him and loved Him intensely.

Intense moments of love she sang out her love-lorn song to awaken her beloved within her frame for unity and absolute purity. Says Lalla--

**pota zooni vathith mot  
bolnovum**

**dag lalanavam dayi  
sanzi prah**

**lali lali karan lal  
vozanovum**

**meelith tas man  
shrochyom deh**

Lalla Ded was a proud Shaiva-*bhaktin* who as a self-recognised soul harboured a consciousness of unity with Shiva even when she engaged herself in normal chores and responsibilities of world and life.

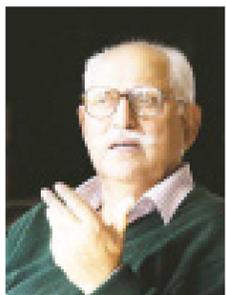
BY ASHISH K. MISHRA

"Vijay Kumar Raina is amused. The 76-year old retired geologist who lives in Sector 17, Panchkula in Haryana has been blitzkrieged by the media, government, world scientist community and the average citizen since December 2009.

Why? Because he blew the lid off the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC), headed by the charismatic R.K. Pachauri, claims that the Himalayan glaciers will be extinct by 2035.

Raina's life has taken a complete turnaround in the last six months. Like most retirees, Raina had followed a routine: Early morning walks, discussing politics, attending to his plants and working religiously on his book devoted to 'tracing the work done on Indian glaciers'.

He was on the receiving end of jibes from Pachauri who dismissed his claims as school-boy science. Now Pachauri has been keeping a low profile, his reputation at stake. However, neighbours call



Sh. V.K. Raina

on Raina non-stop. There is no time to work on his book. But Raina laughs off the publicity. "The last one month has been absolutely maddening. Morning to evening, I am either talking to the press or answering questions on email and I haven't been able to even touch my book. [But] so far I am concerned, the case is closed," he says.

What case? In its 4th Assessment Report released in 2007, the IPCC said, 'the Himalayan glaciers were receding faster than in any other part of the world and, if it continued, the likelihood of them disappearing by the year 2035 and perhaps sooner is very high.' This was the same year that the IPCC shared the Nobel Peace

# THE ICE-MAN-V.K. Raina

**An account of how a retired geologist took apart the alarmist climate claims of a Nobel Prize winning organisation**

Prize with Al Gore.

Now it has emerged that none of it was true. IPCC, which employs top scientists in the world didn't do its homework and made unsubstantiated, alarmist claims. The organisation is on the defensive and its credibility is diminishing by the day.

## How It Unravelled

The whole chain of events started on another ordinary day in Raina's life when he received a phone call.

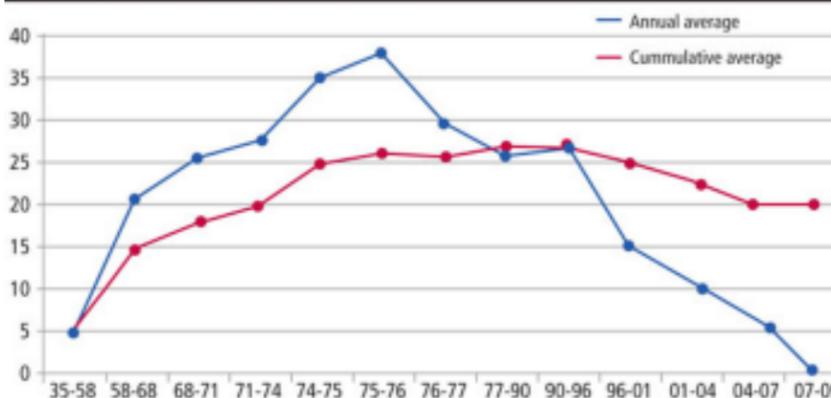
Raina, along with his wife Mohini, 73, was driving to a bakery shop specialising in Kashmiri sweets in Sector 23, Chandigarh when his mobile phone rang. "I get this call from some gentleman by the name of Dr. Subramaniam from the Ministry of Environment who says that 'the honourable minister wants you to attend a meeting on Himalayan glaciers'. I hung up saying that I am driving and will talk to you later," says Raina. Once back home, he called the number. "I told him that I am a retired man and I don't know where I come into the picture," adds Raina.

He wasn't sure he would go. But after much coaxing by his wife and the promise of the trip being sponsored by the ministry of environment & forests (MoEF), he finally agreed.

On July 10, 2009, Raina went to the Paryavaran Bhawan, headquarters of the MoEF in Delhi. He wasn't alone. There were around forty other scientists at the meeting. The Space Application Centre (SAC) had prepared a report on a few Himalayan glaciers based on satellite imagery which had been funded by the MoEF.

Environment minister Jairam Ramesh wanted to know the view of all the scientists gathered in the room on the findings of SAC. "There was an open discussion where everybody was given the opportunity to air their views and most of the people didn't agree with their findings," says Raina.

## THE STANDSTILL GLACIER



Graph showing average annual retreat and the cumulative average retreat (in metres) of the Gangotri glacier over last 75 years

The dissenting lot believes that while the Survey of India has prepared accurate maps for the rest of the country, its maps for Himalayan glaciers are incorrect. Raina recalls the time he was the director general of the glaciology division at Geological Survey of India (GSI) in the 1980s. The maps were based on aerial photography done in November because of clear skies. Now measurements are taken during September but because of monsoon clouds aerial photography is not possible.

R.K. Pachauri became a celebrity after IPCC won a Nobel, but is now facing a credibility crisis.

However simple this may sound, it makes a lot of difference to the authenticity of the data collected. By November, the first snowfall has already taken place because of which it is very difficult to identify the outline of the glaciers. That's why many glaciers outlined in the maps show much larger outlines than actually present. So, when the SAC compared the current size of glaciers using satellite imagery with the 1962 maps they obviously found a lot of shrinkage. "We told the minister that we do not agree what SAC says. At least that is our experience of the glaciers we have gone to," adds Raina.

Ramesh took notice and asked Raina if he would prepare a 'white paper on the status of work done on Himalayan glaciers'. He was given a

window of three weeks to complete the white paper. Raina claims he had no idea what a white paper meant. But he checked. "I found that a white paper means truthful expression of facts," he says.

On August 4, 2009, Raina submitted his report. It contained 150 years of data collected by the GSI of 25 Indian glaciers. It said that the Himalayan glaciers and glaciers in the rest of the world have retreated and advanced irregularly with no direct link to warming or cooling of the earth's climate. "This is one of the many issues of climate change science that we do not fully understand," says Dr. Madhav L. Khandekar, a scientist based out of Canada who has been an expert reviewer of the 2007 IPCC report.

On November 9, 2009, Jairam Ramesh released the Himalayan glacier document at a press conference in New Delhi. "There is no conclusive scientific evidence to link global warming with what is happening with the Himalayan glaciers," he said.

## Hell Breaks Loose

Raina vividly remembers the day the report was released. "It is surprising that even on the day when this document was released by the minister, a lot of press asked me questions but nobody bothered to put them in the papers because probably at that time they thought this fellow knows nothing... yeh to mantriji ne kar diya," he says. He was

partially correct. Not many took the statement too seriously in the beginning, except for some stray critics writing in the media. But the one man who took immediate note of it and reacted bitterly was R. K. Pachauri, chairman of IPCC.

Pachauri came down strongly on the report. The following day, in an interview with The Guardian newspaper, he questioned the minister's intentions behind releasing such a report terming it as 'an extremely arrogant statement'. And he didn't refrain from taking pot shots at Raina either. "With the greatest of respect, this guy retired years ago and I find it totally baffling that he comes out and throws out everything that has been established years ago." He went on to say that such claims were those of "climate change deniers and school boy science." Scientists across the world and six of them who shared their perspective on this issue with Forbes India say that Pachauri's comments were out of order because they were very personal.

In December, 2009, however, Dr. Murari Lal, a scientist and one of the authors of the chapter on glaciers in the IPCC 4th Assessment Report spilled the beans at a United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) conference held in New Delhi at the headquarters of The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). He said that he had cited the 'Himalayan glaciers to

disappear by 2035' claim from a 2005 World Wildlife Fund (WWF) report.

The implication of this "confession" was serious. Lal was saying his data was from a secondary source. The events quickly unravelled. WWF quickly responded and said it had, in turn, take the information from a quote in the New Science Journal given by Dr. Syed Iqbal Hasnain, who was then at the Jawaharlal Nehru University and who later became the head of glaciology at TERI. Hasnain, on his part, denied making any such statement. The source of the claim in IPCC's report thus entered a blackhole.

The moment this story made headlines, scientists and policy makers across the world started questioning IPCC's credibility. Dr. Vincent Gray, a scientist based out of New Zealand who has been an expert reviewer on all IPCC reports, puts IPCC's current state of affairs in perspective. "This Himalayan story is so obviously fraudulent that it is surprising that people have only just



Sh. R.K. Pachauri

noticed it. I blame myself that I should have noticed it long ago," says Gray. But, quite a few people including the IPCC believe that the 'error' is not such a big deal. Mark Kenber, Policy Director at The Climate Group, is one such person. "The IPCC does not claim anything with 100 percent certainty. Clearly there hasn't been sufficient scrutiny of all work covered, but that only two pieces out of tens of thousands have slipped through is remarkable," says Kenber.

However, others like Bjorn Lomborg, author of the book *The Skeptical Environmentalist* believe that over the years IPCC

(Contd. on Page 17)

BY UPENDER AMBARDAR

## Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants-VII

*The Shivratri pooja of Kashmir is a complex interplay of diverse components of customs, ritual beliefs, codes of observance and taboos as per the individual family reeth. They are valuable socio-religious*

THE Shivratri rituals having a strong devotional and faith content are deeply interwoven in the matrix of our religio-socio-cultural lives, affirmed Sh. Rattan Lal Bhat, a resident of the village Daetgham, district Baramulla and presently putting up at Srinagar. Sharing his festival related memories, Sh. Bhat revealed that as per his family 'reeth', the ritualistic *pooja* of two flat bottomed spherical earthenware locally called 'toke' is performed in the evening of *Phagun Krishna Pakash Dwadashi*, known as 'Vagur Bah' in the local language. Amidst an elaborate *pooja*, only cooked rice usually prepared from fresh harvested stock is put in the above cited earthenware ('Toke'). The 'Doon Mavus' *pooja* is performed in the evening on the bank of Daegham rivulet. Curiously enough, only one of the earthen pitcher's symbolically representing the Goddess *Parvati* is taken out to the bank of the village stream for the said *pooja*, whileas the main pitcher symbolically representing Lord *Shiva* is retained in the 'Vatak Kuth'. As per his family reeth, the flowing water of the stream is cut seven times in straight lines with a knife during the 'Doon Mavus' *pooja*.

It was also revealed that during the symbolic 'knock at the door conversation ritual', it is customary to say *Maha Ganesh* as a witness before the main door of the house is opened and house inmates are allowed inside. On 'Tila Ashtami' evening, oil lit earthen *diyas* having a sprinkle of black sesame seeds inside are placed on the rivulet bank, cowdung heap and road crossing. They were not permitted to be kept in the house.

The Shivratri rituals having a mysterious symbology facilitate an intimate bond with the Supreme Divine, observed Sh. Pushkar Nath Tutu, an erstwhile resident of Sheshyar, Habbakadal Srinagar and now-putting up at Janipura Jammu. Recapturing the festival related nostalgia memories, Sh. Tutu revealed that as per the family 'reeth', the repertoire of culinary legacy of his home on the evening of 'Vagur Bah' comprised water fowl (*Pachin*), the usual meat preparations, the combined dish of fish and *nadru*, *palakh-nadru* and *hakh*. But strangely-enough, none of the above dishes but only walnuts in odd number were reverentially put inside the water filled designated clay pitcher of 'Vagur'. However, all the above cited dishes were repeated on Shivratri and offered to the 'Bhairav DouL'.

It was also revealed that from 'Salam' onwards upto the 'Doon Mavus', the designated earthen

utensil 'Nout', 'Choud' and 'Saniewari' had to be taken to Shashyar Vitasta ghat for refilling them with fresh water daily usually in the early hours of mornings. Curiously enough, 'Doon Mavus', *pooja* was performed in the 'Vatak Kuth' instead of the river ghat and correspondingly there was no 'Thuk Thuk' ritual.

The amazing variety of Shivratri rituals and customs graced with local flavour have deep rooted symbolic underpinnings, observed Sh. Manoj Koul, a native of the village Danter, district Anantnag and presently residing at Dream City, Muthi, Jammu. Recounting the festival related 'reeth' of yesteryears, he disclosed that in the evening of 'Vagur Bah', i.e. a day prior to Shivratri, cooked rice mixed with fish dish accompanied by an uncooked and uncleaned small fish variety called 'gumri' were put inside the designated earthen pitcher of 'Vagur' amidst *pooja*. The 'Vatak' utensils comprised the earthen 'Nout', 'Choud', two 'Resh Pyala' in addition to the usual 'Bhairav DouL', 'Sanipatul' and 'Dhoopjoor'. As per the family reeth, cooked rice mixed with meat preparations of 'Roganjosh', 'Kalya', 'Maech' and mixed dish of fish and raddish were the ritualistic offerings to the 'Bhairav DouL' during the Shivratri *pooja*, whileas only milk mixed with cooked rice is put inside the 'Resh Pyala'.

Strangely enough in stark contrast to the usual and most common practice, the 'Doon Mavus' *pooja* is performed in the morning and not in the evening and that too in the home and not at the river bank. Correspondingly there is no 'knock at the door' ritual. Sh. Manoj Koul also divulged that on 'Tila Ashtami' morning uncooked rice and uncooked raddish are put in front of the nine oil lit earthen lamps in the 'Vatak Kuth'. In the ensuing evening, all these items placed in a bronze *thali* were taken to the village stream. The rice and raddish were consigned to the flowing water of the stream whileas all the oil lit *diyas* were placed on the bank of the village stream. In no case were they permitted to be taken inside the house.

The varied hues of Shivratri rituals representing a majestic repository of the past are impressive left over imprints of the past, articulated Sh. Virinder Koul, an originally resident of the village Damjan, tehsil Vessu, district Anantnag and presently putting

up at Srinagar. Recapitulating the festival related 'reeth', Sh. Koul disclosed that on Shivratri, the ritualistic offerings to the 'Bhairav DouL' comprise the cotton-seed, locally known as 'Kapsi Boyel', alternately in its absence to be substituted by cotton, a mixture of different uncooked pulses of *moong*, *mash (maha)*, *arhar*, *matar* etc and seven different uncooked vegetables namely 'hak', raddish, potato, *nadru*, *knol khol*, spinach and cauliflower or cabbage as per the availability, known locally as 'Sut Sous'. In addition to the above, cooked vegetable dishes were also offered to the earthen utensil of 'Bharav DouL' amidst *pooja*. Sh. Virinder Koul also revealed that fresh blood of a slaughtered sheep and an uncooked piece of sheep's lung's were also a part of the sacrificial offerings to the 'Bhairav DouL'. As per his family specific reeth, figurative images having human figure like outlines were made out from the kneaded rice flour on Shivratri. They were known as 'Kral, Kraej, Kath, Katin, Butt, Batin and Shav Shavin'. They were baked dry on a frying pan. *Pooja* was also performed for them. At the time of 'Doon Mavus' *pooja*, they were offered to the flowing waters of the village stream known by the name of Louver. During the said *pooja*, the stream water was cut only three times with a knife in straight lines and not crosswise. It was customary to distribute, the *naveed* of walnut kernels and rice flour *rotis* 'Chochivour' right at the Louver stream ghat itself. During the 'knock at the door ritual of *dubh dubh*', it was obligatory to say 'Maha Lidar' as an accompanist, perhaps to emphasize the nearness of the village Damjan to the river Lidar, which flows in Pahalgam area. Incidentally, Lidar is the mutilated pronunciation for the original name of the said river as Lambodhari and one of the name's of *Maha Ganesh* is also Lambodhar.

Additionally in reply-to the ritualistic conversation of 'Kus Chuv, Ram broar, kya heth, ann, dann, dowlut, sukh, smpadha, laxmi and saraswati,' the main door of the house was opened and family members allowed inside only after the words of 'Urniya Tae Tiyan' were uttered. After the immersion ritual of 'Doon Mavus', the earthen utensils of 'Nout' and 'Choud' had to be seated once again in the 'Vatak Kuth' for about five to six minutes. The *naveed* after the said *pooja* comprised dry dates, *kishmish* in addition to the customary, walnut kernels and rice flour *rotis*. On 'Tila Ashtami' instead of the earthen lamps, *diyas* were made from the kneaded rice flour. They were oil lit

after black sesame seeds were put in them. They were eventually placed on the enroute sides of the road leading to the temple of the village Damjan.

Making an addition to the above conversation, Sh. Kanya Lal Koul, an erstwhile resident of the village Vessu, district Anantnag and now living at Muthi Jammu revealed that his family reeth ordains him to cut the flowing river water only five times with a knife during 'Doon Mavus' *pooja*.

The Shivratri *pooja* of Kashmir is a complex interplay of diverse components of customs, ritual beliefs, codes of observance and taboos as per the individual family reeth. They are valuable socio-religious assets, which are moored in medieval origins, asserted Sh. Bansi Lai Raina, a resident of the village Chandrigam tchsil Pahalgam, district Anantnag. Sh. Bansi Lal divulged that most of the Raina families of his village cook only-vegetarian dishes on Shivratri, which are offered to the 'Bhairav DouL'. However the vegetarian tradition is broken on the day of 'Salam'. The 'Vatak Parmujan' and 'Doon Mavus' *pooja* are performed on the village spring. During the 'knock at the door ritual' of 'Thuk Thuk or Dubh Dubh', it is necessary to say 'Vatak Raza' as a witness. On 'Tila Ashtami', eight oil lit earthen lamps are placed in the temple premises, *Vatak Kuth*, bank of the water source, charcoal heap, livestock room and in the stable.

The Shivratri rituals are faith aiding embellishments having unlimited adoration and reverence for the great God Lord Shiva opined Sh. Manohar Nath Raina, an originally resident of the village Wullar hama, district Anantnag and presently putting-up at the ORT Complex Purkhoo Jammu

The family 'reeth' ordained that alongwith the delectable meat preparations of Roganjosh, Kalya, minced meat, a few pieces of uncooked meat, uncooked and uncleaned small fish called 'gurun' and fresh blood of a sheep procured from a butcher were the sacrificial offerings to the earthen utensil designated as 'Bhairav DouL'. The 'Vatuk' comprised earthen utensils of 'Nout', 'Choud', 'five DouLji and one 'Bhairav DouL'.

All of them were carried to the village stream to get them filled-up with fresh water. However, strangely enough, the clay representation of Lord Shiva

known as 'Saniepotul' did not form a part of the 'Vatuk'. An unusual absence was also that of 'Resh DouL' utensil. An additional sacrificial offering to the 'Bhairav DouL' was a mixed dish of sheep's stomach and turnip, known by the name of 'demni gogiz' locally. In addition to the electric lamp, an oil lit earthen lamp was also kept burning throughout the night of Shivratri in the *pooja* room. The snow procured from the adjacent forest was a prized offering to the earthen utensil of 'Nout', the symbolic representation of Lord Shiva. On 'Doon Mavus', *pooja* and 'Vatuk purmoojan' were done on the village stream and participation of each and every family member was ensured. During the 'dubh dubh or thuk thuk' ritual, Jawala Bhagwati was spoken as a witness; most probably as Goddess Jawala is the *Isht Devi* of most of the Kashmiri Pandits of Wullarhama village. An interesting ritual of the said family is that in the morning of 'Tila Ashtami', seven circular and flat bottomed earthenware locally known as 'Toke' are filled up with cooked rice. Each one of them is then covered with a rice flour *roti* called 'Chochivour'. Afterwards a red coloured uncooked turnip alongwith two rolled-up cooked rice morsels known as 'Hoon Machie' are placed in front of the above earthenware. In the evening of the same day a sufficient number of oil lit earthen lamps are filled up with a sprinkle of black sesame seeds amidst *pooja* for departed souls. This ritual is known as 'chaeng mootravin in Kashmiri.

These oil lit earthen lamps were then kept in each room of the house, main stepping stair, locally known as 'Brandh', livestock room, cowdung and charcoal ash heaps and lastly on the village stream bank. An additional peculiarity of Shivratri *pooja* of the said family is the absence of 'Reshi DouL' among the 'Vatak utensils'. Sh. Manohar Nath Raina rounded off his conversation with a disclosure that a few families of Wullarhama village have a 'reeth' of offering raddish *chetni (muj chatin)* to the designated earthen utensil of 'Bhairav DouL' during the Shivratri *pooja*.

—(To be continued)  
\*(The writer is a keen socio-cultural researcher)

*The Shivratri rituals are faith aiding embellishments having unlimited adoration and reverence for the great God Lord Shiva*



BY SANJAY GODBOLE

**S**HANKARACHARYA, the first, was born in the year 788 A.D. at 'Kaladi' in Kerala. The day was the fifth day in Shukla Paksha in the month of Vaishakh and the time was noon as per the Hindu Calendar. Shankaracharya hailed from a family from Malabar. His family was a Nambudripad Brahmin family, who led a simple living style, but believed in high thinking and had a tradition of being quite learned and knowledgeable.

Shivguru Nampudri and his wife Aryamba after many long years of their married life did not have any issues and being desirous to have one, they started a penance for the blessings of Lord Shiva. Lord Shiva was pleased with their penance and came in their dreams and gave them a boon that Aryamba would soon bear a son, who will be brilliant, intelligent but who would be short lived and ephemeral. The auspicious new born had the following emblems on his body the wheel symbol on his head -an eyelike symbol on his forehead, a trident mark on his shoulders, Looking all these, the astrologers declared unanimously that the new born was nothing short of an incarnation of Lord Shiva and they all said that he would be called by 'Shankar' as his name. This Shankar (as he was called then) was gifted with unparalleled brilliance and when he was merely three, he started taking lessons, through faculty" of speech, from his father.

Shankara became proficient and adept in many sciences with explanatory critical analysis of the same. As a result of such a deep study, ascetic tendencies were aroused in him. He had in his heart, an intense desire for the well being of one and all.

At the age of five he entered the institution of his Guru at Trichure. Within a span of three years, he mastered the

## 'The GODDESS' Sharada of Shankaracharya'

three disciplines of yoga. He also attained the accomplishments of eight types of divine powers. (These accomplishments are called Ashtasiddhis). These are faculty of remote listening, remote visualizing, power to enter other bodies moving at the speed of light etc. He went to his spiritual guide Swami Govind Bhavatpad in central province, now known as Madhya Pradesh and carried out the important and vital mission of rejuvenating the ancient vedic tradition of Aryan religion. Shankaracharya who was well versed in all four vedas, had an excellent command over Sanskrit and meters and technique of poetry. He authored many hymns and canticles praising Gods and Goddesses and many poems and criticisms. He successfully debated with people who followed different schools of thought and after winning over them, established four centres of knowledge at the far-flung corners in India. He thereby, so to say, sowed the seeds, which would result into cultural and spiritual integration. He organized the working of the four centres, which he established, so that each centre had one of the vedas as the main theme of their functioning. Therefore each of the four centres had its distinct identity as to the system of working and propagation of its central theme. Shankaracharya appointed the following Principals i.e. Acharyas at different centres, (a) Shrungeri - Surshwaracharya (b) Jyotirmath at Badrikedar - Totakacharya (c) Sharda Math at Dwarka - Hasmalkacharya (d) Govardhan math at JagannathPuri - Hastamalakacharya. In due course of time the fifth centre (Math) at Kanchi was established. Shankaracharya, then went to the city of Mahishmati which was situated on the banks of river Narmada. There he defeated Mandanmishra, an erudite in a debate and made him his disciple. Ubhayabharati, the wife of Mandanmishra, posed Shankaracharya, with a questionnaire, asking for details, procedures, rituals in the science of

sex. Shankaracharya, though he was a strict celibate since birth, outwitted her by entering into the body of Amruk, the ruler of Kashi (now known as Benaras or Varanasi) and obtained the necessary details and then giving satisfactory answers to the queries raised by Ubhayabharati.

Shankaracharya propagates that 'Let the upright become riteous, let the wicked be

mentor, Guru Govind, entered a cave and started his meditation. The cave was near the banks of river Narmada. The river was in full spate and the water started gushing into the cave. Shankaracharya kept a big earthen pot at the entrance of the cave and surprisingly, the flood waters were emptied into the pot and could not reach the cave.

When Govind yati finished his meditation, he



Goddess Sharada of Shrungeri.

benign let the righteous attain tranquility and peace, let those attaining peace emancipate themselves from the worldly ties and those who have attained emancipation, preach others to follow suite. Shankaracharya, by dint of his intense and glaring intellect, won over many erudites in debates and guided them to the real path of knowledge. Shankaracharya and his Acharyas proved and established their intellectual supremacy all over India. With a view to preserve and protect the divine knowledge stored in Vedas, he organized the ascetics in seven forums. These groups are Ahwan, Mahanirvani, Niranjani, Atul Anand, Agni and Bhairava. Shankaracharya was an accomplished organizer and a great philosopher.

Once it so happened that Shankaracharya's

was surprised of what Shankaracharya achieved. He realized the capabilities of Shankaracharya and suggested to him to write a criticism on the Brahma sutra. Thereafter, Shankaracharya, the erudite of the tender age of twelve, started preaching the Vedanta philosophy on the Ghats of river Ganges at Benaras. While at Benaras, the Lord Shankar (Kashi Vishweshwara) Himself, presented before Shankaracharya, in the disguise of a vile and tested his wits and wisdom, through which Shankaracharya came out with flying colours.

Lord Vishwanatha told Shankaracharya to write an exhaustive criticism on Brahma Sutra. The Lord also told him to profess monism and uniqueness of Brahma' (Universe).

Shankaracharya chose to traverse to 'Badari Khetra' with an inherent desire to draw inspiration from the great anchorite Vyasa and his blessings. On way to Badari Khetra, he abrogated the prevalent tradition of human sacrifice. He lived near 'Vyasa Tirth' and wrote excellent criticisms on Brahma - Sutra, Upnishadas and Bhagwatgita. One fine morning, Vyasa Maharshi, came to Shankaracharya in the form of a Brahmin and tested him and he was satisfied with Shankaracharya's wisdom; and blessed him. Even though Shankaracharya was destined to live for only sixteen years, Vyasa gave a further lease of sixteen more years to his life. After Mandanmishra became a disciple of Shankaracharya, all the erudites, with their scholarliness and erudition got fully geared up for convening the philosophy of monism in the whole of Northern India.

Shankaracharya, then travelled down to South along with his disciples. There he canvassed monism at various places like shaila, Gokarna. After the demise of his mother, Shankaracharya began his pilgrimages. At the end of his entourage, he went to Kashmir and established the Sarvadnya Peetham and took charge of the same. All the Kashmiri Brahmins got dazzled by the intellectual acumen and wisdom of Shankaracharya. Shankaracharya, then went to Nepal. There he established a proposed standard code of Vedic rituals and observance thereof. Since qualified and eligible priests capable of performing correct, true and exact vedic rites and rituals were not available Shankaracharya invited some Namputiri Brahmin priests from Kerala for keeping the ancient Vedic traditions alive. His great work or mission encompassed the following activities: a) Criticism of various Suktas in an elucidative style, b) canvassing his philosophy of monism; c) Conquering debates on all

four sides and establishing centres (Mathas). This gigantic mission he accomplished within a short span of 31 years. He chose the pious land of the Kedar Kshetra for his final departure from his earthly incarnation and did leave this world to have union with eternity on the 11th day of the Shukla Paksh (first fortnight) in the month of vaishakha at the age of 32 year as was predicted earlier.

The research scholars have unanimously arrived at the conclusion that all those canticles are composed by, Shankaracharya only. These canticles are 'Anand Lahari', 'Dakshina-moorty stotra', 'CharpatPanjari', 'Shivabhujang Prayat' & the 'Saundarya Lahri' to mention a few. For expounding the philosophy of 'Vedanta' Shankaracharya authored several volumes. Out of these, "Advaita Panchratna" and 'Vivekachudamani' are particularly wellknown and famous. The basic and fundamentally key concept of the doctrine of Monism, propagated by Shri. Shankaracharya can be stated in a nutshell as under i) The ultimate truth is Brahma 2) The world we see is false and a mere illusion. 3) Soul is nothing but Brahma only & 4) Soul and Brahma are inseparable.

The 'Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosha' (Indian Cultural Encyclopedia) Vol No 1 Page 184 gives the following legend in connection with Goddess Sharada. It reads as follows:

"During the previous birth, she was the wife of Lord Brahmadeva and was known as 'Saraswati'. She had to take a new birth on account of a curse or malediction by an ascetic called 'Durvasa' She, during this birth (incarnation) was, in course of time, married to Mandanmishra' an erudite, when she could have glimpses of Shankaracharya (who himself, was an incarnation of Lord Shiva). She got emancipation from the ill effects of the curse. She set out for her original place, where she belonged to.

(Contd. on Page 19)

## THE ICE-MAN-V.K. Raina

(From Page 14)

had assumed the status of almost a god-like organisation. "People thought that if it is in the IPCC, it is true. The guys were very sure about themselves. All three reports of the IPCC would do a lot of good with more transparency," says Lomborg.

Raina wants to demolish a few other myths about glaciers, but the immediate priority is his book

It is the IPCC's motivation and hand-in-glove nature with policy makers that have come into question. "It is not a scientific body and it has become a political body, dedicated to distorting evidence to support the view that human emissions are dangerous," says Gray. Kenber, on the other hand, believes that it is inevitable that a scientific body so closely aligned with a political process will come under intense scrutiny.

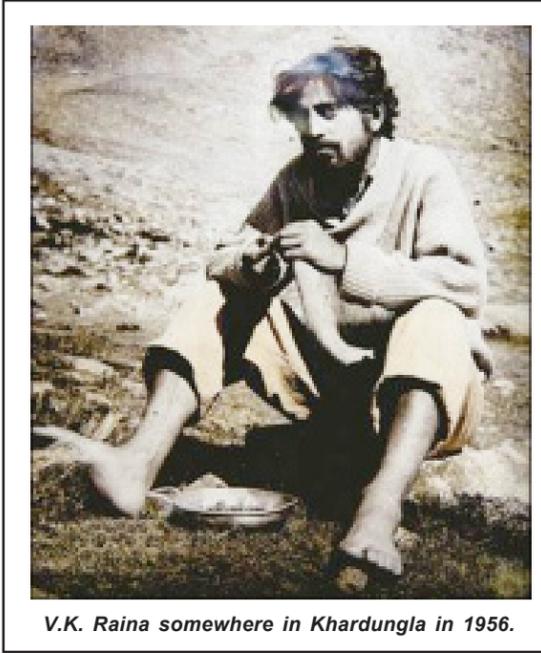
In reply to an email

questionnaire from Forbes India, IPCC said "there was regrettably a poor application of the IPCC Rules and Procedures" in drafting the paragraph on Himalayan Glaciers. "We reaffirm our strong commitment to ensuring that the author teams apply the IPCC procedures at every stage of the writing and review process in order to fulfil the IPCC mandate," it said.

### The Aftermath

In early 2010, Pachauri dismissed Raina's report as 'voodoo science'. But Pachauri himself is no scientist. In his earlier avatars, Pachauri indulged in more prosaic activities like overseeing operations at Diesel Locomotive Works, Varanasi and imparting lessons in economics to management students.

This in no way undermines the man's achievement though. He had done a very good job building TERI.



V.K. Raina somewhere in Khardungla in 1956.

Ever since the IPCC won the Nobel, Pachauri has

acquired a celebrity status of sorts in the global warming scientific community. He is always on the move; either making speeches, attending conferences, presiding IPCC meetings or meeting policy makers. "The Nobel had its

spillover. Earlier, he used to keep to himself but now he's become more outspoken and sees himself more globally," says another source who is a member of a TERI committee.

As for Raina, he is unhappy that the work of so many scientists was trashed. "There are

people working from Geological Survey, people working from Jammu University, people working from Jawaharlal Nehru University, IITs who had been working on this subject and this is the remark. That's the tragedy," he says.

He knows what it is to be a field scientist. A Kashmiri Pandit by birth, Raina has spent more than 35 years studying Himalayan glaciers. And life as a glaciologist hasn't been easy. He's walked on foot for months to reach inaccessible glaciers, spent more than three months at a stretch living on glaciers surviving on 'potatoes and onions', led two expeditions to Antarctica, broken his leg when he fell into a crevice while coming down from the 'Gara' glacier in Himachal Pradesh with the nearest hospital available after five days march. He retired in 1991 with a last-month salary of Rs. 9,000. Ask his wife about how he feels about the whole thing and Mrs. Raina does. "He says that I just gave the facts of

science; and I didn't mean to confront anybody. Many people wrote to us saying that this is not right. Let him (Pachauri) say what he likes but after all I know what my capabilities are... *Waise bhi jo bechara gir gaya hai, use laa kyon maarni,*" she adds.

The debate isn't over but Raina is done with it. He still has plans to demolish a few myths. One of them is that the Gangotri Glacier in Uttarakhand gets affected by pilgrims taking bath in the Ganges or by army vehicles passing through. However, his next big thing is his book.

Pachauri has been resisting calls for stepping down from the IPCC chair. For the rest of us who don't want to confuse 'science' with 'kazoombaa', Gray has some advice. "There's one (scientific study) born every minute. If somebody tells you what is going to happen in 100 years' time I suggest kicking him out of the door."

## Pakistan Collapsing? Assumptions, Assertions, & Precautions

(From Page 11)

representative bodies in the region should be empowered and suggests that this could be done by either resurrecting the democratic spirit of agency councils or through the formalization of tribal leadership which could counterbalance the powers of the political agent. As a long-term measure, he suggests that the government in due process could conduct a referendum on the status of FATA and that through an amendment, the President's administrative and legislative powers over FATA should be transferred to the parliament to increase political accountability and representative decision making.

### Conclusion

Given these insights, it could be said that Pakistan is passing through a critical phase where internal challenges are pulling it in various directions. While one could say that this is a time for great uncertainty in Pakistan, certainly the forces that exist 2009 could greatly impact the economic, societal, security, and political contours of the state. Some of the major questions revolve around the future of growing nationalist sentiments, equitable distribution of resources, and the manifestation of growing radicalism.

How Pakistan aims to mitigate these challenges is a question which needs to be reckoned with. Constitutional reforms could be just one solution to provide the roadmap; much would, however, depend on the intent and will of the political leadership and the perception of elites donning Pakistan's decision-making structures.

As stated earlier, history, internal politics, and external power involvement play a vital role in shaping state behaviour. For Pakistan, history which is embedded in its identity vis-a-vis the Indian state is perhaps the predominant factor in shaping policy choices. However, the real challenge that confronts Pakistan 2009 stems

from embracing the Deobandi sect of Islam, which is shaping the mindsets of people at large, which could perhaps impact Pakistani society in the FATA/NWFP areas in substantial proportions. How Pakistan addresses the growing radicalism in the country is one aspect which could be the main driver for shaping Pakistan's internal and external political behaviour. The legitimate socio-economic demands of the people, therefore, need to be met and addressed. The role of Punjabi domination of the army is shaping attitudes of the minorities who now share and aspire for fair representation and participation in the political sphere. Unless the responses are shaped to address the socio-economic grievances of the people, giving them their legitimate due and fair representation, any strategy could be misleading.

The year 2009 has been a year of great uncertainty and action in Pakistan. It appears that the domestic sector in Pakistan is in need of urgent reforms. The reviewed essays throw light on some of these trends, both latent and potential. Thus it would not be an exaggeration to state that internal political reform is one way of preventing the Pakistani state from collapsing - an effort which is necessary and which Pakistan cannot afford to ignore any more. Contemporary Pakistan indicates that forthcoming challenges are formidable. According to one analyst, Pakistan in 2020 could very well become wealthier, better educated, and a more stable society. However, it suggests that to follow a growth trajectory, Pakistan would have to reduce its sources of violence and instability, attract foreign investment, provide government services, produce new jobs, and develop human capital.

Symptoms of the disease are often removed by identifying the manifest and latent causes and the immunity of a system is often built by addressing these root causes. Most of the symptoms in Pakistan stem from its internal contradictions; any diagnosis therefore demands that internal reforms are initiated.

\*(The author is a Researcher at IDSA)

--Courtesy: Strategic Analysis

### Poem

## Sinful Shame

By Shyam Lal Dhar Bahar

*Roar of Democracies is hallow whisper's woe;  
wildest passion with them befool the sacred trust,  
Liberty under epileptic fury helped bitterness to grow,  
In choice of enemies we failed, oh look, for the crust,*

*Under exodus, we lived life of misery and remorse,  
Politicians and bureaucrats under sling and dull eyes,  
Separatists and terrorists played awful arrows their source  
Turned horrible to blind people cloy shocks and sighs',*

*None is believed to be human who conceal gun to play;  
To inviolate the eternal laws, none can be just and bold,  
Who burn the human shelter and took the faith away',  
Forget his course of friendship, to have rain of gold,*

*How long brutality of laughter and hysteria of rage can',  
Like a racing cloud, can bring fear to moon to turn white  
None can go for twenty four hours to sin and reach the van;  
Oh! God make them wise, not to be away from your sight.*

*Birth is an incident and death a reality to find faced  
All noble, sacred, sinful, foul or fool, born some day  
Let all try to know their accounts to be in the race  
All are to be paid for their deeds, my be silent, cry or say.*

*None can wash his hands for the scrap or sweep;  
Some may find love in the grave or under teeth of flame  
No heaven is august, until man is free for his rights to reap,  
There is nothing to separate God's son from God, only sinful shame.*

- Feb 1: Four cops were arrested for allowing terrorists to use their mobiles. Two fake terrorists were arrested in Reasi. A Pak national was arrested in Pargwal sector. P.Chidambaram said that bilateral talks with Pak are likely this month. A dozen new ultras have reportedly reached Doda district.
- Feb 2: Two LeT OGWs were arrested in Reasi. 70 people including 28 security personnel were injured in protests in Kashmir Valley. DG Police Kuldeep Khoda said that Pakistan is funding terrorists. Amidst controversy over the Padma Shri Award to a surrendered militant Ghulam Mohammad Mir alias Mumm Kana, Kana Said he deserves the award and Union Home Secretary defended the decision.
- Feb 3: Three top LeT and JeM terrorists were killed and eight SIM Cards recovered from their possession in two different operations in Poonch and Kishtwar districts. 40 people were injured as protests continued in Valley. CRPF DG said that famous Vaishno Devi shrine is on terrorist radar and the stone pelters are being paid for the act. Four persons were booked under PSA in Valley.
- Feb 4: Police claimed to have wiped out HUJI in Kishtwar after killing three top terrorists of the organisation in Chichha hills in Kishtwar. An Army jawan sacrificed his life while a woman, who had married one of the slain commanders and was working for the organisation, has been arrested. Govt. begins crackdown on separatists and stone-pelters. A Pak intruder was killed on IB in Samba sector. Pakistan welcomed Indian offer for foreign secretary level talks.
- Feb 5: A cop and a civilian were killed as terrorists ambushed a patrol party near Main Chowk Sopore. Two top terrorist, of LeT escaped from an encounter in Gandoh, Doda while large quantity of arms and ammunition was recovered at Sheen Dara, Poonch. Probe has been ordered as an identity card has been recovered from a slain Pakistan terrorist Aziz Ali alias Tipu. The identity card was issued by Zonal Education Officer Mankote in the name of Parvez Ahmed son of Mohammad Arif of Tope, Mendhar.
- Feb 6: In a significant decision Police has initiated action to get 130 terrorists of Doda, held up in PoK, declared as proclaimed absconders and get their properties seized. Restrictions continued in Valley as their was relative calm in the region.
- Feb 7: An infiltration bid was foiled in Poonch. An Army jawan died under mysterious circumstances in Pulwama. Asking CMs to develop Commando forces and Quick Reaction teams, Prime Minister said that terror threats will be overcome at all costs. P.Chidambaram said that LeT and HM wont succeed in annexation of Kashmir and Pak based terror groups will be defeated. A day after initiation of action against youth, who had gone to PoK, CM Omar Abdullah favoured surrendered policy for youth willing to return from PoK and asked for scrapping of AFSPA in some districts.
- Feb 9: A cop was killed in a terrorist attack on PS Sopore, terrorists also attacked PS Nishat, Srinagar and Qoimoh, Kulgam. GN Azad opined that amnesty to Kashmiri youth in PoK may pose security threat.
- Feb 10: Omar Abdullah defends proposed surrender policy describing it need of the hour. BSF handed over constable Lakhvinder, allegedly involved in killing of a youth in Nishat, to state police.
- Feb 11: Two HM terrorists were killed at Goha in Marmat, Doda. Union Defence Minister AK Antony said that infiltration is On rise and terror camps have not been dismantled by Pak. P.Chidambaram said that Kashmiris wanting to return from PoK are welcome and the proposal will be translated into scheme.
- Feb 12: HM Div. Comdr and his associate were killed in an encounter at Kalar in Kandi, Rajouri. An Army jawan was injured in the encounter while the civilian who had sheltered terrorists escaped. Army recovered a large quantity of arms and ammunition in Poonch, 18 persons were injured in violent protests in Kashmir. Indo-Pak talks are scheduled on February 25 in New Delhi.
- Feb 13: A JCO was injured in Pak firing on LoC in Poonch district.
- Feb 14: Pakistani commander of HM Abdullah Inqlabi was among three reportedly trapped in Bhagla in Kalakote, Rajouri.
- Feb 15: Two terrorists were killed in an encounter at Qoimoh, Kulgam. A CRPF jawan committed suicide in Rambagh, Srinagar. While one terrorist was reported to have succumbed to injuries, Inqlabi and one another terrorist managed their escape. An arms and explosive haul was recovered in Mahore.
- Feb 16: An HM terrorist was arrested in Handwara. 22 people were injured in Kulgam as people protested for not being allowed to participate in the funeral of terrorists. Two terrorists including a Kashmiri were convicted by a Delhi Court. GoC Cross Swords Division Maj. Gen .Majumdar said that army was not going to lower guard as terror threat persist.
- Feb 17: Two JeM terrorists were killed in Baramulla. Terrorists snatched five rifles from policeman on guard to a KP habitation at Mindoora, Tral. Holding that there was no wrong in return of militants, P. Chidambaram said that security concerns will be addressed and Azad's point has been noted.
- Feb 18: Two JeM terrorists were killed at Shankarpora, Pulwama.
- Feb 19: Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor said that Pak continues to push ultras. P. Chidambaram said that violence was down but infiltration was on rise in J&K. Mirwaiz Umar said that talks are unacceptable if Kashmir is not on agenda.
- Feb 20: HM Div. Comdr was shot dead in Ramban. LeT's Kashmir Chief Abdullah Yuni escaped for 5th time in last four months. 22 people including cops were injured amidst shutdown in Valley. Police described the boy killed in Gojwara last month a miscreant. A jawan was shot dead by a colleague in Doda.
- Feb 21: An arms and explosives haul was recovered in Reasi and Rajouri districts. CRPF IG said that stone pelters will be dealt silently.
- Feb 22: An infant was killed in stampede during hartal in Baramulla. In her address to Parliament, President Pratibha Patil said that infiltration is up but security scenario is improving. Omar Abdullah said PDP will be exposed in Assembly and enquiry has been initiated to probe the involvement of businessmen financing the stone pelters.
- Feb 23: An Army captain, two jawans and three LeT terrorists were killed in Sopore. Jammu observed bandh against Sikh killings in Pakistan.
- Feb 24: A terrorist, who rose from the rubbles and opened indiscriminate firing killing a jawan, was gunned down in Sopore. Centre is reportedly waiting surrendered policy from state to facilitate 3000 Kashmiri terrorists holed up in PoK.
- Feb 25: LeT was using a SIM issued in the name of a dead person by a Telecom Company at Budhal. Indo-Pak foreign secretary talks ended without any headway as Pak FS resorted to rhetoric in the customary Press Conference at the end, BJP Chief Gadkari described Indo-Pak talks black day in history.
- Feb 26: A parcel with detonators was recovered in the office of DG BSF. Gadkari said that talks and terrorism can't go together. Two majors were among nine Indians killed in a terrorist attack in Kabul.
- Feb 27: Arms and ammunition was recovered in Pulwama. Three IEDs were defused by Army in Reasi. Prime Minister said that there is no alternative to dialogue with Pak and India is ready to discuss Kashmir.
- Feb 28: Terrorists attacked police station Rajpora. An LeT terrorist was arrested in Baramulla.
- Mar 1: An HM terrorists was arrested in Awantipora. Valley observed peaceful strike. Four killers of infant were arrested. SBI seeks closure of Shopian case. Prime Minister asks Pakistan to act against terror and India will walk extra mile.
- Mar 2: Farooq Abdullah said that India and Pakistan will have to give concessions on Kashmir.
- Mar 3: A terrorist was killed and two jawans injured in two separate encounters in Pulwama district. Two top Comdrs of HM surrendered in Doda. Two more accused were held in infant death case. Parliament witnessed verbal dual between Prime Minister and LK Advani over talks and Kashmir issue.
- Mar 4: Four HM terrorists and an Army captain were killed in 30-hour long gun-battle in Dadsar, Tral. BSF Commandant was arrested in Nishat killing case. Prime Minister and Omar Abdullah discussed security scenario and Indo-Pak talks.
- Mar 5: 15 women have been identified as active terrorists in Doda-Kishtwar. Arms and ammunition were recovered in Thannamandi, Rajouri. VDC repulsed on attack in Doda. PM described re-opening of talks with Pakistan calculated.
- Mar 6: Two IEDs were seized from a terrorist hideout in Reasi. Defence Minister AK Antony said that Pakistan is deploying US equipments along J&K borders.
- Mar 7: An HM terrorists was shot dead in Doda. A powerful blast accused on IB in Hiranagar sector. Arms and ammunition was recovered in Sabjan, Poonch.
- Mar 8: Manzoor Ahmed Bhat returned from PoK with three kids after 20 years. 16 Kashmiri youth were detained in Chennai four questioning. SC asked Centre to deport-Pak prisoners detained under PSA.
- Mar 9: An intrusion bid was foiled on Internal Border in Ramgarh sector. PSA was invoked on 25 stone pelters and 419 others were booked under law. Lok Sabha was informed that educated youth are also involved in militancy.
- Mar 10: A Bangladeshi and a Kashmiri Amin Wani were sentenced to life imprisonment by a Delhi Court for possession of arms and waging war against the country.
- Mar 11: 23 top terrorists have been killed and 16 others arrested in Kashmir Valley in .. and a half months this year.
- Mar 12: Terrorists shot dead a youth in Jawahar Nagar Srinagar. An LeT terrorists, hideout was busted in Kishtwar.
- Mar 13: Security has been beefed up in Srinagar after reported sneaking of nearly two dozen terrorists in the capital city.
- Mar 14: A CRPF jawan was killed and five others injured in a grenade attack in Maharajgunj, Srinagar. Geelani supporters attacked JKLF leaders with stones and knives in Sopore.. A Kashmiri terrorists Bashir Ahmed Baba alias "Pepsi Bomber" was arrested in Gujrat. A jawan shot himself to death in Kashmir.
- Mar 15: Two terrorists hide-out were busted at Ashmuqama, Anantnag and Mendoora, Tral. Omar Abdullah said that Govt. will rehabilitate people who have gone across and regain trust of people.
- Mar 16: Two civilians and an SPO were killed and eight others including three securitymen injured in two terrorists attacks in Kashmir Valley. A manhunt has been launched to naba Kashmiri journalist who reportedly helped "Pepsi Bomber" many a times.
- Mar 17: Sopore witnessed protests while a strike was observed in Lal Chowk, Srinagar. AK Antony said that terror camps are still active in Pakistan.
- Mar 18: Omar Abdullah informed Assembly that 35,000 troops have been silently removed from the state.
- Mar 19: Two OGWs of terrorists were arrested in Mahore. A JCO committed suicide in Poonch while a soldier died in a blast in Rajouri. Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor said that there is no decline in Pak support to J&K terrorists.
- Mar 20: A terrorist was killed in an encounter in Pulwama terrorists shot dead a youth in Sopore. A Major died in an accidental blast in Kangan. RSS and BSP demanding scrapping of Article 370 and rehabilitation of Kashmiri migrants. Jagmohan said that autonomy will create problem. Mirwaiz Umar said war is possible if Kashmir not resolved.
- Mar 21: An Army jawan shot himself to death in Poonch. Defence Ministry has cleared removal of more troops from North Kashmir and BSF will take over BoP duty from Army.
- Mar 22: Two jawans were among three injured in a grenade blast in Nowshera, Rajouri. India said that meaningful dialogue possible if Pakistan stops terror.
- Mar 23: A terrorist hideout was busted and arms recovered in Mahore, Reasi.
- Mar 24: Two infiltrators were killed in Keran sector. Security forces busted two hideouts in Doda and Ramban and recovered 14.5 kg explosives. People of Gadbad, Lolab protested against shifting of Army camp from their locality. US rejected Pak efforts for mediation on Kashmir. MA Stadium serial blast accused was among 28 Pakistani's being freed today.
- Mar 25: Two hideouts were destroyed and arms and ammunition recovered in Poonch and Rajouri districts. CM lauded JKP role in bringing peace.
- Mar 26: A terrorist was killed in Kupwara. An IED failed to cause any damage at Bafliaz Wali Gali Poonch while explosives were recovered in Sabjan, Poonch. Two blasts rocked Srinagar city. Army Chief predicted a hot summer for Kashmir Valley as infiltration has increased in J&K.
- Mar 27: Five infiltrators were killed in Keran sector while four LeT terrorists were killed in two different operations in Kishtwar and Kalakote. US Army said that LeT is expanding its influence.
- Mar 28: A Pak intruder was killed on IB in Ramgarh sector. 2500 youth are reportedly stranded in PoK. Army said that infiltration and violence is likely to increase this year.

## 'The GODDESS' Sharada of Shankaracharya'

(From Page 16)  
Shankaracharya, at that juncture appealed to her that she should stay at 'Shringeri' only and permit her worshippers to serve her. Saraswati acceded to Shankaracharya's request and went to the River Tunga and resorted to 'Jal Samadhi' (Jal means water and Samadhi means transcending limits of earthly identities). Her soul reached 'Satyaloka' but her mortal remains stayed there only in the form of a rock. Shankaracharya got a wheel carved out on that rock and got a sandalwood idol made, of Goddess Sharada and installed it near that place. The Goddess, is called 'Sharadamba'. The Goddess is the venerable deity at the Shringeri (Math). In due course, Shri. Vidyaranya swami got a beautiful temple erected and installed a golden image (idol) of Sharadamba. The Shringeri Math is situated on the banks of river Tungbhadra at Koppa (Dist Kadur) in South India. This is one of the sites in Karnataka worth seeing. It has an expanse of 8 miles x 6 miles. In the Dharma Kosha (encyclopedia of religion) authored by Mr. James (Ref. Page 11-16) it is stated that in order to convince the local people more effectively, Shankaracharya had to master the local languages of that region. Shri. C. G. Karve has written an article in the issue of the Marathi Magazine 'Prasad' of 1961. In that article, Shri Karve says "The reason as to why the centre (Matha) was established at Shringeri is equally queer and strongly supernatural. Shankaracharya saw a cobra, protecting a pregnant she-frog from the torturing heat by-covering it with the help of the shadow-of its fangs. This was very exceptional. This incidence had a very deep impact on him and it is exactly why he chose this very spot for establishing his Math (Monastery). Another reason why the Math was given the name 'Shringeri Math' was that the hillock on which the hermitage of the famous ascetic 'Rushyashrung'

existed is at a distance of mere 9 miles from this spot.

The King Harihar and his five brothers bestowed upon the authorities of this Math the right to collect the revenue accrued from the nine villages, nearby. There have been 35 Acharayas (Head) of this Matha hereinssofar (Ref. Ayer Pp 118) How, the King of Vijaynagar made a permanent provision of assured income for the Math, has already been detailed hereinabove. This empire was founded by king Harihar the first in Shaka 1258. The city of 'Kishkindha' was the capital city of this empire. Sayan and Madhav were both ministers in this Kingdom. Both of them resorted to spiritualism and rose to fame by the new names such as Sayannacharya and Vidyaranya Swami. They have authored 150 volumes in Sanskrit and the Devyaparadha Stotra (Canticle) is very famous. Sayannacharya has written many criticisms or interpretationary expoundings of many famous literary works.

Apart from and besides the idol of Goddess Sharada, the idols of Venugopal and Shrinivasa in other temples are worth seeing and attract attention of all. A figure of Nandi carved out on a pearl (Vehicle of Lord Shiva) is exhibited here and is considered to be one of the finest sculptures. The temple of Navagrahas here (Nine Planets) is also worth seeing. This temple has twelve sculpted pillars. On top of each pillar there is a figure of Lion and a person mounting on it. In the Jaws of the Lions, bright and sparkling spheres, made out of superior quality rock are so placed so as to rotate within the jaws without slipping out from the jaws. These 12 sculpted pillars symbolize the 12 signs of zodiac and according to or in unison with the time, the rays of the Sun falling on the pillars get reflected from the spheres. The symbolic figures of planetary bodies such as Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, Moon etc are fitted and the combined effect of all this gives one a fairly accurate idea as to how solar family as a whole

moves around the Sun. This setup is really intelligently devised (Ref: Ayer PP. 360-362)

In the Deviksha

(encyclopedia of Goddesses) on page no. 339 volume -1st, the following details are given. "There are several copperplates

and inscriptions in the 'Matha'. They all indicate the Peshwa rulers of Pune held the Acharyas of this Matha in high esteem and the Acharyas were given the highest honours by giving them the first prestigious position in worshipping the deities. Not only that but the Muslim rulers too, had the feeling of reverence in their minds towards the Heads of the Math. The Nawab of Mysore, HyderAli Khan presented the then Head of the Matha, elephants and horses and felicitated him and paid him respects. He (HyderAli Khan) sanctioned a sum often thousand rupees towards the expenses to be incurred for taking the Acharya of the Matha from Shringeri to the capital (Mysore). The Tipu Sultan, the son of HyderAli Khan continued carry cary the inheritance of his father with the same fervor and faith. Once a gang of robbers, plundered the Matha and in a letter written by him to the authorities of the

Matha by way of consolations, he wrote those who have committed this heinous act with a sense of pleasure, will weep when they repay for their actions.

Tipu Sultan was a great admirer of Shringeri Math, besides being a patron to it. He often requested the religious Heads to pray to God for prevalence of peaceful conditions in the state, general welfare of the public and for being victorious in any ensuing battles. Once he even went to the extent of asking the Brahmins to perform 'Sahastra Chandi sacrifice' and fed them with sumptuous meals for 40 days continuously and made liberal offerings to them - This is mentioned in the chronicals - (Ref.: Report of the Archaeological Department - Govt. of Mysore - year 1916 PP 74/75).

*\*(The author is a noted archaeologist based in Pune)*



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## 'Recent Initiative in Tackling Terrorism and Separatism Govt patronising separatists and terrorists--Speakers

By S.M. Pandit

**G**OV'T's policy to rehabilitate terrorists and stone pelters came under sharp criticism at a seminar-Recent Govt. initiatives in Tackling Terrorism and Separatism vis-a-vis. Dialogue with Separatists and Rehabilitation Policy for terrorists. The Seminar was organised by Panun Kashmir at Jammu Club, Jammu here 20th of March, 2010. The speakers at the seminar opined that the initiative has threatened the sovereignty of the country and security of the nationalist and peace loving people as the policy amounts to encouraging the violence and separatism.

In his inaugural address, Sh Harbans Nagoke, senior journalist and defence expert, accused the Indian state of mishandling the Kashmir issue since independence. He also criticised the troop withdrawal from the state and accused the Union Defence Minister and the Chief Minister of the state for violating the oath of office. Using the analogy of a patient, Mr Nagoke said that Kashmir issue has been mishandled by the successive governments at the Centre despite knowing the problem and the requisite treatment. "A doctor is not doing justice to a patient by prescribing him pain killer drugs despite knowing the fact that the patient is suffering from appendicitis. The people at the helm of affairs know the cause of trouble in J&K and know what is ailing the state but the wrong treatment has added to the problem than inspiring a way out". Drawing another comparison, the senior journalist said that once he asked a national referee of Hockey how they feel after a wrong decision as it does injustice to one of the teams. The referee remarked that they don't make another to rectify the first. "But in case of Jammu and Kashmir the leaders from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Manmohan Singh are heaping blunders", he lamented.

On the troop withdrawal, the defence journalist said that troop movement is a sensitive issue and needs careful handling. He accused the Union Defence Minister and the State Chief Minister of violating the oath of secrecy by making public the troop withdrawal and even the location of battalions. Mr. Nagoke had a dig at the Centre and the state governments for the terrorists across the border and the stone pelters and added that the policy has boomeranged as the demands have come from other quarters as well. He described the policy impractical. Mr. Nagoke ap-



From (L to R) Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Sh. M.M. Khajuria, Dr. M.K. Teng, Prof. Hari Om & Sh. Harbans Nagoke sharing the dias during the Seminar. --Pic. KS

preciated the role of Panun Kashmir for galvanising nationalist forces and referred to Kritagyita Yatra and Amarnath agitation in this regard.

Dr. Hari Om, the eminent writer and Chair Professor Ghulab Singh chair University of Jammu, dwelt in detail on Indian Foreign Policy vis-a-vis Pakistan and said that Pakistan is clear on its stand but the Indian policy is confusing and self defeating. Referring to the recent statements of the leaders of the two countries vis-a-vis Kashmir, Prof. Hari Om accused India of making a U-turn without any logic and reason. He said that before and after the FS level talks, the statements of Pakistan Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Geelani, Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Qureshi and Foreign Secretary Salman Basheer made it abundantly clear that Pakistan has not changed an iota on the issue of Kashmir on terror. He recalled that after the FS level talks, in separate ceremonial press conferences, the two Foreign Secretaries gave divergent view of the talks and Pakistani FS described Kashmir as core issue. Prof. Hari Om said that though India maintains that Kashmir is a bilateral issue yet the MoS Foreign Affairs asked Saudi Arabia to play the role of interlocutor and Prime Minister defended his decision and appealed the Saudi Arabia King to use his good offices to make Pakistan behave properly. He said that terror mastermind Hafiz Sayeed has publicly said that if Pakistan doesn't act Mullahs will take the decision. Referring to the recent statement of Lahore High Court Judge accusing Hindus of fomenting terror, the noted analyst said that Pak ju-

diary, political class, Army, intelligentsia and media are working in tandem". He said that Salman Basheer's statement of political, diplomatic and financial support on Kashmir should serve as an eye opener and all of us know what this support means. He regretted that the stone pelters are getting official patronage. Appealing the people not to go into the state of despondency, Prof. Hari Om opined that Indian nation has the resilience.

Sh M.M. Khajuria, ex-Director General J&K Police, described the shift to street terrorism a ploy of Pakistan and had a dig at Indian state for its surrender policy. Mr. Khajuria said that if we look back to 20 years, Pakistan emphasised on use of terror but since 2008, there was a change in strategy. He added that there was a review in Pak Army and terrorists and the focus shifted to street-terrorism. Mr. Khajuria said that a vicious circle was set in motion in which Indian forces have no option but to retaliate. He said that the thrust shifted to creating overground upheaval and a section of intelligentsia including retired bureaucrats were crafted into, to speak in the name of civil society to lend legitimacy to the outputs of conspiracy. He described the government policy to compensate stone-pelters ridiculous. Questioning the wisdom of rehabilitating the terrorists across the border, Mr. Khajuria said that we have to distinguish between surrendered militants and those across the border. "Who is going to certify that they have not come for some other purpose and why Pakistan would cooperate in their return" Mr Khajuria questioned.

Accusing India of patronising separatists, Mr. Khajuria

said that separatism is credited, preserved and enlarged by GoI and the mainstream politician are trying to share that space. Concluding his speech on a positive note, the veteran cop said. "Things are difficult but not dangerous. Let one matchstick strike and ignite the fire".

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, said that terrorist regimes employ every instrument to influence the decision making body of the enemy. He opined that a section within India is involved in creating space for terrorists and separatists than the international pressure. Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that when the state was engulfed in terror, India initiated democratic process in an effort to not, let the democracy hostage to terrorism. He said that it is a great irony that even the weak governments like in Pakistan and Afghanistan don't treat their governments as caretakers. He described it a great paradox that the elected government is treated as "caretaker" and legitimacy of representative character is given to those who have shyed away from the process and even the reports suggest that they have limited influence even in their constituencies.

Referring to the phase of agitational-terrorism, the PK leader said that terrorist regimes employ all campaigns media, money or stone to further their terror-agenda. He said that a counter-insurgency expert in his book, "The sling and the stone" described it modern version fourth generation war fare.

Dr. Chrungoo said that while the countries like US invest maximum on establishment of the Army, followed by deployment and strategic achievement and minimum investment is made

on political. But in case of terrorist regimes they make maximum investment on political front and employ every means to influence the decision-making. He said that we have to understand it in the context when violence has decreased why there is urgency to accommodate the terrorist or separatist demands. He added that urgency shown by the GoI on Kashmir front under the garb of International pressure is more because "proactivity of the segments of GoI who want India to submit than the international pressure". He added that an effort is being made to give moral legitimacy to terrorists and separatists and Indian troops are described as occupational force. Dr. Chrungoo criticised surrender policy and said that Omar Abdullah has taken a U-turn on the issue of stone pelters.

The Panun Kashmir leader criticised the Indian leadership for its lack of vision and said that when we discuss Dixon Plan, Kathwari Plan or Musharraf Formula, we shall take cognisance of Vajpayee Manmohan Singh formula. He added that it was Vajpayee who started the peace initiative and Manmohan Singh is talking of shared sovereignty, a porous borders. All these suggestion speak of negotiating sovereignty of India over Kashmir. In his presidential address, Dr.M.K. Teng, a political think tank and Chairman Panun Kashmir Advisory, said that Indian state is at war against its own civilisation and India never thought of defending its border. Quoting a.... "If an offence comes out of truth let the offence come out rather truth is concealed", Prof. Teng said that the truth is that "Indian state is in perpetual war against its civilisation". He said that since 1947, India never thought of defending its borders and people. Dr. Teng said that since inception of constitution, the debate was whether right to equality, secular integration of India or balance of communal interests should be the basis of Indian Constitution. He added that it will surprise you that the balance of communal interests forms the basis of Indian Constitution. Prof. Teng said that India has miserably failed to protect Hindus. He lamented that "Indian State is fighting Kashmiri Pandits rather than terrorists operating in the state". "If a state fails to defend its people, they are left with no alternative but to appeal to heavens. The vote of thanks was proposed by Sh. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary Panun Kashmir and the programme was anchored by Sh Shailendra Aima, Vice-Chairman Panun Kashmir.