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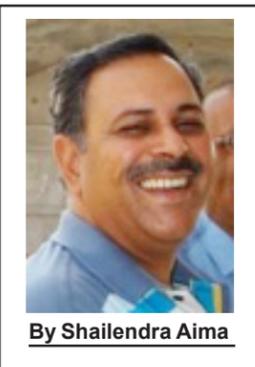
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

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PANUN KASHMIR SEMINAR

Kashmir comes to Delhi

Jammu makes sense of happenings



By Shailendra Aima

THE separatists' shrills and yells that were till a few weeks ago confined to a few pockets in the Valley have now definitely descended on Delhi. Thanks to the Indian State and to some over-enthusiastic members of the capital's ubiquitous "civil society"! To be on the side of the 'poor' Kashmiri, is perhaps a fashion statement. Leading the fashion show are the old familiar faces that did their best and even doctored documents to save S.A.R. Geelani from sure gallows in the wake of his involvement in the attack on the Indian Parliament.

The same Geelani was seen on Aug. 7, leading a protest demonstration, a *night long sit-in, to protest India's crimes against humanity* in Kashmir. Geelani was ably assisted by some professors of Kashmiri descent from US universities who thronged Delhi at the nod of hidden though readily discernible puppeteers.

Some naive Kashmiris, having been banished from Kashmir, thought this

protest a great opportunity to find the lost sibling. They decided to revisit the Kashmiri Kumbh at Jantar Mantar in the heart of Delhi. To their credit, they realised soon that they were sharing the dais with persons who had no inhibitions even in the capital city to flaunt Jihadi and anti-national colours. They did not lose nerve and quickly asserted their pro-India commitment, only to be quickly shunted off to the nearby police station by Delhi's security establishment that stood guard to protect the freedom-chanting Kashmiris!!! Little wonder that Jantar Mantar kept reverberating with yells of *Azadi and Nizam-e Mustafa*.

On Sunday, Aug. 8, in Jammu, at the invitation of Panun Kashmir, concerned citizens met to deliberate

upon: **Making sense of what is happening in Kashmir**. Giving the presidential address, the octogenarian political scientist Mohan Krishan Teng opined that Muslim separatism is destructive of the unity of India and of the secular character of its social and political organization. He warned that whichever variant of this ideology confronts the polity, whether the demand for secession of Jammu and Kashmir from India, or the creation of a separate Muslim sphere of power through demands of Greater Autonomy or Self-Rule, it aims to destroy Indian Unity and to wreak Indian sovereignty.

Dr. Teng asserted, "Any compromise which places Jammu and Kashmir half way from India will lead straight to another partition of India. It is time we all

realized that concessions to Muslim separatism will lead to balkanization of India."

The Panun seminarians did not fail to empathize with those who suffered Nature's tragic fury in Leh (the toll at the time of writing was 150 dead, 500 injured and 300 missing). The participants pledged all possible help to the victims of the cloudburst; they also regretted the current loss of lives in Kashmir and prayed for restoration of normalcy in the Valley.

Mr. M.M. Khajuria, ex-Director General of J&K Police, averred that the present rioting in Kashmir appeared to be yet another attempt by Pakistan and its stooges in the Valley to demoralise the Indian State. He said the

(Contd. on Page 8)



Dr. M.K. Teng delivering lecture during the Seminar.

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

1. Smt. Kmala Dhar W/o Late Sh. M.N. Dhar of Bagdaji Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 32, Rashi Appt. Sector-9, Rohini Delhi. 2/12/2009
3. Sh. Vinod Kumar Khuda S/o Late Sh. Som Nath Khuda of Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of Nagrota Camp Jammu. 3/12/2009
3. Sh. O.N. Dhar originally resident of 402-Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently resident of B-1, Kashmir Appart Pitampura New Delhi. 4/12/2009
4. Sh. Janki Prasad Dhar originally resident of Khan-Kai Sokhta Saffakadal Sgr; presently resident of 75-Amar Colony Gole Gujral Road, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 5/12/2009
5. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Koul S/o Sh. Janki Nath Koul of Malmoh Magam Kmr; presently resident of Lane-5, Ajeet Colony Gole Gujral Talab Tillo, Jammu. 5/12/2009
6. Sh. Bansi Lal Razdan S/o Pt. Amar Nath Razdan resident of Razdan Mohalla Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of Bhopal. 5/12/2009
7. Sh. Krishen Lal Ticku S/o Pt. Maheshwar Nath Ticku of Shalal Kadal Sgr; presently residing at Bangalore. 5/12/2009
8. Sh. Gokal Nath Mawa S/o Late Sh. Amar Nath Mawa R/o H.No: 124, Om Nagar Udheywalla Bohri Jammu. 5/12/2009
9. Smt. Kamlwati Rain W/o Late Sh. Shyam Sunder Raina resident of Rajpur Road Dehradun. 5/12/2009
10. Smt. Somavati Trisal W/o Late Sh. Srikanth Trisal of Trisal, Pulwama; presently resident of H.No: 124/A, Basant Nagar, Janipur Jammu. 6/12/2009
11. Miss Kritika Dhar D/o Smt. Anita and Sh. Vinod Dhar of Lal Chowk Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Ambala Cantt. 6/12/2009
12. Sh. Mohan Lal Sopori S/o Late Sh. Mahadev Ram Sopori of Mantapora, Gusani Gund Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Triloki Nath Mandir Jawahar Nagar, Udhampur. 6/12/2009
13. Sh. P.N. Duda S/o Pt. Ram Chand Duda erstwhile resident of Chinkral Mohalla, Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of G-24, Regent House DLF, Phase-IV, Gurgoan. 6/12/2009
14. Smt. Shamrani Wangnoo W/o Sh. Nath Ji Wangnoo of H.No: 99, Lane No: 4, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 7/12/2009
15. Smt. Shobawati Bhan W/o Late Sh. Arjan Nath Bhan R/o Batapora Sopore; presently residing at H.No: 199, Ambica Vihar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 7/12/2009
16. Smt. Somawati Raina W/o Late Pt. Niranjan Nath Raina formerly resident of 54, Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently of H.No: 175, Sector-4, Pamposh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 8/12/2009
17. Smt. Raj Dulari Fotedar W/o Late Sh. Shivnandan Fotedar of Sgr; presently at 89 A/D, Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 9/12/2009
18. Smt. Jaya Bhat W/o Sh. Moti Lal Bhat originally resident of Wanpoh Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 695, Phase-IIIrd, Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 9/12/2009
19. Smt. Somawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Bhat R/o Bonegond Verinag, Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 210, Mishriwalla Camp Jammu. 12/12/2009
20. Sh. Lassa Bhat of Tral/Sagam Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 09, Lane-01, Saraswati Vihar Bohri, Jammu. 12/12/2009
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27. Sh. Ram Ji Koul presently putting up at Faridabad Haryana. 11/12/2009
28. Sh. Kanaya Lal Bhan S/o Late Sh. Tika Lal Bhan originally resident of Babapora Habbakadal Sgr presently putting up B-167, JMC Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 11/12/2009
29. Smt. Shanta Sher W/o Sh. Chaman Lal Sher originally resident of 290, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently putting up at Lane: 2, H.No: 68, Patoli Mangotra Jammu. 14/12/2009
30. Mrs Asha Bagati W/o Late Sh. M.L. Bagati resident of H.No: 46, Sector-7, Trikuta Nagar Jammu and erstwhile resident of 366, Jawahar Nagar, Sgr. 14/12/2009
31. Sh. Ganesh Lal Goja (Dassi) R/o H.No: 40, Krishna Vihar Vinayak Nagar, Upper Muthi Jammu. 14/12/2009
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33. Sh. Laxmi Narayan Bhan S/o Late Sh. Aftab Joo Bhan R/o H.No: 237, Bharat Nagar, Rehari Colony, Laxmi Nagar Sarwal, Jammu. 15/12/2009
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35. Sh. Soom Nath Koul (Daftari) S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Koul R/o Malik Anagan Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 146, Shanti Vihar, Patta Paloura, Jammu. 15/12/2009
36. Sh. Sunil Koul S/o Sh. C.L. Koul R/o H.No: 18, Lane-8, Block-B, Roop Nagar, Jammu originally resident of Nai Sarak Sgr. 15/12/2009
37. Sh. Mohan Lal Wali S/o Pt. Raghunath Wali of Nai Sarak Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 76-B, Lane-1A, Roop Nagar Jammu. 15/12/2009
38. Sh. Niranjan Nath Raina originally resident of Levдора Qazigund Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 152 Ext. Janipura Housing Colony Jammu. 15/12/2009
39. Sh. Soom Nath Kher of Kalwal Mohalla Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 24-A, Durga Nagar, Sector-1, Jammu. 15/12/2009
40. Sh. Sham Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Raghunath Bhat of Danow Bogund Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 316/JMC 1041, Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 15/12/2009
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49. Sh. M.L. Koul S/o Late Sh. S.L. Koul of 107 Karan Nagar Sgr; presently resident of 71-Adarsh Enclave, Trikuta Nagar Jammu. 18/12/2009
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51. Sh. Jatinder Pandit S/o Sh. Som Nath Pandit of Levдора Anantnag Kmr; presently residing Noida Delhi. 18/12/2009
52. Sh. Manmohan Dhar S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Dhar of Janglat Mandi Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 57, Lane-2, Adarsh Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 19/12/2009
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55. Sh. Kanaya Lal Gulla S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Gulla of Cheeni Chowk Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 113, Doordarshan Lane, Old Janipur, Jammu. 19/12/2009
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64. Pt. Dnia Nath Zutshi of Shallayar Habbakdal Sgr; presently resident of Dehradun. 22/12/2009

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Editorial

Standing Firm and not Faking it

AMONGST the simmering rumours in Jammu that Government of India may wilt under the pressures exerted by the sustained 'Intifada' in Kashmir Valley, the Prime Minister's address to the nation on 15th August was a pleasant surprise. The portion of the speech addressed to the present problem in Kashmir Valley, demonstrated a graceful firmness. The speech resolutely communicated that the separatists machinations may lead them no-where and bring them nothing. It reiterated Government of India's willingness and flexibility to talk to anybody and everybody on issues which are concerned with the betterment and welfare of the people of the state but only within the boundaries of Constitution of India. For the first time in the recent past ambiguous, misleading phrases like 'autonomy', solution within the confines of '*insaniyat*', 'sky is the limit', 'stake holders' or 'rendering borders irrelevant' were not mentioned in the Prime Minister's speech with regards to the Kashmir issue.

More than that, Prime Minister left no body in doubt that when he addressed the problems of the state, he had every region, and section of the peoples comprising the state of Jammu and Kashmir in mind and not merely Kashmiri Muslims. Last but not the least he stated clearly that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of the Indian nation. Those who thought that Government of India had already conceded that the state of Jammu and Kashmir was a disputed legacy and change of status quo, political and constitutional, was in the offing, have been forced to re-examine their conclusions. This statesmanly clarity was required at this juncture when separatists in the Valley are unleashing cycles of public frenzy.

But standing firm and merely appearing to be firm are two opposite positions. When the state gives an impression that it is only

faking firmness then it is seen weaker than its actual weakness. Government of India over the years has many times given signals which undermined and even put to ridicule the firm steps it took to salvage the situation on the ground.

We all know very well that when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah was removed from power for the first time and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad put in the saddle, the firmness and the clarity of vision of Gol was put to ridicule because it lost no time in sending emissaries to the arrested leader for reconciliation. It was only the threat of resignation from none other than Bakshi himself which put a halt to the move. His government stood firm and we had almost a decade of stable rule in the state.

So many of such incidents could be quoted which undermined the resoluteness of Government of India at times when it was required to be seen as well as felt. This time also, sending emissaries like Radha Kumar, Amitabh Mattoo or Wajahat Habibullah who have a pronounced position of granting concessions to the separatist politics in the state will jeopardise the entire positive and affirmative thrust of Government of India on Jammu and Kashmir which the Prime Minister underlined in his speech.

Also leaving rabble rousers and religious bigots like Ali Shah Geelani or Asiya Andrabi free to mobilise public by striking deals with them will eventually undermine the sanctity and the authority of the government at the helms in the state. Government will have to re-evaluate its policy formulations with regard to mass mobilisation drives. Allowing public demonstrations on the assurances that they will remain peaceful, or on the premise that they may serve the cause of public catharsis, will be self defeating.

Dear Sir,

For the last two years some of the self-styled leaders of our Community have been advocating for the return of the members of the Kashmiri Pandit Baradari back to Kashmir. These self-styled leaders at the behest of their handlers have been selling so many dreams to the baradari members, without applying their mind to the growing adverse circumstances in the Valley. From time to time these Self-styled leaders were told by some right thinking persons to show caution but they continue to harp on their tune.

Every member of the Baradari has a right to think individually as to what the reality is and decide if it is the right time to return to Kashmir?

We are in the Vortex of grave historical events in which difference between right and false move will mean the

difference between survival and disaster. God saved us in 1989-90. He might not give us a second chance because He is not ours only.

We must think as to with whom we have to deal with. The new growing civil society of Kashmir comprise those boys and girls who were between the age of 5 to 10 in 1989-90 followed by those who were born after 1990, are now in twenties and thirties. Born and bred on the philosophy of hate for the Non-Muslims, how can they give political space for the K.P's who is prompted to return by these self-styled leaders?

Within next ten years the present leaders of National Conference, PDP and even the Separatist groups will cease to exist or become absolutely irrelevant.

Time is not ripe to return

Recently some Psychologists advocating amnesty on the stone throwing children have justified their action by stating that they were born and bred in strife for the last twenty years. This is only a half truth. The whole truth is that right from

LETTER

their breast feeding; they have been indoctrinated with the philosophy of hate which has led to the present situation.

Stone throwing is a part of the Semitic culture. Some of us must be remembering when Christ said the first stone shall be thrown by the person who has not committed any Sin. So the present stone throwing is nothing new.

The boys and girls born after

1989-90 have become a good fodder for the ISI in Pakistan and their agent in the Separatist groups in Kashmir to instigate the present agitation in a manner that it may look an internal disturbance.

Pakistan has been successful in achieving this end but what is surprising is the non application of mind and visible absence of will in the Indian leadership and the local satraps to make a counter move against the Pakistan's instigated trouble in Kashmir.

One would not hesitate to say that this move is as successful as the Mumbai Carnage. **It is high time for the baradari members to introspect and come to right conclusions and not be misled or waylaid by the self-**

styled leaders of the K.P community. This is only an appeal. Kashmir Pandits should not be misled owing to their cuddling by their adversaries.

The Separatists must understand clearly that the K.P's have a share in the Geography of Kashmir, they are part of the history of Kashmir. They have a share in the Politics and administration of Kashmir. What we want is that our share should be identified, whatever the percentage, and codified as well. No settlement of the Kashmir problem can be possible even within the parameters of the Indian Constitution without addressing to our claims. This is what the law says and the natural justice demands.

--P.L. Aaima
Subash Nagar, Jammu

Pakistan's underhand tactics will never pay



By J.N. Raina

GIVEN the effervescence of Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi, it is doubtful whether Islamabad is keen for resumption of harmonious relations with India.

The ongoing acrimonious peace process, which was set about after a lot of preparedness, has received a serious setback. It is in shreds because of the unbecoming and fastidious attitude of Qureshi. He exhibited blatant 'misconduct' in an ample measure during India-Pakistan peace conclave in Islamabad recently. In a sudden jerk of events, Qureshi lashed out at Indian Foreign Minister S.M. Krishna, accusing him he was not 'fully prepared', and was 'selective' in dealing with issues of concern. Qureshi had the gumption to cast aspersions on Krishna that he lacked the 'mandate' to hold discussions and was being 'tutored' by New Delhi on phone all through the negotiations. When Krishna was on way to New Delhi, he was accused of being a 'marionette' without a mandate to negotiate. It is mind-boggling.

Certainly, the Pakistan Army, which has no stake in peace talks, and is the epicenter of power, seems to have played fraud at the buzzer. Rawalpindi, the headquarters of Pakistan Army Chief General Ashfaq Kiyani, knows that India is serious in promoting democracy in Pakistan. Peace is illusory, because of the Pakistan Army's covert intervention to torpedo talks.

On the eve of the slated dialogue on July 16, both sides had maintained that terror is the most significant issue which should get priority. In fact it should be the core issue, because it is the bane of Pakistan. Qureshi had even promised that Pakistan would take

action on the perpetrators of Mumbai carnage. India too had reciprocated that it would share more intelligence with that country. Everything went almost hazel-free, till abruptly something mysterious happened during the middle of discussions.

Pakistan changed its tactics just after General Kiyani's impromptu meeting with President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani. Obviously, the instructions must have come to Qureshi to sidetrack the issue of terrorism and raise the Kashmir bogey. What transpired at Qureshi's

Minister Manmohan Singh had earlier assured Pakistan that 'all issues would be discussed', but that does not mean in one go. Pakistan wants Kashmir first as a core issue.

Can Pakistan act on evidence provided by India relating to 26/11, given the fact that ISI is involved neck-deep in Mumbai attack? The needle of suspicion has been pointed towards it by LeT operative David Coleman Headley. With ashes in his mouth, Qureshi at the media briefing equated terror master mind LeT chief Hafeez Saeed with India's Home Secretary G.K.

and have condemned his loquaciousness. But surprisingly, Krishna did not react to Qureshi's remarks. Rather he chided Pillai for making anti-ISI statement. Krishna should have refrained. Pakistan considers its intelligence agencies, put together with terrorist outfits as 'non-state actors'.

Home Secretary's outburst on ISI was just an excuse for Qureshi to raise hackles. If Pakistan was interested in meaningful dialogue, it should have desisted from sending infiltrators into Kashmir to foment fresh violence. Qureshi was obviously tutored to

In search of this 'strategic depth', Pakistan Army has loosened its control of anti-jihadi groups as is evident from the fact that there is large-scale infiltration in the valley. Pakistan firmly believes it has now more 'leeway' in Afghanistan and a 'terror-centric' dialogue with India will not suit Pakistan's military establishment.

Pakistan has been using non-state actors in fomenting trouble in Kashmir for over two decades. The same techniques are used in Afghanistan. Pakistan is using underhand tactics to deal with India and its Big Brother in

network but former army chief Mirza Aslam Beg insists that Siraj-ud-Din Haqqani group should not be touched. Similarly, there is a nexus between Pakistan Army and LeT and JeM.

Pakistan's non-state actors in Kabul will be used to its full advantage once US forces pull out. It will lead to anarchy. It is for the international community to disallow Pakistan from raising such non-state actors. If the U.N. Security Council blinks, Pakistan will be encouraged to create more such terrorist groups to grab its neighbouring countries.

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has warned Pakistan against keeping a 'poisonous' snake in its backyard. She was obviously referring to Al Qaida fugitive Osama bin Laden, who she believes, has been kept hidden in Pakistan. She rebuked Qureshi when he at a joint press conference raised the Kashmir issue: "sustained dialogue" with India and finding a just solution of Kashmir 'dispute' was part of the 'convergent interests' of the US and Pakistan. He wanted to placate U.S. as if Clinton is ignorant of her country's interests. These are just bullying tactics.

Pakistan gave a free hand to terror groups to launch anti-India tirade. ISI directed them to provoke Kashmiris to street violence. Are these non-state actors? Can we expect Pakistan to act against them? It will be self-whipping.

What kind of meaningful dialogue can be held under this vicious atmosphere generated by ISI? Pakistan has been fully exposed for its covert operations worldwide. END

*(The author is a senior journalist based at Pune).



SPLIT-SCREEN: India's External Affairs Minister Sh. S.M. Krishna & Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sh. Shah Mohammad Qureshi (R) turn away from each other after their joint conference in Islamabad on July 15.

press conference just after the failed talks, tantamount to vulgar diplomacy. Qureshi's bellicosity became more pungent when he said he was not going to New Delhi 'for a pleasure trip'. He has been invited by Krishna for a visit there for further exploratory talks. He wanted a 'sustained dialogue' on Kashmir. Naturally, he must have been tutored to change brass tacks.

Qureshi's diatribe against Krishna is scornful. There was a raucous and pains-taking talks were eclipsed when Pakistan insisted that talks on Kashmir, peace, Siachin and security should happen simultaneously. No magician can do it. It is nigh impossible. No doubt our pliable Prime

Pillai. It is preposterous. What is the comparison? That denotes to what extent he can go. This is the height of indecency. In fact, what Pillai had said about ISI's nefarious activities as revealed by Headley, had been communicated to Pakistan by Home Minister P. Chidambaram. The only difference is that now a 'much clearer picture' has emerged on the 'infrastructure' of terrorism and the 'ecosystem that supports terrorism'. It has been confirmed by India's National Security Adviser Shiv Shanker Menon. ISI's activities have global ramifications.

Both the Congress and the BJP have taken serious exception to Qureshi's 'misconduct'

keep Kashmir alive, because Pakistan Army is not interested in peace, and what for? Pakistan hopes that once the US and NATO forces pull out from Afghanistan by next year, it will pave way for return of Taliban rule in Kabul, and help Pakistan in regaining 'strategic depth' in Afghanistan. Intrinsically, jihadi groups created by Pakistan will get emboldened. It will then be easier for Pakistan to take on India, as it did after the withdrawal of erstwhile Soviet forces from Afghanistan, leading to terrorist violence in Kashmir. The scene will just be replicated. That is why there is a nexus between Pakistan Army and Taliban, in conjunction with LeT and Al Qaida.

Afghanistan. ISI has created Haqqani terrorist network in Afghanistan against US interests. These groups are acting as Pakistan's 'military proxies'. US has been asking Pakistan to liquidate Haqqai

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172, Sector-3, E.W.S Colony, Lower Roop Nagar,

Jammu-180013 (INDIA)

Tele/Fax: 0191-2593166

email: kashmirsentinejkk@yahoo.co.in

website: panunkashmir.org

Re-defining Trust Deficit

By Shailendra Aima

IN an Independence Day-eve bonanza, Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Omar Abdullah announced that his government will recruit 50,000 youths in the next few months and pitched for restoration of autonomy to the state to bridge the "trust deficit" between the people and the Centre.

The Chief Minister proclaimed that people in Jammu and Kashmir have cynicism about the promises made by the Centre in the past and there is a need for the central government to initiate action to remove all doubts from the minds of the people and bridge the gap that has emerged over the last six decades.

"I think by restoring the autonomy, this trust deficit will be removed. I request the government of India to take urgent measures in this regard," he said. In his address to the people on the eve of the Independence Day, Omar said no economic or employment packages can heal the wounds.

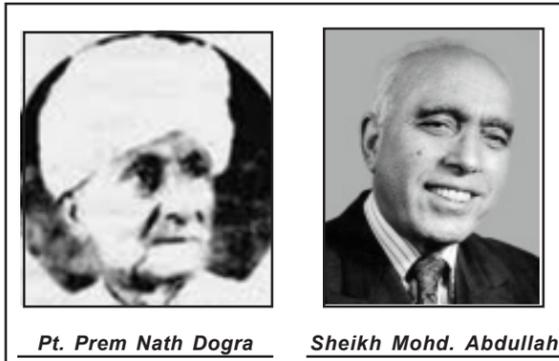
It was also widely being discussed in the Valley that the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, during his Independence Day Address to the Nation, would make some pronouncement to this effect. Some Kashmir observers also believed that it would assuage the Azaadi-wallas, and that included all shades - NC's Autonomy, PDP's Self-Rule, Omar Farooq's Referendum and Geelani's Self-determination. In fact some lobbyists in Delhi had exercised lot of pressure on him. But then what stopped him?

When Omar talked so vehemently about a trust deficit and the minds of the people and of bridging the gap, what was in his mind and who were the people he was talking about. Definitely he neither talked about Jammu and Ladakh nor about that segment of Kashmiri society which has been expelled out of its homeland. He excluded more than half of the population and more than two thirds of the state's area from his perspective. He created mistrust or a trust deficit with all these people, outside his

immediate constituency. And even his trust within Kashmir has become quite questionable.

In fact, the acts of omission and commission of the Kashmiri leadership have been so glaringly blatant ever since 1947 and responsible for building mistrust among the people of the state at one hand and between Indian people and Kashmiri leaders on the other. Take for example the situation in 1953, when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah had to be arrested.

In 1978, when Henderson Papers were made public, it appeared that in September 1950 the United States Ambassador to India, Loy Henderson had secretly visited Sheikh Abdullah. Sheikh had told Henderson that majority of Kashmir leaders



Pt. Prem Nath Dogra

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah

of using force and pressure to drive them out of the elections and preventing them from filing their nomination papers. For the forty-one of the forty-three constituencies in the Kashmir Province, not a single nomination paper was filed by the candidates in the opposition. In the two, remaining constituencies of Habbakadal in the city of Srinagar and of Baramulla Township,

the forty-six nominations filed by the Parishad were rejected in twenty-seven constituencies, leaving the Parishad to contest elections in only three constituencies in the province. On 22 September 1951, the Working Committee of the Parishad adopted a resolution condemning the rejection of the nomination papers of the Parishad candidates and gave an ultimatum to the

pers filed by the Praja Parishad candidates were rejected on false and flimsy grounds;

Official interference in the elections was widespread and the entire official machinery was geared to help the National Conference.

Trust is a container concept used in a broad variety of disciplines. Trust and suspiciousness are often well-founded. In potentially uncertain, dangerous and risky environment we need to know very well who we can and who we cannot trust and in which circumstances we can do what. The essence of trust management is not to trust but to decide to what extent we can trust and how to develop and create trust relationships. Building trust has a special meaning.

Did the Kashmiri leadership ever care to create

jected and threatened to disrupt the function. The chief minister gave in and it was none other than an active member of the National Conference, who created this trouble. Was Gandhi an alien in Kashmir or a symbol of imperialist India? But who cared to explain and hence the Trust Deficit.

There are numerous other instances, but let's look at only a few. Why did J&K Assembly pass the controversial Resettlement Bill which was never approved by the Centre? The Bill had proposed that Muslims of J&K who had fled to Pakistan or PoK during Partition be brought back to Indian Kashmir and resettled there with honour and dignity. The land they had left behind was to be restored to them. At the same time the State Government did nothing with regard to the settlement of the Hindu Refugees of 1947 from West Pakistan who came to state of J&K.

In 1987, Farooq Abdullah announced cancellation of Darbar Move to the winter capital of the state, Jammu. In fact he as the Chief Minister decided to do away with the century old practice. A month long agitation in Jammu was required to annul the anti-Jammu decision of the CM. Was Farooq aiming to build trust?

After 1996, when Dr. Farooq Abdullah reclaimed power after six years of violent operations and Governor's Rule, he proclaimed that peace had returned. He pronounced return plans for displaced Hindus. These proposals were coercive in nature; and he went even to the extent of threatening of stopping relief in Jammu. The displaced diasporas and the employees unions, besides staging hartals and demonstrations, were forced to seek court's intervention. Farooq Abdullah's Government opposed the case of exiled Kashmiris for granting IDP status before NHRC. And even after the Displaced Employees won the case against Government for grant of House Rent Allowance in the High Court and now in



The violent stone throwers.

favoured Independent state and even some Pak occupied Kashmir leaders were supporting the idea. Then in May 1953, Sheikh had talked to American Democratic leader Stevenson in Srinagar on similar lines as he had talked to Loy Henderson. The Sheikh not only betrayed Nehru's Trust, he created a chasm between New Delhi and Kashmir.

Even before that when in 1951, the preparations for the elections to the Constituent Assembly began the parties and candidates, seeking election to the Assembly in opposition to the official candidates of the National Conference, complained of intimidation and interference. They charged the National Conference

nomination papers were filed by Pandit Shiv Narayan Fotedar and Sardar Sant Singh Tegh, an Akali Sikhs leader of the State. However, the two leaders did not remain in the fray for long and both withdrew in protest. Sant Singh Tegh complained of official interference in the elections and alleged that the color of his ballot boxes, was changed in his absence and his voters were prevented from attending his election meetings by unfair and foul means.

In the Jammu province, Praja Parishad nominated candidates for twenty-seven constituencies of the provinces, generally filing nomination papers of more than one candidate for each constituency. Forty-one of

Government to reverse the rejections, failing which the Parishad threatened to boycott the elections. The President of the Praja Parishad Pandit Prem Nath Dogra issued a press statement in Delhi on 6 October 1951 in which he alleged that:

The elections in the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir were scheduled to be held on different dates to provide the National Conference an advantage over the other parties;

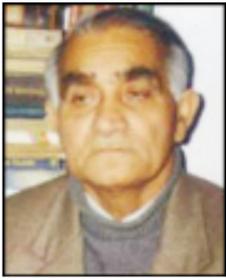
The delimitation of the constituencies was undertaken in a manner, which used gerrymandering to turn many Hindu majority constituencies into Muslim majority constituencies;

Fortune of the forty-six nomination pa-

and nurture trust which Omar Abdullah bemoans has been eroded. On Amarnath Land Row issue, he deliberately created mistrust when he described the Agitation in the Valley as an expression of "Kashmiri Nationalism". In the Parliament of India, he categorically asserted, "this was an issue of our land; and we fought for our land; and shall fight to the last". His communal bias was at the forefront and the entire nation stood in shock over his fulminations.

On October 2, 1988, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, his statue was to be installed in the new high court complex in Srinagar and the chief justice of India was to inaugurate it. But a few anti-India lawyers ob-

(Contd. on Page 11)



By M.K. Teng

Islamabad Conference

THE sudden outburst of anger with which the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Syed Mohamood Qureshi, reacted to what happened in the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Islamabad, needs to be considered more seriously. The acrimony which pervaded the conference has brought to surface, very wide differences in the perspectives of Government, of India and

Pakistan would use the refusal of India to negotiate a settlement on Kashmir, to legitimise the Jihad against India. The Indian office missed to pick up the signal. The ongoing strife and violence in the State cannot be delinked from the acrimony in which the Islamabad conference ended.

Pakistan, in respect of South Asia as a regional complex of inter-state relationships and the future Asian balance of power, which is taking shape with the emergence of China as a major Asian military power. The two countries also differ in their strategic outlook and seek to achieve diametrically diverse objectives from the dialogue they have so eagerly continued for many more decade now.

Pakistan has been insisting upon the structuring of the composite dialogue between the two countries in a way that ensures the priority of the issues which it considers vital to its interests, within a time-frame, it believes, Pakistan has a right to lay down. Obviously the Foreign Minister of Pakistan felt uneasy, when S.M. Krishna stressed upon the need to tackle the problem of terrorism on a basis of priority. Perhaps Qureshi did not expect Krishna to do that. And he had good reason to do so. Infact, India never took a firm stand on terrorism, which the Jehadi war groups in Pakistan waged the Jammu and Kashmir and in the other parts of the country. India always re-

sorted to invoke good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and sought the cooperation of that country to put a curb on the terrorist regimes operating from its soil.

The Indian Foreign Minister did not invite the jibe from his counter-part the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on account of the statement the India Home Secretary had made. For Qureshi, the comment made by the Home Secretary was not so uncommon a statement and was a repetition of what the Indian officials of various stations had been telling Pakistan, right from the time the terrorist violence struck Mumbai. Qureshi felt angry, because everyone in Pakistan was angry on the insistence of India on the urgency to deal with cross-border terrorism. The government and the people of Pakistan never budged from their stand that the settlement on Jammu and Kashmir could not be subjected to the fulfilment of their commitments to fight terrorism. Everyone in Pakistan told the Indi-

ans in unmistakable terms that a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir, which was acceptable to them and the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, was a precedent condition for the successful conclusion of the war on terrorism they were waging in Afghanistan and their own country alongside their allies.

One fundamental aspect of the cross-border terrorism, the Jehadi war groups have been incessantly carrying on in India, has received much less attention in this country. The terrorist violence Pakistan has been exporting out of its borders, right from the time it joined the Muslim resistance against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan to the time it commenced the militarisation of the Muslim separatist movement in Jammu and Kashmir in 1989, as well as the war of subversion the intelligence agencies of that country has been waging in the other parts of India, during the last two decades, is an organised military campaign committed to the Islamic Jihad. In Afghanistan, the Jihad was ideologically committed to the liberation of the Muslims in Afghanistan from the Soviet army of occupation. In Jammu and Kashmir and the other parts of India, the Jihad is

ideologically committed to the freedom of the Muslims in a Hindu dominated India, where they are sub-servient to the law and order of a society, which is not based upon the theological imperatives of Islam.

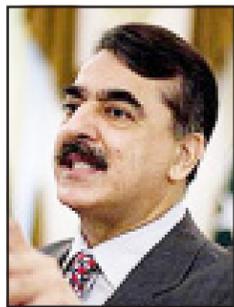
Jihad is not a political struggle. It is a more profound and subtle prescription for social change than a political struggle is. It is an ideological commitment of the whole Muslim Ummah to a social and political order, which is based upon the law and precept of Islam.

The Jihad in Jammu and Kashmir, the leadership and the people in Pakistan including the so-called civil society believe, cannot be subjected to the process of a dialogue be-

the composite dialogue with India is aimed to achieve one political objective: secession of Jammu and Kashmir from India and its eventual inclusion in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Once India is pinned down to a discussion on Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan will repeat its star performance to coax India to handover Jammu and Kashmir to that country on account of the Muslim majority composition of its population, or more conveniently, handover to that country the Muslim majority regions of the state situated to the west of the river Chenab. Infact, all the proposals which Pakistan has agreed to discuss as a basis for a settlement of the Kashmir dispute so far,



Manmohan Singh



Yusuf Raza Gilani

have revolved round the secession of the Muslim majority region of the state, situated west of the river Chenab from India, while Pakistan retained its hold on the occupied territories of Pakistan occupied Kashmir, the Northern Areas, now renamed as Gilgit-Baltistan province of Pakistan along with the tribal Dardic dependencies of the state, which were annexed by Pakistan to its territories in 1947.

The much-hyped Manmohan Singh-Musharraf plan too underlined the same proposals of delinking of the Muslim majority regions of the state from India, under the cover of self-rule, demilitarisation and joint control. Musharraf knew what he had accomplished. Manmohan Singh unaware of what he was asked to give away, groped in the dark.

Manmohan Singh walked the proverbial "extra-mile", but Musharraf was cast aboard by the so-called civil society in Pakistan which was backed by the Muslim fundamentalist flanks in that country as well as its army command. Neither the Jehadi war groups nor the armed forces in Pakistan approved of the Manmohan Singh Musharraf plan. This plan did not receive the approval of Jehadi war-groups operating inside Jammu and Kashmir as well.

The present Government of Pakistan has no need for the Musharraf proposals. Qureshi's demand for a "time-bound" and "result oriented" dialogue" between the two countries, reveals the real inten-

tions of the Government of Pakistan to carry the dialogue process further. Pakistan seeks to confront India with the apparently simplistic demand of a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir, which is acceptable to the Muslims in there. Further Pakistan wants India to take the initiative to re-shape the composite dialogue and put up the Kashmir issue on the top of its agenda.

That is the message, Qureshi actually sent to India, when he told the the Indian Foreign Minister that Pakistan wanted the talks between the two countries to be meaningful and effective. In carefully chosen words the Foreign Minister of Pakistan told S.M. Krishna to convey to his government in Delhi that, (a) Pakistan considered the dispute between India and Pakistan

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over Jammu and Kashmir central to the composite dialogue; (b) Pakistan would not agree to subordinate the Kashmir dispute to the Indian complaint on terrorism or any other extraneous issue, including Siachin and Sir Creek; (c) Pakistan would accept a settlement on the Kashmir dispute which is approved by the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir; and (d) Pakistan would want the dialogue to be time bound, to ensure that it is result oriented.

Qureshi left no one in India in doubt that in case India refused to shape the dialogue process the way Pakistan wanted to, the blame for obstructing purposeful talks, would fall upon India. Qureshi did not tell the Indian people that Pakistan would use the refusal of India to negotiate a settlement on Kashmir, to legitimise the Jihad against India. The Indian office missed to pick up the signal. The ongoing strife and violence in the State cannot be delinked from the acrimony in which the Islamabad conference ended.

**(The author heads Panun Kashmir advisory)*



By Dileep Kumar Kaul

OUR self attains meaning in the meaning of a place. It has a spiritual dimension as well. The meaning of place and the meaning of the self are two different entities in the beginning. As the place attachment develops and becomes stronger, the meaning of place and meaning of self begin to merge. When a particular place becomes an important part of our self identity, this merger of self and place is known as self identity. At this point the places play a role in the personal emotion and self regulation. The experience and cognitions in places form the place identity. The intensity of these experiences and cognitions cuts across religious barriers which may sometimes lead to a self that may be termed blasphemous in a particular religious set up.

Kashmir has got such a spiritual energy that spiritual seekers irrespective of caste creed and religion have chosen it a place for their pursuits. But those who have lived here have broken rigid barriers of the faiths they belonged to and chosen their own paths for spiritual attainment. There is a large number of such saints in Kashmir who may be termed Sufis to keep them in a Muslim sphere. But their spiritual strength has been such that they have expressed such things in their poetry which hardly anybody would dare to express. The famous poet and spiritual Waza Mahmud has condemned the restrictions of Islamic law in very clear terms:

Hali Mansur Chhum banyomut yath tane.

Tali pyath Chham sharahuchi talwar me.

(my existence has met the fate of Mansur. The sword of Islamic law is hanging on my head.)

This is clearly the craving for the spiritual freedom and Islamic law puts a restriction that one cannot go outside its barriers.

The greatest name among such spiritual personalities is Abdul Ahad Zargar. He too had to face strong opposition for his fearlessness and the expression of strong sense of freedom. It is comfortable to put him within the sphere of "Sufism", but he was not the man to be included among some simple head as Sufism. His attitude was ecospiritual, which exhibited a strong sense of faith in human power. God was not an alienated entity for him. Like Mansoor he was one with god and thus true to the tradition of Kashmiri saints. His poem "Kafir sapdith Korum yakrar" (After being an infidel I confessed) was termed blasphemous and venomous. But it is a poem that dismantles all dualisms and challenges the whole civilizational paradigm, all relations, compartmentalized conceptions of divinity and whatever separates man from man. In this poem every word that separates humans from each other is challenged. Zargar's oneness with divinity is such that he has the courage to say,

Meiy lod adam meiy dyutus jaan

Meiy zaav Muhammad meiy von Koran

Mei nish non drav malikul jabar.

Kafar sapdith korum yakrar.

(I made adam and I gave him life. I gave birth to Muhammad and I uttered the Quran. With me was revealed consoler the god. After being an infidel I confessed).

See the courage! He says the divine message of Quran was uttered by him. In Islamic ethics haram and halaal are two words for legitimate and illegitimate. Ahad zargar says,

Par Haramas takbeer sui div niyaaz

Yeti nu aasi kabilay tati par nemaaz

Sui imam karizyan yas tyok tu zunnar

Kafar sapdith Korum yakraar.

(say there is only one god (takbeer) to what is illegitimate(Haram). Where there is no kabila say your prayers there. Make him your spiritual master who has got a dotted forehead and a sacred thread on).

This is ecospiritual outlook. In ecospirituality we understand that divine life extends to all reality, and the cosmos is an integral part of God's self revelation. In ecospirituality, we explore our relationship with the whole cosmos with god in the center as creator of the cosmos. That is the point where there is no haram and halal and no barrier between the seeker and the supreme deity. In other words when somebody attains divinity all the barriers go of for him. This is a totally non dualistic approach. From here springs the ecological outlook. In ecology everything in this world is associated with everything else. With Ahad zargar also we can say "allaho akbar" with what is haraam. Two utterly unassociated things are held in the same breath by him and that is the level of his spiritual attainment. That is non dualism.

However this ecospiritual outlook is seen in other poets also who too were termed infidels. One of them is Abdul Ahad Azad. Though he was an atheist but his spirituality cannot be denied. His ecospiritual attitude is conspicuous in his this verse,

Swarguchi dodu kolu zaenith tu maenith vondu myon chchunymashiravan lo Sendi, rambi aras vethi vernagas gangai tu jamunaye.

(after due thought my heart does not forget the milk streams of heaven i.e swarg. These milk streams are the river Indus,

rambi ara , Vitasta, Verinag, Ganga and Jamuna)

See the ecological unity of all the rivers and the unity of cultural streams they represent. And he is not using the word jannat for heaven, he is using swarg which is from, if we don't say hindu tradition, from the spiritual tradition of India which is incomplete without Kashmir. This gives "Azad" his place identity, the identity of the dweller of Kashmir which belongs to Indian tradition.

Ahad Zargar also exhibits such place identity. He is so much associated with Indian spiritual thought that it can easily be said that he had converted to Hinduism as is said about Lalded on the basis of some fake verses that she had converted to Islam. But verses of Ahad Zargar are not fake. He lived in our times and many of us may have seen him. But saying about him as he had accepted Hinduism will be to belittle him as a spiritual personality. He is deeply rooted in the tradition of Kashmiri saints who accepted any school of thought for their spiritual attainment. Like any other saint his ethics was his own which had deep influence of Hindu spirituality. See one of his poems,

Dame sutyi gati gav gash isbbat.

Pamposhi manzu gayi paedu kaaynaath.

According to the Puranas, Brahma is self born from lotus flower which grew from the navel of Vishnu at the beginning of the universe. Ahad Zargar turns to this puranic allusion to explain the creation and says that this universe was born out of a lotus.

This puranic allusion is made clear in another verse,

Samah Saru manzu Phol Neelofur.

Brahmah tami manzu dravjohar

Jamah adu aav zaato sifaat

Pamposhi manzu gayi paedu kaaynaath.

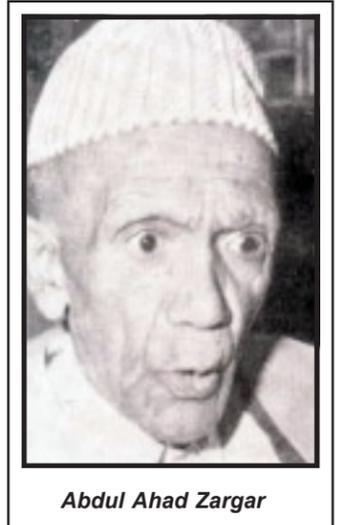
(In the ocean of ether the blue lotus blossomed. From that was born Brahma the self created. Then pure God came into being)

His extent of purity transcends all dualisms. All dualisms are impure to him. He says,

Safri mahmudas dovnus tan

Kufru islamu nish shruch gav me man.

Vuchch ahad zargaran



Abdul Ahad Zargar

don kuni zaath.

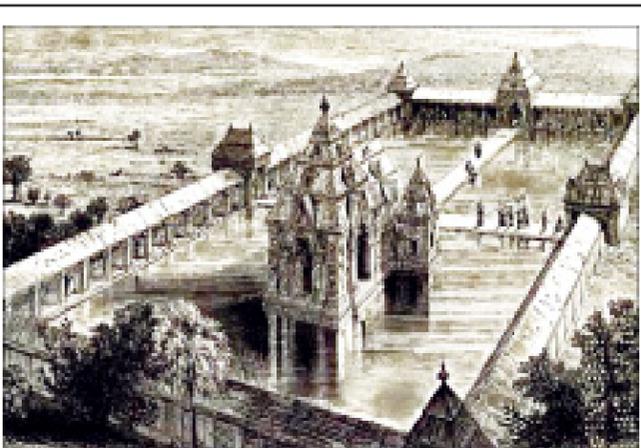
Pamposhi manzu gayi paedu kaaynaath.

(I was made to go on the spiritual journey. My self was made pure of kufr and Islam. Ahad zargar saw both of them as same. The universe was born out of a lotus.)

For him infidelity and Islam are of the same creed because both of them are conflicting elements. So he says he is neither a kafir nor a muslim. When the seeker merges with the creator what is the need for these compartmentalizations! This expression is really daring but usual for a saint like him who had transcended these worldly elements. But the power of man and his association with the tradition of the place he belongs to is best expressed in his poetry. If we put him under Sufism and other such things his real existence as a rebel against all spiritual restrictions and an important exponent of the spirituality of Kashmir is hampered. Ahad Zargar and the saints like him give meaning to Kashmir and if we forget them we are not doing justice to our place Kashmir.

These days Kashmir is being identified with stone throwing Hartals, and deaths. If such things identify a place it is bound to be a political playground where personalities like Ahad Zargar have no relevance. There will be nobody to own him because nobody will like to own an infidel. Ahad Zargar is not a person but a phenomenon that gives meaning to Kashmir and takes forward kashmiri spiritual tradition. Past twenty years have seen all out attempts to eradicate this tradition. At least we can remember this tradition.

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



An artist's impression of what Martand Sun Temple must have looked like in its hey day.

Jammu makes sense of happenings

“Quit Jammu & Kashmir” call

(From Page 1)

given by Tehrik-e-Hurriyat chief Syed Ali Shah Geelani amidst the ongoing disturbances in the Valley exposed the political dimension of the conspiracy hatched by Islamabad and its local collaborators. Mr. Khajuria said this vicious slogan could be dismissed as a gimmick or prank but for the fact that the extremist fringe was holding a sizable section of the population in the Valley to ransom and causing severe dislocation of the economic, social and political life. This, as intended, was attracting international attention and providing grist to Pakistani propaganda mills.

Mr. Khajuria urged the governments in Delhi and Srinagar to take all necessary measures to effectively deal with the disturbances and challenges to national integrity. There was an urgent need to review political and strategic formulations to break the cycle of violence and isolate the mischief mongers. He said the “anti-national elements have for long got away with making such pernicious demands and indulged in rank adventurism unchallenged which gave their fulminations disproportionate importance. In such affairs, the nation’s silence can be misconstrued. Challenges to integrity of the country and unity of the nation have to be faced openly, boldly and squarely. **We, therefore, reiterate that Jammu & Kashmir is not only an integral part of India, it is**

India. The option to quit rests with those who feel otherwise”.

One wonders why there appears a total disconnect between Delhi and Jammu on issues concerning national unity? Delhi allows anti-India protests and goes all out to save those charged with waging a war against the nation. It supports ideas and influences inimical to the nation’s unity and works in tandem with those who support balkanization. Conversely, Jammu, forsaken and forgotten, denied and drained, pushed with its back to the wall, frets and fumes, frowns BUT fights. It persists despite the gravest provocations to preserve its plural yet valiant character.

Eminent social scientist Prof Hari Om explained the above and exposed the destructive nature of Delhi’s self-inflicting ethos. He asserted, “In fact, besides the involvement of Pakistan, it is the outlook of the Indian establishment which is sustaining the current strife in the Kashmir Valley”. Prof. Hari Om pointed out that the “statement of Union Home Minister P Chidambaram on Aug. 6 in the Rajya Sabha, is nothing but a blend of contradictions; instead of assuring the House of Elders that New Delhi would change its strategy in the changed circumstances to controvert the pernicious influence of Pakistan and defeat its evil designs on Kashmir, Shri Chidambaram raised the issue of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and reduction of security personnel in the state”.

Prof. Hari Om felt that the



A view of the speakers on the dias while Sh. Shailendra Aima is conducting the proceedings. --K.S. Photo

Union Home Minister had been influenced by “the decision of the Omar Abdullah-led coalition government to abdicate its authority in favour of Geelani, as also by the PDP president and Leader of the Opposition Mehbooba Mufti’s suggestion to Omar Abdullah that the state government should use the good offices of Geelani in order to douse the fire in Kashmir”. The situation has climaxed to the point where the Indian establishment prefers to silence persons like Union Home Secretary GK Pillai and Army Chief Gen. V.K. Singh who had put things in perspective by exposing those responsible for the current anti-India strife in Kashmir. The “Indian state seems pitted against its own people and civilization and is in a self-destructive mode”, he said, adding, “Jammu is the focus, it is the battlefield for saving

India and the very thought of Indianness.”

Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman, Panun Kashmir, said it was the time the nation recognised the “extremely regressive content of the movement which is holding whole of the Kashmir Valley in its grip. It is time the whole nation delegitimised the public mobilizations in the Valley by emphatically stating that the strife in Kashmir is basically driven by an ideological content which negates the freedom of mankind, breeds hatred and aims to destroy pluralism based on right to equality. It is time all of us reiterated our commitment to the indivisible unity of India and proclaim that nobody, even the brute majority, has a right to negate it. It is time the message goes loud and clear that nobody has the right to change or seek

exceptions on the basic structure of the Constitution of India”.

Dr. Chrungoo said the “forces which are ruling the roost in the Valley have already brought about the genocide of an entire community of Kashmiri Hindus. These forces have to be defeated ideologically and denied the respectability of a legitimate political movement. Government of India has to correct its policy formulations and realize that concessions to communalism and separatism have been self defeating. The situation in Kashmir cannot be salvaged through flirtations with variants of separatism and communalism there”.

He warned that, “a disease cannot be cured by nourishing it. We are witnessing a situation where sovereignty is being used to wreak sovereignty.”

And with prophetic doom, even as Dr. Chrungoo urged the State and Central Governments to provide full security of the minorities living in the Kashmir Valley, the media reported a fresh bout of displacement of Hindus from the Valley!!!

The seminarists were specific and unanimous on three issues - there is a basic structure of Indian constitution which nobody has the mandate to dilute even marginally; the ideology of the separatist movement needs to be countered and delegitimised; and the Government of India should abandon forthwith all those policy formulations which serve as a psychological fuel to communal separatism in the Valley and elsewhere.



Sh. M.M. Khajuria speaking during the Seminar and a view of the audience. --K.S. Photo

Kashmiri Pandit Presence in Cyberspace

A Journey to Virtual Sharda Peeth



*Oh Goddess Sharada (Sarasvati), resident of Kashmir, I bow down to thee.
I pray to you to give me the gift of knowledge.*

By Sunil Fotedar

IN 1990, terrorism and sectarian violence caused nearly 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits (KPs) to flee the land of their ancestors, the fabled valley of Kashmir in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). These victims of terrorism, refugees in their own country, left behind virtually all of their worldly possessions, as they had to flee under threat to life and honor. The refugee camps in J&K state house hundreds of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits displaced from their homes as a direct result of the militancy in the valley. Since mid 1990s, advent of internet has provided us with a unique opportunity to bind our community living in several Diasporas around the world.

A. Kashmir News Network (KNN)

On the political front, pro-Pakistani and fundamentalist Kashmiri Muslims seeking separation from India have used the Internet and the web for misinformation and disinformation on the Kashmir issue. To counter this campaign launched against the minuscule KP community, I have also created several Kashmiri Pandit-specific websites as well as community forums since mid 1990s on a voluntary basis, but my work is not done yet. There's so much to share and in fact, I have barely scratched the surface. KNN website at <http://iKashmir.net> carries information about the ongoing struggle of the KPs as refugees in their own country, the conditions that prevailed in the Valley before their exodus, their history of survival through centuries of persecution at the hands of cruel Muslim rulers in the Valley, the detailed case analyses of various KP individuals killed by the Pakistan sponsored militants and several massacres of them which have taken place after their exodus. This web site is also a repository describing the ethnic cleansing of the KPs from the Valley. KNN is recognized internationally as the top web site representing KP political viewpoints and is ranked at or near the top among all Kashmir-related web sites by several web "search engines". A list of KP websites is provided at:

<http://sunilfotedar.com/sites.html>

namely,

KP Websites

- Koshur: *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri: An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri at <http://koshur.org> - A site that carries language lessons in Audio clips*
- Kashmiri Music Site at <http://RadioKashmir.org> - First site to carry a mix of Kashmiri Music and Bhajans in Audio and Video Clips.
- Kashmir Information Network at <http://kashmir-information.com> - First ever website on KPs developed in 1996, now maintained by KOA.
- Kashmir Shaivism at <http://shaivism.net>

Publications

- Milchar at <http://iKashmir.net/milchar> - A KPA, Mumbai publication
- Vitasta at <http://vitasta.org> - Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Kolkata publication
- Patrika at <http://iKashmir.net/patrika> - Publication by Bhagwaan Gopinath ji Ashram
- Sh. M. K. Raina at <http://mkraina.com>
- Kashmir Sentinel at <http://PanunKashmir.org/blog> - A Panun Kashmir publication
- Panchtarni at <http://iKashmir.net/panchtarni> - Publication of Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Panchkula, Haryana

Panchkula, Haryana

- Neel Naag at <http://iKashmir.net/neelnaag> - A quarterly publication of Kashyap Kashmir Sabha, Gurgoan

Organizations

- Panun Kashmir at <http://PanunKashmir.org>
- Indian Institute of Language Studies at <http://iils.org>
- Project ZAAAN at <http://iKashmir.net/zaan> - A KPA, Mumbai effort
- Kashmiri Overseas Association at <http://koausa.org>
- Satisar Foundation at <http://satisar.org>
- Gopikrishna's Kundalini Site at <http://gopikrishna.us>

Miscellaneous

- Create your own Family Tree at <http://iKashmir.net/tree>
- KP Wiki Site at <http://iKashmir.net/wiki>
- An extensive KPlink Image Gallery at <http://iKashmir.net/gallery>
- KP Blog at <http://iKashmir.net/blog>

B. KOSHUR e-Forum:

We offer KOSHUR e-Forum, a private e-mail based information exchange for Kashmiri Pandits, as a forum to share news and views on social, religious, cultural and political issues with other Kashmiri Pandit (KP) subscribers. This is a free e-mail service to any KP worldwide but one has to register with the Koshur Administrator for this service. People have used this service to seek information, locate friends, express opinions, share news and exchange greetings. Our goal is to create our own KPcyberspace where we may share information provide support system and walk together holding hands.

How is KOSHUR e-Forum Different?

There is no dearth of e-Forums and mailing lists that are run by several community members. So, how is KOSHUR e-FORUM different from the rest of these discussion groups?

The KOSHUR e-Forum, in existence since January 15, 2005, is not a discussion forum. This e-Forum is meant for dissemination of information to our community members living in several Diasporas around the world. This will be a moderated e-Forum. I believe that in these 20-odd years since our exodus, we have spent enough time in discussions that have at times unfortunately lead to bickering amongst the community members. It is high time we take action to create an e-Forum that highlights positives in our community by projecting individuals and their contributions that benefit our community as a whole, so that we once again feel good and be proud of ourselves. Time is running out and we must strive hard

to preserve what we have not lost yet. Let me assure that you will not be inundated with e-mails, you will perhaps receive 1 to 2 e-mails a week.

Through this medium, we plan to distribute the following information of mutual interest:

- Articles about our socio-cultural ethos, heritage, history, religion and politics.
- News/information items related to our KP community, but absolutely no discussions, personal views and opinions will be allowed.
- Announcement of meeting of interest to KP community, like press conferences, conventions, etc.
- Mails from any KP seeking information from the community - responses will not be posted but should be sent directly to the sender.
- Announcements with images will be accepted, but no individual congratulatory messages will be allowed.
- Birth/death announcements.
- Appeal for funds/donations.

If you agree with what this community e-Forum will provide, please sign up using the following two steps:

Step 1: Send an e-mail to

koshur-subscribe@yahoogroups.com

or click on "Join This Group" at:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Koshur/>

Step 2: Fill out online application at:

<http://koshur.org/forum/signup.html>

It is important that you (prospective members) read and understand the terms and conditions set forth in the following pages:

<http://koshur.org/forum/agreement.html>

<http://koshur.org/forum/privacy.html>

<http://koshur.org/forum/guidelines.html>

Alternatively, to join the KOSHUR e-Forum, please send an e-mail to

koshur-subscribe@yahoogroups.com

This e-mail works better for those who do not have a Yahoo! e-mail id and do not want to create one. Yahoo Id allows one to browse e-Forum messages online, as opposed to e-mails delivered to your inbox directly.

You are just one click away from missing out on what this e-Forum is going to share with you in days to come.

C. Social Networking and Facebook Groups and Pages

In addition to the Kashmiri websites and the forums, I have created several KP-specific Facebook Pages that carry a rich collection of articles, picture albums, music and videos that showcase the best our community has to offer to the rest of the world.

Pages Specific to Kashmir Region

- Kashmiri Pandit Network (group)
<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=337749562436>
- Kashmir News Network
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Kashmir-News-Network/108817995803265>
- De-Leij: Culinary Art of Kashmir - Authentic Kashmiri recipes being shared with members
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/De-Leij-Culinary-Art-of-Kashmir/105360389496384>
- Temples of Kashmir
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Temples-of-Kashmir/104605946248505>
- Saints of Kashmir
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Saints-of-Kashmir/118275141516177>
- Kashmir Shaivism
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Kashmir-Shaivism/107643715933074>
- Koshur Language and Music
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Koshur-An-Introduction-to-Spoken-Kashmiri-and-Music/105063322867025>
- Satisar Foundation
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Satisar-Foundation/115006301854632>
- Kashmir Sentinel
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Kashmir-Sentinel/129150473772198>
- Panun Kashmir
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Panun-Kashmir/108248355889697>

Pages Specific to Artistes and Prominent Personalities

- Kashmir - Artistes, Playwrights, Writers, Poets, Painters
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Kashmir-Artistes-Playwrights-Writers-Poets-Painters/108438595859136>
- Arti Tiku Kaul
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Arti-Tiku-Kaul/101050049936475>
- Abhay Rustum Sopori
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Abhay-Rustum-Sopori/114241638597904>
- Neerja Pandit
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Neerja-Pandit/109575095749963>
- Ashoke Pandit
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Ashoke-Pandit/112209008809458>
- Raj Pandit
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Raj-Pandit/114244931933565>
- Girija Pandit
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Girija-Pandit/114955118544083>
- Umesh Mattoo
<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Umesh-Mattoo/125124424191831>

Please join these Facebook Pages.

Follow us on Twitter
Koshur Updates on Twitter
<http://twitter.com/koshurupdate>
May God bless our community!

*(The author of this write-up is a webster based at Texas, USA. He can be reached at sunilfotedar@yahoo.com)

'Evangelical Intrusions by Sandhya Jain'

Dr MK Teng

THE study undertaken by Sandhya Jain, published by Rupa-co, New Delhi, in an attractively designed volume, titled "Evangelical Intrusions-Tripura, a case study" is the first systematic and in-depth inquiry into the evangelical intervention in the religious cultures of the tribal societies and indigenous peoples of India to "coerce the entire tribal populace to convert to a millenarian tradition." The study is a bold attempt to investigate into "concerted efforts by several western evangelical denominations to achieve their objective of complete conversion" of the tribal peoples and the inability of the Indian state to support the tribal and the indigenous people to preserve their religious cultural tradition. The state of Tripura, situated in the north-east of India, where the evangelical intrusion has been widespread, forms the universe of the field-study. Tripura, the author notes "was chosen as the subject of the study because its large tribal population is resisting organized armed assault upon its native faith and way of life".

The problem of evangelical intrusions in India is a part of the larger problem of Semitisation of the Indian Society, which has a longer history in India, and forms an important aspect of the political sociology of the Indian people. The promise of redemption basic to all religious expressions of the Semitic civilization, has been widely used during last several hundred years, more specifically, after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, as a portent instrument of state policy for the expansion of the political power and in the consolidation of imperial authority over the peoples subject to colonial dominance. India, a nation of the former colonial peoples, ruled by the British for centuries, was freed from the bondage, two years after the end of Second World War, which brought the era of colonialism to its close. The ideological commitment of the colonial powers to spread the promise of redemption assumed blatantly crude expression in India, where the boundaries of the Sanskrit civilization were remotely visible and less resistant to evangelical intervention.

Sandhya Jain makes a departure from the generally

accepted methodological paradigms followed in the study of social change in India. Her work makes the beginning of a new academic effort, which may in the years to come, provide an alternative methodological framework, and which may delink the study of social change in India from its reformist trappings. Sandhya Jain underlines a methodological format which is not confined to the investigation into the structure and function of a fixed-set, which the Semitic methodological paradigms underline. Her work has a normative dimension. The frame of reference she has adopted for evaluation is not located in liberal-reformism and its abstract derivatives of logical positivism. It is located in the history of the Sanskrit Civilization of India. She takes pains to relate the evolution of tribal traditions and ritual cultures of the indigenous peoples of India to the continuity of the Indian History.

The work is a bold attempt to unravel data and facts to establish that the Semitisation, as a part of the political process of the colonial era, continues to be followed uninterruptedly in the independent India. The survey, Sandhya notes, is "aimed to test the hypothesis that over the past few years an increasing number of tribal hamlets and households have been directly or indirectly 'invited' to embrace a monotheistic religion." She notes further: "The questionnaires were designed to learn if inducements were made, if there was any violent incident in the village or its vicinity, if there was an atmosphere of fear due to incidents in the neighboring areas, if there was native resentment against the attempts of proleletisation, and tribal leaders were contacted to understand if change of faith disrupted family or community life and culture and the resultant cultural alienation." The revelations she has made are startling. "The conversions do not appear suomoto, but by deliberate interventions of other actors, usually organized groups, with the objective of expanding their influence in the life of a community, state and nation. Conversions by external faiths are inherently political, which is why they are backed by foreign funds, foreign evangelists and political support from foreign countries.

In the contemporary world conversions are portent political and emotional issues as changes in religious demography have been intimately linked to secessionist movements and partitions. Besides being deeply divisive of natal societies, conversions (and partitions) are usually achieved with violence and foreign interventions."

Sandhya Jain admits that the inspiration to undertake the study came from the persistent reports of religious political violence in the north-eastern states of India, in some of which proleletisation and religious conversion was



accompanied by the growth of separatist and secessionist movements. Her investigations have yielded facts, which establish that the political objectives of the separatists and secessionist movements are "linked to an agenda of religious conversion which is rupturing the cultural and civilisational unity of the native faith and culture". Evangelical intervention in the traditional social culture of India, she states, is a deliberately planned political campaign to bring about change in the tribal belief-systems and cultural mores which, "involves the rejection of the natal socio-economic tradition and community and transferring allegiance to the faith originating outside the national boundaries." The objectives, She stresses are evident. With foreign governments, "playing a proactive role in funding

evangelism and promoting it through a foreign policy and the intrusive activism of human rights groups", proleletisation assumes the form of a religious campaign for political objectives- a form of neo-colonial expansion under the cover of religious freedom.

A large part of the study is devoted to an in-depth investigation into the religious cultures of tribal peoples of Tripura. The inferences she has drawn from the facts and data, her investigation has yielded, has demolished many myths such as: (a) that the tribal cultures in India are an expression of a historical disconnect in the evolution of the Indian civilization and therefore the religious cultures of the tribal and indigenous people of India form a separate universe of spiritual experience; (b) that the tribal people follow religious practices which form a part of the pagan past of India; (c) that the tribal communities need to be insulated from their environment which is predominantly Hindu to preserve their autochthonous identity; and (d) the tribal people must be assured the right to religious freedom, to accept the promise of redemption that the Semitisation offers, to salvage them from their pagan past.

The study has brought to surface evidence of interlocking processes of social change in India, which relate the belief-systems and the ritual structures of the tribal peoples to the Sanskrit religious culture of India. The study uncovers the Sanskrit substratum of the religious culture of the tribal people. "In India," Sandhya notes, "natal faith traditions are viewed as a part of the civilisational continuum, and tribes are embedded in this larger civilization. Movement across the spectrum is neither threatening nor objectionable because there is an intrinsic unity of the civilization as a whole." Cutting through the conventional approaches to the understanding of the tribal cultures and the cultures of the indigenous people in India, Sandhya Jain formulates a new set of theoretical propositions for a more objective inquiry into the traditions, belief-systems and ritual structures of the tribal people in India. Sandhya notes, "Tripura's ancient tribes represent the coherence and the continuity of a living civilization, which embraces,

absorbs, exchanges values, with peoples and cultures that have arisen from the same socio-geographic matrix". In her search for a frame of reference, she turns to the history of the Hindu India and writes, "Hindus appreciate diversity as they accept similarity; and the absence of homogeneity does not inculcate fear, loathing or intolerance, much less the desire to enforce uniformity by eradicating cultural distinctiveness. A shared universe is quickly established with the threads of unity and multiplicity, and this is the most striking aspect of the description above. The religious beliefs, traditions and rituals of Tripura tribes reveal the integrated matrix upon which their culture and civilization is founded and a cohesiveness that embraces their non-tribal neighbors, whose beliefs, prayers and practices have been joyously embraced by the regions autochthones."

The study reveals that the traditions and rituals of the tribal communities and indigenous people in India are not pagan practices. The Sanskrit civilization does not have a pagan past. Pagan history is a part of the Semitic civilization. "Nor can we countenance academic distortion of the spiritual beliefs of vulnerable communities through the use of terminology such as 'animism', 'spirit worship', 'ghosts', or 'pagan', which have no basis in the idiom of the tradition being discussed, but are a part of verbal abuse by those seeking to exterminate an ancient way of life".

The promise of redemption cannot salvage people who do not have a pagan past. No Right to freedom of religion can entitle the tribal communities and indigenous people in India to opt for salvation by accepting the promise of redemption. Sandhya Jain rightly notes, "Dharma is primarily a matter of family, clan, social, religious and cultural inheritance. All human beings are born into a spiritual tradition and initiated into beliefs, customs, philosophy, tenants and taboos from an early period of life, just as they are provided with a family name, Jati and Kula at birth. Ordinarily a human being does not grow without a faith and then choose a dharma on intellectual merit or emotional appeal on achieving adulthood. The argument that an individual, born embedded in a faith has the right to

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the Supreme Court of India, the state government is still procrastinating implementation of the same.

The attrition on exiles has assumed the legal form guided by the perpetrators and collaborators of genocide within the government and the political establishment. The phenomenon is manifest glaringly in the return policy of the government. The policy is being used to force the victim to conform and submit, or face the spectre of abject destitution and perish. The recruitment drive for 'Kashmiri migrants' is basically a process to strip them of their right to live with dignity and honour.

What the government is doing is brazen. Its methods are goebbelion. Joseph Goebbels once talked about his methods in a confidential meeting with the German Journalists, "Up to now we have succeeded in leaving the enemy in the dark concerning Germany's real goals... just 1932 our domestic foes never saw where we were going or that our oath of legality was just a trick... we wanted to come to power legally, but we did not use power legally... they could have suppressed us.... They could have arrested a couple of us in 1925 and that would have been that, the end. No they let us through the danger

Re-defining Trust Deficit

zone.... They let us alone and let us slip through the risky zone and we were able to sail around all dangerous reefs." Kashmiri Hindus are being subjected to a new phase of genocidal attrition by an enemy (read J&K Government) who is thinking that it has crossed the 'danger zone' and can now wage the war with more confidence.

On March 8, 2010, a PDP legislator, Murtaza Khan introduced a Private Member's Bill in the State Legislative Council, seeking to deprive the daughters of J&K of their natural right to marry persons of their choice outside the state, and thereby snatch their right to own immovable property or inherit ancestral property in J&K, or obtain jobs with the State Government in case they marry persons other than State Subjects. The Bill sought to restore the pre-October 7, 2002 position that had been challenged in J&K High Court and reversed on the Court's Orders. In fact, the government should not have allowed introduction of the Bill in view of the storm that the similar official Bill had created across the country in 2004. But as it is the Kashmir centric Government hardly cared for the alienation of Jammu or else and hence the suspicion and lack of

trust.

It shall be too exhaustive and since is well known how the State Assembly passed the Greater Autonomy Bill, we shall spare discussion on the subject in this paper. But it shall not be out of place to mention that the State Legislative representation is skewed and heavily in favour of Kashmiris, and that too a particular section of the Valley due to gerrymandering and biased delimitation. Again, National Conference through deceit and chicanery obtained a highly biased Justice Sagir Ahmad Report on Centre-state Relations. The Justice Sagir Ahmad Committee was constituted by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as part of his Round-Table initiative. I refer to these two instances since Jammu and Ladakh have time and again out rightly rejected these proposals and want full integration of J&K with the Indian Union. Did the State government care? It went ahead and alienated these two regions further and hence the trust deficit.

It is quite clear that the successive Governments in Jammu and Kashmir have cared little about the sensitivities of its people, be that in Jammu and Ladakh, or be that those in Kashmir who don't

stand together with the handful Azaadi-wallas. And they have least regard for the sensitivities of Indian public and their representatives.

When someone asked why the Prime Minister of India did not mention a word about Autonomy etcetera in his Independence Day address, sharp came the reply that the Indian Prime Minister spoke what was expected of him. It should be borne clear that the public opinion in India is ready to accommodate but is not ready to either GIVE IN or GIVE AWAY.

It is also true that a shade of public opinion in India does empathize with the Azaadi-wallas in Kashmir, but a majority of Indians don't support their vision and misplaced priorities and sentimentality. Indian opinion is strong on J&K being an integral part of India, and can never support any fiddling with the nation's sovereignty.

It shall be a travesty to believe that the Indian mind is naive enough to believe that entire J&K wants to secede, because some youth are hurling stones and are ready to get killed, there.

Indians widely believe that the movement in the valley is patently communal and that besides public properties and the security forces,

the Azaadi-wallas have also targeted and vandalized Hindus and other minorities of Kashmir who are living as exiles outside their Homeland; and that they must be rehabilitated back in Kashmir.

It is also a firm opinion that Pakistan which is badly embroiled in sectarian strife, international terrorism, poverty, illiteracy and bankruptcy, is the epicenter of terror, an ideological state and a dying state. By acceding to Azaadi-wallas, neither the State and nor the people of India would let Pakistan get a fillip or a breather.

Isn't it obvious that the opinion expressed by the Kashmiri leaders of all hues on TV channels has been quite supportive of the Azaadi-wallas and that the government in power as well as other mainstream politicians of Kashmir have abdicated and left the playfield open for Hurriyat faction lead by Sayyad Ali Shah Geelani. Indian public opinion therefore is antagonized on the issue. And hence the trust deficit.

A strong opinion is emerging that Kashmir of today is an entry point for Taliban in a big way, and that Kashmir is fast getting sucked into an AFPak kind of syndrome; and that the Azaadi-wallas have made a mockery of it and pushed their beloved land into an impending disaster. The opinion makers as well as

the observers recollect with horror what Ayotollah Khomeini did to his communist supporters. It is also believed that Islamic fundamentalism is not a banner of victim people. It is a banner of the declaration of a war on all types of freedom.

The observers as well as the security establishment understand that terror operatives will reappear as they are waiting across the border and are a call away if state government's plea of bringing them back is accepted by Delhi. They are being branded as innocent youth who have been misled by wrong people, so to say, and have to be brought back. What an appealing argument! The so-called healing touch policy is now being mocked as a bleeding-touch policy. This is the trust deficit.

Whether Sheikh really had sought any help from the United State for translating his dream of Independent and Sovereign Kashmir into reality is now a matter of history; but what is being enacted on the streets of Srinagar has only widened the gap between the communities and regions within Jammu and Kashmir on one hand, and between New Delhi and Srinagar on the other. The nation is watching in the hope that Kashmiris would realize the futility of their masters' designs and come forward to bridge the trust deficit.

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arbitrarily uproot himself and cause hurt and injury to his natal family, clan, tradition and community is faulty and subversive of ancient societies." The Evangelical Intrusions exposes the perfidy. She records, "the contention that religion is a matter of individual choice is not borne out by the experience of human society anywhere in the world. This specious plea is in fact a legal subterfuge by those seeking to earn adherents to a particular religious ideology by atomizing human society in order to break and undermine traditions".

Evangelical intervention to induce change in the indigenous social forms, from outside their systemic boundaries,

'Evangelical Intrusions by Sandhya Jain'

poses a threat to the existence of the indigenous peoples and tribal communities in India. It poses a greater threat to the Sanskrit substratum of their tribal traditions and cultures. The fundamental issue, evangelical intervention underlines, is not whether India recognizes the freedom of choice of the Indian people to accept the promise of redemption for their salvation. The fundamental issue, evangelical intervention in India involves, is whether India recognizes the promise of redemption as the objective of social change. The acceptance of the promise of redemption as an objective of social

change by the Indian people, tantamounts to the abandonment of the continuity of the Indian history. The recognition of the continuity of the history of the Indian civilization forms the bedrock of the unity of the Indian people and their national identity.

Sandhya Jain has sounded a warning, "Our study revealed that there is merit in the conviction of Tripura's tribal communities that there exists a grand coordination between the evangelical and insurgent groups operating in the state. Equally their misgivings that the drive to win converts is powered by a political agenda, viz,

to carve out a separate Christian state(s) in the North-east, cannot be dismissed as utterly baseless, particularly after the carving out of an oil rich Christian East Timor from Muslim Indonesia in 2002. Evangelism in the sensitive North-East can thus pose a serious threat to India's territorial integrity, cultural diversity and civilisational unity."

The study is expected to be of help to the common reader as well as the researcher. To the former the study is expected to help in the understanding of the issues involved in the various processes of

evangelical intervention in the tribal cultures and traditions of the indigenous peoples in the North-East of India. To the latter, the study is expected to provide an alternate methodological model for the study of social change in India as well as furnish him valuable data and facts in respect of the "religious-cultural traditions" and demographic configuration of the indigenous peoples in India. To the scholar the study is also expected to give an insight into the processes of Semitisation of the Indian society, which has been going on this country, almost unnoticed, throughout the

years of its freedom. In India, the secularization of government and society is tilted in favour of the, "right to freedom of faith", more than committed to the secular integration of the Indian people on the basis of the fundamental right to equality. Both, the right to freedom of faith and the right to equality are enshrined in the Constitution of India. The cleavage between the right to freedom of faith and the right to equality as the basis for the secular integration of the Indian people, irrespective of creed and religion, is brought to surface by this study. A new beginning needs to be made to investigate into the political ramifications of the ideological conflict, evangelical intrusion in India underlines.

Pharaohs should know Kashmiris are irrepressible

J&K's noted historian and critic, **Mohammad Yusuf Taing** calls himself scribe. Taing, awarded by Sahitya Academy for his literary works, has authored over a dozen books in both Urdu as well as Kashmiri languages. While being passionate about Kashmiri language, Taing describes it "as our mother tongue" but calls Urdu as "our surrogate mother." His books cover a whole range of topics including history, culture and Kashmir's intrinsic literature. Moreover, Taing is credited for bringing to fore the forsake Kashmiri poetry of giants like GA Mahjoor and Rasool Mir. He is known for his proximity with late Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. Dispelling the common notion that he had ghost-written Sheikh's famous autobiography *Aatish-e-Chinaar*, Taing insists that he was just an amanuensis to what Sheikh wanted to say in the book. Read on the excerpts of a lively, at times heated, exchanged with MY Tanig held at *Rising Kashmir* newsroom on June 3, 2010.

Suhail Ahmad
As a historian how would you describe Kashmir?

Well, Kashmir is no less than a dynamic civilization. A variety of cultures have criss-crossed in Kashmir owing to its geographical position. Therefore we (Jammu and Kashmir) are a different civilization than what is now called India or Pakistan. Kashmir has deeper influences from Central Asia; we even find Egyptian and Turk imprints on our existing cultural milieu, and our psychology and our aspirations cannot be detached from our past. Kashmir used to be part of Iran and we have many words in our mother tongue that have root in classic Egyptian culture. The influence of Persian language and culture on Kashmir is so much that Saidee and Haafiz of Sheeraz appear more Kashmiri than Persian poets. But, it's unfortunate that except for few lines of Gani Kashmiri Perisa did not accommodate us; even Ghalib could not impress them.

Ishfaq Shah
In Kashmir history we see phases of both resistance and reconciliation. Where do you find Kashmir's poets and litterateurs especially during past two decades?

When Mughal conquered Kashmir there were many local poets who chose to side with the power. We still hear of people who used to eulogize the emperor and his feats. That was then. Come to recent past, we see giants like Mehjoor plying second fiddle to Ghulam Muhammad Drabu of Rajpore, who had launched a smear campaign against Sheikh Abdullah, then the most popular resistance leader, Mehjoor has noted in detail in his desires how he

would help Drabu against Sheikh. One cannot deny that poets like Mehjoor despite being poetic genius got official patronage. But what pains me more than these two aspects is the role played by our poets and other literary forces during past twenty years. It was for the first time in several centuries that over hundred thousand Kashmiris had been killed. It is the moral duty of a poet to represent the dominant sentiment; sadly none has done it so far. If you talk of poets and litterateurs we've seen more of reconciliation than resistance.

Nazir Ganai
Some people believe that the autobiography of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was actually written by you. Is it true?

No it is not true, The truth is I proposed to Sheikh that he should pen down his experiences for posterity and he agreed. But he sought my assistance. I worked as an *amanuensis*, which means Sheikh would dictate I would take the stuff home and get back with the tightened version. Though a great leader, Sheikh was not a professional writer. Yes, he would speak chaste Urdu but he needed someone to put together his thoughts.

Fayaz Wani
But you have been claiming for long that you are working on a book that would reveal what has remained untold in *Aatish-e-Chinaar*. What is that? When should we see the book?

Yes, I have certain hair-raising accounts. But this is not the time to publish. Many people are alive and you see the Abdullah dynasty is still in

power. I have deep relations with that family; I don't want to hurt them. But the details I have preserved for the posterity will hit the stands at an appropriate time. If Abdul Kalam Azad can leave a will that his diaries should be published thirty years after his death, I am a small fry, spare me little room.

Faisal Yaseen
You have been the Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir Academy for Art, Culture and Language. Why Kashmiri girls are asked to perform *Rouf* in front of guests from New Delhi or abroad? Why not show *Bhand-e-Pather* (Kashmir's folk theatre) or *Ladi Shah* (a genre of satirist poetry sung over a jingle bell)?

While I agree that *Band-e-Pather* I also believe that *Bandh-e-Pather* and *Ladi Shah* are unalienable part of our culture, I don't see any harm in cultural performances as long as they remain limited to the portrayal of our own ethos. We still respect Habba Khatoon and enjoy her poetry. Who was she? An artist. What brought her to the palace of Yusuf Shah? Her art?

Hakeem Irfan
Sheikh Abdullah has struck so many compromises at different stages of his political life; do you still consider him a towering leader of state?

Sheikh was released on 29 September 1946. That was the time when India and Pakistan were a reality, awaiting final announcement. During a public meeting Sheikh did not reply the question which way he would go; he sought time and said he wanted to study things. Historical details are witness to the compulsions under which

Sheikh chose India. But some people wanted to convert Sheikh's compulsion into a conquest. We too have Pharaohs heading different empires. If these Pharaohs think that they can crush our identity they are mistaken. They should know Kashmiris are irrepressible. It is the 4000 year old quest no power on earth can deny us what we want.

Ishfaq Mir
Did Sheikh hate Pakistan? What about 1975 accord?

I told you about the compulsions. Then there is attitude of Jinnah, who had dismissed the revolt against Dogras as a "ruffian activity". On the contrary, Nehru and Gandhi accommodated Sheikh concerns. In 1971 Sheikh saw Pakistan getting sliced and India assuming military superiority.

Raashid Maqbool
Pakistan is once again in a terrible mess but Geelani despite being a staunch pro-Pakistan leader chose to confront Pakistan over any secret compromise on Kashmir?

Yes, Geelani is a hero. He is actually a romanticist. Certain political leaders appear heroic in conduct when choose to confront even their friends for the ideals they espouse.

Imtiyaz Bakhshi
Was Sheikh Ahdullah the only leader who mattered? What about other big names around him?

Sheikh was a towering leader. The ones who rallied around him remained visible as long as they were around this great leader, once they parted ways with him history rendered them invisible.

Imtiyaz Teli
How important is Mughal Road to us?

Since Mughal have used this road it came to be known as Mughal Road. Powers that build or conquer something generally name it after themselves, hence the present name. The eleventh century poet Khemendar has recorded the name for the same road as *a Lona Sarai*. *Lona* for salt and *Sarai* for road. Being an off-coast region, we would not get the routine salt. The rock salt used to come via *Lona Sarai*.

Wasim Khalid
Why is it that the Sheikh remained people's messiah during his lifetime but turned a villain soon after his death?

This happens with all the leaders of his stature. Gandhi was killed by the people he stood for Nehru too doesn't have the same stature now what he had during his lifetime And do you think Jinnah died a happy death? That said, I still believe there are agencies always working in a conflict zone like Kashmir. These agencies create confusion among masses just to detach them from their leaders.

Baba Umar
Historical manuscripts and excavations of Kashmir have all along been smuggled to Delhi ever since 1947. You had been secretary of state's Cultural Academy for a long time, why didn't you protest?

I was the one who raised the cry few years back but I didn't get support. Our Gilgit manuscripts were discovered in 1931. Pandit Nehru took these manuscripts in 1947 saying that those were not safe in SP College as there was every possibility of war with Pakistan. Recently, when SP Museum caught fire, I said that this was a conspiracy. At that time a non-Kashmiri was heading the Cultural Academy. He didn't have the comprehension of the rich heritage of Kashmir.

Abdul Mohimin
You've recently claimed to be privy to some important documents to Kashmir's ancient period, but you want a guarantee that they should not be taken away from this land. From, whom do you seek a guarantee? You just said Nehru took away Gilgit manuscripts on a false pretext?

If there is no proper guarantee they should lie with us.

Abid Bashir
You have been saying that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah used to say on his death bed that Kashmir would one day bounce back to its oppressors. Could you elaborate this?

Sheikh Sahib was not happy when he was close to death. He kept on saying that though he had led the people of Kashmir towards a particular direction but some people think they are cleverer and would oppress Kashmiris. He knew Kashmir has its unique identity. I think those who claim to be the masters of Kashmir have understood this fact given recent statements of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.



By Prof. M.L. Kaul

Taing, a historian

It is a misnomer to call M.Y. Taing a historian. Mere trotting out of names of some countries with which he shoddily tries to tag the past history of Kashmir does not make him a historian. The reporter who posed his credentials as a historian should have enquired of him about the number and names of volumes that he has painstakingly scribed on history of Kashmir. Some write-ups that he has written on stray subjects relating the history of Kashmir do not lend credibility to his credentials as a historian. A man of tremendous education rooted in the culture of outstanding erudition and scholarship, unbiased and unprejudiced harbouring a rational approach to the treatment of facts and issues in history can define a historian.

It is absolutely absurd and erratic to trace the past of Kashmir to Egypt and Turkey. Civilisations do influence one another, but that interactive process of course, creative does not uproot a particular civilisation and its allied mores, myths and traditions from its own inherent fertilising sources. When Egypt and Turkey are the reference loci, it can be asked which Egypt and Turkey, pre-Islamic or post-Islamic, have pointedly imprinted civilisational discourse and trajectory of Kashmir. Egypt as an ancient civilisation after the conquest of Islam stands imprisoned in the opaque vaults of Egyptian museums. Similar is the story of Turkey which was conquered by Muslims as a thriving terrain of a highly flourishing civilisation. It is a fact of history that a band of Sayyid-sufis from Central Asian regions, persecuted by their own rulers, poured into Kashmir for safety and refuge and launched rabid conversionary campaigns with the active aid and connivance of the Muslim state power. But,

Mohammad Yusuf Taing as a proverbial case of 'greatness thrust on him' happened to zoom into the newsroom of the 'Rising Kashmir' on 3/6/2010 where he was interviewed by an array of new breed of reporters, perhaps, affiliated with the paper. Questions that were posed to him ranged from past history of Kashmir to Sheikh Abdullah's autobiography to the Sheikh's personality to his contempt for Pakistan to Ali Shah Gilani to identity and Gilgit Manuscripts.

it can never mean that Kashmir prior to that catastrophe was a bleak desert in terms of culture and civilisation and Sayyid sufis as proselytisers, benignly humanised it, though none of them Plato, an Aristotle, an Abhinav Gupta or a Kalhan.

To celebrate Kashmir as an Iranian colony or a colony of any other Central Asian Country is the reflection of intellectual disorder' in Kashmir. Taing may pose himself as a volatile and fractious exponent of it, but its origins lie in the lurking fear that Kashmir has a robust past with a well-entrenched history of culture and civilisation that precedes the Rinchen, Shahmiris, Chaks, Mughuls, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras. Gargantuan temple structures were razed and burnt and continue to be burnt and pillaged, books were ruthlessly burnt and continue to be looted and burnt, those with steely resolve refusing to accept Islam even at pain of death were forced out of their land of birth and continue to be, again, as a result of genocide, in permanent exile—all originates from the same abysmal fear of past.

As a direct consequence of 'schizophrenic vision' and 'perverted logic' Mohammad Yusuf Taing stands tip-top in the long line of those who project the Mughuls, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras as usurpers of Kashmir. But, what we glean from the pages of Kashmir history is that Rinchen who ripped open the bellies of pregnant women of Ladakhis, his foes, was a fugitive from Ladakh and was granted shelter in Kashmir. He treacherously usurped the throne of Kashmir. Shah Mir hailing from distant Swat bordering Afghanistan was meted out the courtesy of a guest. He treacherously murdered the chief minister of Kota Rani, the then ruler and usurped the throne of Kashmir through fraud and chicanery. The chaks as Shias hailed from Dardistan. Their ancestor

Lanker Chak was allowed entry into Kashmir by the then ruler, Suha Dev. His descendents, known to history as ferocious and barbarous, usurped the throne of Kashmir through political murders and wild intrigues. But, to a pack of votaries of so-called independence, the Sultanate period stands out as the dazzling island that ideally symbolises an eldorado Kashmir craves for.

It is indisputable that Kashmir has a profusely written record of history which establishes it as part and parcel of the cultural and civilisational mosaic of the Indian sub-continent. All vain attempts to Arabise and Central Asianise Kashmir will not fructify as roots of this civilisation are deeply embedded in the fertile soil of this country.

Hafiz Shirazee and Sheikh Saidee

Taing has made a special mention of Hafiz Shirazee and Sheikh Saidee whom he personally admires, celebrates and spots Kashmiri echoes in them. It is pertinent to draw his attention to what Dr. Iqbal, the last word on Islamic thought and wisdom, has to say about the Iranian Sufis. To quote Iqbal, 'there is not least doubt about it that Sufism is a foreign plantation in the soil of Islam which has flourished in the mental atmosphere of Iranians'. 'Ajamic Sufism' is his hateful coinage for the Iranian sufis as a genre. He detests it as abominable monasticism and labels 'wahdatul wujud' as blatantly un-Islamic. He has let loose all the bitter barbs and riles from his armoury against Hafiz Shirazee in particular and other Iranian sufis in general. He calls Hafiz Shirazee 'the theologian of the race of drunkards' and 'leader of the helpless'. He alerts Muslims not to touch him even with a barge-pole as he is an 'imp' of 'deadly poison'. As per Dr. Iqbal, Hafiz Shirazee was a 'sheep' belonging to the race of Persians, who were brutally trounced by the 'Arab Tigers'. Sheikh

saidee is no different. He belongs to the same race of Iranians, incorrigible deviants.

M.Y. Taing would be well-advised to carefully cultivate and re-form his proclivities and tastes for celebration of historically evolved tradition of native abilities, native imaginative faculties and native amazing capacities to think, craft and churn ideas. It is always better to be a part of that cultural and civilisational ambience which has been actively shaped and articulated by our ancestors since the primeval inception of our civilisational trajectory. That what was thrust on us by colonisers from Iran and Iraq through Qahran Va Jabran, (Baharistan) cannot be an essential of our heritage and identity perpetuated through the continuum of time and space.

Taing on poets and literattueres

He laments in high decibel that most of the poets and literattueres in Kashmir have not been carried away by a sense of false consciousness that has been deliberately generated on a wide scale about some historical developments of critical bench-mark. That a hundred thousand Kashmiris have been killed during insurgency is nothing but public posturing and playing to the galleries. He trots out with ease the same, concocted figure with a delusion of grandeur that has been manufactured and orchestrated by the chronic separatists who are brutally communal to their bonemarrow. As abject stooges of the failed state of Pakistan the Muslim separatists urged the people of Kashmir to donate their sons, mostly teenagers, to swell the ranks of Muslim Jihad and put a minuscule minority of Kashmiri Pandits in the front ranks of their firing line. The on-going proxy war waged by Pakistan is designed to annex Kashmir with a view to expanding its borders that are shrivelled and shrunk. The Kashmiri Muslim masses have been drawn into the

vortex of war against the prevailing constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir state. They must in their creative introspection cognise the paramount fact that they have been in tight chok-hold of the state structures, all levers of political and economic power under their strangle-hold and as such are the sole mastes of the state. The secessionist war that they support and actively participate is totally unjust and uncalled for. Crying hoarse about their identity, being essentially religious in hue is under threat and erosion, they must realise that in pursuit of majoritarian politics and perpetuation of their permanent and unchallenged hold on politics and economics of the state have stealthily conspired with the sworn enemies of the Indian state to put the Kashmiri Pandits to a genocidal onslaught as a result of which they have been deprived of their native land and as permanent refugees are grossly discriminated in their own country. The Hindus and other ethnic groups of Jammu region have been starved of development funds with the result they are poor, backward and beleaguered. The Buddhists of Ladakh openly revolted against the Kashmiri Muslim rulers who were seen in league with forces working out the conversions in their region that infringes upon their essential identity as a distinct cultural minority.

Poets and literattueres sensitive to the situation and happenings can justify their position only if they take a holistic view based on realism and separate the grain from the chaff. Pluralism, accommodation and mutual co-existence are mantras of the modern civilisation. No exclusivist and parochial ideology tinged religious can ever succeed and thrive in its designs and application.

Taing on Sheikh Abdullah's autobiography

The authorship of

Sheikh's autobiography has been a subject of raging debate. The days when the book was supposed to have been written marked the declining phase of the Sheikh's life, his winter period. As per P.N. Bazaz, his close associate turned his bete noir, Sheikh Abdullah had no love lost for books. But despite that, the fact remains that Sheikh Abdullah had an iconic stature and enjoyed tremendous popularity with the people of Kashmir. The metamorphosis of Muslim conference into National Conference, now considered a betrayal, was a mile-stone in the political history of Kashmir. All sections and strata of Kashmiri society unanimously endorsed his political and economic agenda with the principle of secularism as its main sheet anchor. The national manifestos issued out after protracted deliberations under the signature of Sheikh Abdullah had five prominent Hindu signatories. The Pandit organisation of Yuvak Sabha unequivocally declared National Conference as its frontal political organisation. Yet, shockingly, Sheikh Abdullah without connecting all dots maliciously dubbed Kashmiri Pandit as 'unpaid agents of India's and 'fifth column' on the soil of Kashmir. Kashmiri Pandits, a very vocal minority with tremendous educational history and background, called his remarks as sad and unfortunate, but attributed the detestable aspersions cast on them to the Sheikh's instinct of a raw Muslim. If Sheikh is the real author of his autobiography, his absolutely imprudent and unsavoury remarks about Pandits, a minuscule minority, bolstered a dismal culture of demonising small communities and more than most marked a full-length reversal of all that he had stood for through major part of his political life. If M.Y. Taing is its real author and not the petty scribe as he claims to be, such

(Contd. on Page 14)

(Contd. from Page 13) ignominious remarks are expected of him as he is a small time operator with his gaze ever rivetted to the cushy positions of pelf and power.

Taing on his own hair-raising account

His revelation of his own account of what has remained untold in the aatish-e-chinar, I am sure, will be much ado about nothing. If he has anything startling to reveal and divulge, he must do it here and now without qualms and without wasting much of time. There are people still breathing who can scan the content of each line of his that he writes. For the present, his statement to reveal all that what has not been told is a mere gimmick, pure and simple.

Taing on Sheikh Abdullah's compromises

Sheikh Abdullah as an instinctive politician had dreams about Kashmir. But, I believe, he had more dreams about his personal ascendancy. His dream of independence urged phenomenally when he found whole of Kashmir devotedly adoring him like a religious icon. When Pakistan became a reality with the absolute Hindu majority allowing it to happen, their land being viciously vivisected for nothing, Sheikh Abdullah read a whole meaning in the entire development. If Hindus of India could allow Pakistan to take birth as a Muslim state, he thought they might have no serious objection to allowing Kashmir its inde-

pendence at the mere exertion of political pressure cock-tailed with religious frenzy. Pakistan in pursuit of two-nation theory despatched regulars and irregulars to trounce Kashmir and annex it with Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh as the ruler of the state acceded to India and Sheikh Abdullah wholeheartedly supported it. The Indian army threw the raiders out and power was already in the hands of Sheikh Abdullah. Having kept Pakistan at bay, Sheikh forged and crystallised his strategies to materialise his far-fetched dream of independence. Those being the dark days of cold war he was immediately deposed and imprisoned.

Featuring the period spanning from 1953 to 1975 as 'lost in wilderness' Sheikh Abdullah as a hard-eyed realist entered into protracted parleys with the then Government of India and joined main-stream politics. The hiving away of a large chunk of territory from the state of Pakistan was a sufficient signal to Sheikh Abdullah that it was futile to bet for Pakistan that had enormously emasculated and shrunk. It was not a compulsion as Taing calls it. It was certainly a compromise that was necessitated by the prevalent political imperatives. Sheikh Abdullah made a compromise after due appreciation of his own position on Kashmir, the position that the Indian state had on Kashmir and the utility of Pakistan in furtherance of his own politics on

Kashmir. When critiqued by die-hard Islamists on the 1975 Accord, Sheikh Abdullah resonantly shot back, 'It needs a mightier power to extract Kashmir out of the prevailing political dispensation'.

Sheikh Abdullah, we have to admit, was fully tempered in the crucible of politics and thus had acquired tremendous finesse as a politician. His outstanding act of joining mainstream politics has a slew of lessons for myopic and skull-capped mullahs, sadly in strangle-hold of present day politics in Kashmir who are narrow in thought and vision and small in evaluating the maze of politics.

Taing on Gilgit Manuscript

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has numerous critics, real and imaginary, among politicians, academicians, intellectuals and swarm of plebeians. But, lo, here is a man named Mohammad Yusuf Taing who is extra keen to rehabilitate himself in the anarchic politics of Kashmir by raising the issue of the Gilgit manuscripts that were retrieved from the custody of those who have a history of distorting, destroying and burning of knowledge. What wrong was there when Nehru, a lover of knowledge and books, got the Gilgit Manuscripts removed from the custody of a library housed in a building that got engulfed in a mysterious fire? Nehru was an immeasurably tall person who was extremely aware of the historical and political importance of the Gilgit

Manuscripts. Those Manuscripts pre-eminently show-case the epic battle that Maharaja Hari Singh as the last ruler of Dogra dynasty in Kashmir had firmly waged against the Britishers who were extremely desperate to take over Gilgit which would serve them as a watchtower to closely monitor the movement of the Russian troops advancing towards the Central Asian regions that were in close proximity to the borders of British India. The **Gilgit Manuscripts** are away from the hands of predators and stand safely deposited in the shelves of Archeological Survey of India.

Nehru's act of shifting the Gilgit Manuscripts to the shelves of Archeological Survey of India perhaps dubbed as an atrocity has deeply irked Taing. But, way back in 1952 Sheikh Abdullah, his generous mentor, is reported to have got the famed Ranbir Library at Jammu cruelly denuded of 300 books, tomes, manuscripts and documents and got them deposited at the Lal Mandi library in Srinagar. Again in the year 1975, the same Sheikh as the Chief Minister of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is reported to have depleted the same library at Jammu through a chauvinistic act of shifting an oeuvre of sensitive and historically vital documents and administration reports to a library at Srinagar. Fida Mohammad Hussain, the then Director of Research and Libraries, is said to be the craven collaborator. How is it that M.Y. Taing is tight lipped, nay, deaf and dumb, about it?

The way the Ranbir Library at Jammu was vandalised by the powers that be earned well-deserved media attention and aroused much of public wrath. The Government of Mufti Mohammad Sayyid felt forced to appoint a committee headed by an eminent historian, Dr Hari Om to probe the reasons that necessitated the blatant chauvinistic act. Though the report of the committee stands long submitted, the precious collection of documents and reports are yet to be restored to the receptacles of the said-library at Jammu.

Taing on Ali Shah Gilani

Swayed by his poetic vein M.Y. Taing calls Ali Shah Gilani a romanticist. As a fellow-traveller of competitive communalism he has spirited away from drawing his actual portrait-Gilani is a first-rate Muslim fanatic who has destroyed Kashmir by giving legitimacy to gun, grenade and violence. As a blood-thirsty Muslim he has ellusive dreams of transforming Kashmir into a Muslim state. As part and parcel of a rabid organisation called Jamaat-e-Islami, Ali Shah whose ancestors migrated from Iran to Kashmir for shelter and sustenance has concertedly propagated Muslim Jihad against the Indian state that for him, despite a secular constitution, is Hindustan. As a thorough Islamist he is an inveterate enemy of secularism, mutual co-existence and democratic way of life. Hindus of Kashmir already demonised as 'fifth column' he got them looted, arsoned, tortured and brutally murdered through the terrorists belonging to the Hizbul Mujahideen, the notorious terrorist wing of Jamaat-e-Islami. Not thoroughly splashed in the media the hair-raising murder of Girija Tickoo was the handiwork of the same brand of terrorists. **She was abducted, raped for days on end and finally chopped into two equal halves on a wood-chopping machine.** Gilani's notorious thesis about Kashmir is that it will be a mono-chromatic Muslim state and part of Pakistan, though a failed state.

It is exquisitely ironical that Government of India has reportedly spent millions on his heart and urinary ailments. Leading the vicious militarised war against Hindus of Kashmir and the State of India he is provided a security cover by the same security forces who he screams at the top of his voice are an occupation force in Kashmir. The state government allows him to draw his pensions as an ex-member of the Legislative Assembly. One who wages war against the state is to be meted out the treatment that he deserves under the well-known constitutional provisions. Had he done it in a Muslim country he would have been

mercilessly butchered or put behind the bars for torture and beatings.

Taing as the secretary of State Cultural Academy

The heinous charge that writers, intellectuals and literateurs have laid at the doors of MY Taing has been the communalisation of the entire working of J&K Academy of art and culture. Moti Lal Saqi who has made immense contributions to the domain of Kashmiri language and literature has been a victim to the same communal ambience generated and patronised by MY Taing as its secretary. Saqi is bold enough to make a mention of the communal approach to the appreciation and evaluation of past of Kashmir. His diligent research on the subject of 'bronzes of Kashmir' was not included in the Kashmiri Encyclopaedia issued out by the Cultural Academy for sheer communal reasons.

As he enjoys patronage from the ruling dynasty in Kashmir he has been assiduously working for self-promotion at the cost of veterans who have added lustre to Kashmiri language and literature through their hardwork and creativity.

It could be asked why a comprehensive introduction by Prof. Toshkhani and ML Saqi is missing from the new edition of Parmanand, a very great poet of Kashmiri. Dr. Padam Nath Ganju was the first Kashmiri who had worked on Abdul Ahad Azad. The old edition of 'Kulyat-i-Azad' contained hundred and one pages of the said-work. But, now, in the new edition these pages stand dropped. Why? The latest edition of Nilmatpuran is denuded of an introduction by Dr. Karan Singh, an erudite scholar in his own right. Again, the Academy edition of Krishen Joo Razdan had an introduction by Dr. Baljit Nath Pandit, a renowned scholar of Sanskrit and Kashmir Shaivism. It has been dropped in the new edition of Krishen Joo Razdan. Abdul Ahad Azad's epic work of 'Kashmiri Zaban and Shairi' has been tampered with and many portions from the original manuscript have been deleted for reasons per-verse.



Kuldeep Raina, Gen. Secretary Panun Kashmir addressing a public meeting at Saraswati Vihar Bohri in connection with a mass awareness campaign launched by Panun Kashmir

The need for a Lalla Ded Lexicon-III

Prof. M.L. Kaul

Laya—The yoga-tattva-upanishad has delineated four types of yoga—mantra-yoga, laya-yoga, hatha-yoga and raj-yoga. Laya-Yoga as a recognised form of yoga has found a mention in almost all works on yoga. Laya-yoga definitionally is concentration on a deity while one is actively involved in the daily routine of life. The Kashmiri Shaivites equally accept laya-yoga as a means to attain identity with Shiva. In shaktopaya a seeker deems it an achievement if he succeeds in dissolving his mind (man) in chita. Layi-bhava as a lexical term conveys the same dissolution of mind in chita. But, to a highly accomplished seeker laya means immersion of a jiva in shiva as consciousness supreme.

Jnan and ajnan—These two terms have been used variously by all manner of Indian philosophers. Jnan, simply speaking, has two meanings, one is intellectual and the other is spiritual. Intellectual knowledge as per the shaivites of Kashmir does expand the understanding horizons of a seeker. It is incumbent on him to learn the use of logic and analysis to have a thorough grasp of the non-dual thesis of Kashmir Shaivism. The said-philosophy has intricacies which need be understood for sharpening of human intellect. But, intellectual knowledge is not the end in itself. It has to be tooled to achieve spiritual knowledge which like all Indian thinkers the Shaivite thinkers designate as real knowledge. So, Jnan, to them, is spiritual in nature and essence. They call it Shiva-Jnan and atma-jnan.

As Shiva and Jiva are of the same fibre and weave, a jiva entrapped by three dirts (malas) of anava-mal, karma-mal and mayiya-mal has to realise his essential nature (svarup) through Shiva-Jnan and atma-jnan.

The essential thesis of Kashmir Shaivism is that Shiva through his absolute freedom (svatantrya) forgets his essential nature to assume the form of a jiva. Under the wraps of forgetfulness a Jiva takes his not-self as his real self. It is lexically called ajnan. It can be said that false identity with human body and human ego is a ajnan. But, the Shaivites never comprehend ajnan as total absence of jnan. To them, ajnan is mita-jnan, little knowledge or limited knowledge. The concept of bondage they trace to ajnan, limited knowledge. Bondage (bandhan) is essentially for a jiva. Shiva is beyond any taints of bondage (bandhan). As per

the shaivites ajnan is non-knowledge of one's own intrinsic nature (svarup).

Sham & dam—In Patanjali yoga and other works on yoga sham and dam have been accepted as vital parts of yoga-praxes. Sham means to wean one self away from the worldly actions (karmas). Dam means to control the breathing process (pran and apan) which otherwise is involuntary. Patanjali defines yoga as '*yogash chait vriti nirodah*'. The yoga-practices like *sham & dam* are in concordance with the definition that Patanjali has formulated about yoga. yoga, to him, is to suppress (nirodaha) the innate and inborn urges, tendencies and proclivities of a man. But, the Kashmir Shaivites have moved away from the Patanjalian explication of yoga and phrased yoga as per their own conceptual frame. To them, yoga definitionally is *yogam ektavam icchanti vastuno anyena vastuna* (unity of a thing (Jiva) with another thing (Shiva)). The word suppression, nirodha, is replaced by unity, ektavam. The six-limbed yoga-praxes of the Shaivites called *Shadanga yoga retains sham & dam*, but stand oriented to a new nuance of meaning. Sham, therefore, is defined as **to stay put in a felt spiritual experience** after pacifying the worldly disturbances that ravage a human mind, Dam is to sublimate the breathing processes (pran and pan) with a view to submerge them in madhya-dham where the heart (hridai) lies.

In a vakh Lalla-Ded says that Shiva if He is to be attained does not need *sham & dam* (self-containment and self-control). It is a clear-cut reference to the suppressive techniques as envisaged in the Patanjali yoga. She for one was groomed in the Shaiva-techniques that are repugnant to suppression and regression of what lies in the nature of man as a living and existing being.

Chidanand—In Kashmir Shaivism Chidanand (chit and anand) is the essential nature of Shiva. Sat (being) is presumed when Shiva is formulated as Chidanand. As we have in Sankar vedant, sat-chitanand is the fundamental nature (kutasthasvarup) of Brahman as an absolute. But in the Shaivite structure of thought Shiva's fundamental nature (kutastha svarup) is chidanand only. **Chit** (consciousness) and **anand** (instinctive playfulness) are deemed as two in number, but in actuality are mixed up as milk and water. Lexically, chit and anand are prakash (luminosity) and vimarsh (I-con-

sciousness). Shiva as *Chita* (chitti) is beyond the physical world, to put it properly He is transcendental. But Shiva as anand is brimming with a deep sense of I-consciousness. Anand is the creativity of Shiva. The nuts and bolts of entire cosmos are the expression of Shiva as anand. It is anand that features Shiva as an absolute free being to will, create, know and act. The five acts (pancha kretya) that Shiva does is out of anand, His playfulness or sportiveness. In Shaiva texts it is expressed as 'kreedavilas'.

Maha-vreties-oum bhur-bhuva-svaha—

The *Gayatrimantra* begins with *oum-bhur-bhuva-svaha*. Its origins lie in the vedas. As vedas have been characterised as 'plexus of ceremonies', the mantras like *oum bhursvaha, oum bhuv svaha and oum sva svaha* are resonantly pronounced during the offerings that are made to the fire-god (agni). These three mantras are known as *maha-vreties*. But, the fourth *maha-vretya* is the mantra of *oum bhur-bhuva-sva svaha* which is uttered as one mantra in the wake of the first three mantras that are uttered during the course of a yajna. Having their origins in the vedas, the Kashmiri Shaivites have incorporated the four *maha-vreties* in their thought structure, but have oriented them to a new shade of semantics. Khemraj as an erudite commentator on seminal Shaiva texts writes that bhu refers to the world of objects, bhuv to the means of knowledge and svah to the humans, each as a subject. These three *maha-vreties* refer to the manifested world that Shiva creates out of His playfulness (anand). In Shaiva terminology it is also called vimarsa. The fourth *maha-vretya* of *oum bhur-bhuva-sva* as one single mantra alludes to transcendental Shiva in whom the first three *maha-vreties* remain diluted indistinguishably. The first three *maha-vreties* explain the world and can be lexically called descent (avaroh) and the fourth one is Shiva in which the world gets absorbed and can be lexically called aroh (ascent).

Vakh—Vakh if translated into English means a word that is said. It belongs to the Sanskrit word-hoard. *Bhartrihari* as a reputed scholar of linguistics has given us the concept of '*shabad-brahma*' to which he traces the genesis of words formed with the combination of letters in Sanskrit. But, the Shaivites of Kashmir have given us a theory about the genesis of word in concordance with

their thought imperatives. Shiva, to them, is the absolute. The word prior to its concretisation remains absolutely diluted in the ocean of Shiva's consciousness. But, His consciousness has its own dynamics which is lexically called vimarsa. The word at this level is known as para-vakh. As the world emanates from Shiva's consciousness, word also emanates from it only. The journey of the word starts from para-vakh, comes to the level of pashyanti, then to the level of madhyama and finally to the level of vaikhuri. It is the descent of a word, coming to the level of world where communication and contact are established through it. A word is a combination of letters from a to ksa. The word-hoard from a to ksa as numerous energies of para-vakh remain submerged in Shiva's consciousness. Their concretisation through the process of descent is the same as manifestation of the world from the dynamics of Shiva's consciousness.

Says Abhinav Gupta - Vakhti Vishvam abhilapti pretyavmarsena iticha vakh

Mala—It is a Sanskrit word meaning dirt or impurity. In Kashmir Shaivism it is a lexical word having a special meaning. Shiva as the highest subject has absolute freedom to act. It is through the instrumentality of *mala*, His own creation, Shiva assumes the form of a jiva, worldling with the limited powers to will, know act and cogitate. As per the Shaivites of Kashmir, *mala* is the cause of ajnan (malam ajnanam icchanti). A jiva is a bound animal (pasu) because of the malas he is trapped in.

Mala is of three types, anav-mala, karma-mala and mayiya-mala. Anav-mala is the limitation caused by Shiva through His wilful act of losing His absolute freedom and assuming forgetfulness of His innate freedom. Shiva in His inherent svarup (nature) can perform any act without any let or hindrance and without any external aid-materials. But, through His own divine will, He loses His absolute freedom and gets embroiled in the worldly acts of mean order. It is called karma-mala. Through His own absolute freedom Shiva emanates the universe from His own creative consciousness and is in absolute harmony with what He creates or emanates. But, because of mayiya-mala, He finds a dis-connect with what he has manifested. This is called mayiya-mala.

Malas are a limitation, in fact a plethora of limitations, which Shiva assumes to take the form of a jiva. For this, He

has no motivation, He may do it or may not do it. But, he goes on assuming the limitations to become a Jiva out of His own playfulness (anand).

Kashmir Shaivism has made a mention of seven pramatas (subjects) who are classified on the basis of mala they are embroiled in. *Sakala, pralayakal* and vijnanakal have all the three impurities in them. *Mantra* has two malas only, mayiya-mala and anav-mala. Mantreshvar and mantra-maheshvar have only one mala and that is anav-mala. Shiva as the only subject, despite His act of assuming impurities, has no taints or impurities that can inhibit His absolute freedom. The value that Jivas trapped in malas pursue is to remove the malas through shaiva-yoga praxes and recognise their essence as Shiva only that is, jnan or atma-jnan.

Tantra—Kashmir Shaivism in essentia has tantric foundations, but is not in any manner repugnant to the vedic stream of thought, lore and learning. In the vedas tantra as a word has been used as a loom (Rig veda and Atharva_ved). The Mimansakas use the word in the sense of a method for making or doing something. A word like *tantra-ukhti* denotes 'principles' or 'expositions'. The word *tantra* is also used for all types of works on subjects relating sciences. The philosophical meaning that the word tantra assumed refers to a 'scripture that spreads knowledge' *tanyate vistaryate jnanam iti tantram*. At a later stage tantra got hyphenated with mantra and came to be recognised as knowledge realisable through practices.

Kashmir has a protracted history of writing tantras, which could be classified as non-dual tantras, dual-non-dual tantras and dual tantras. With the strands of theoretical knowledge scattered over the whole repository of tantras the Kashmiri Shaivites wove their fabric of non-dual philosophy and finessed it as a thought-process through dexterous use of logic, exposition and subtle analysis. Sixty-four in number the non-dual tantras form the fundamental blueprint of the thought-structure that emerged from Kashmir the seeds of which were planted in the soil of Kashmir from the same thought, though of a different variety, flourishing in South of India.

The principal tantras that the Kashmiri Shaivites have commented upon and used them as source-materials are

(Contd. on Page 17)

BY VIDHUNANDAN LAL DAR

GOD IS CALLING : II

LOVE IS GOD :

Consciousness of God is love for the sake of only love and not for any particular person or a particular thing or any reason. Love for love only is a stage, which comes through self-realization only and not by any other way.

When you understand as to who you are and what gives you real happiness, you go into a consciousness which is love and when you are in this blessed state your body vibration changes into full harmony of body and soul. Such a person lives not only a life of happiness but spreads happiness all around him effortlessly or without doing anything. This is due to the vibrations emanating out from his body and all those who come near him start experiencing these vibrations of happiness and, to some extent or for some time, become happy.

Actually the ultimate aim of life is to attain this stage yet, in spite of all religious, philosophical and human efforts over thousands of years, only very few could achieve this and they had become immortal. Today we listen to their stories and enjoy these. We are so earth-bound that we do not aspire and those who do this lack determination. Hence we do not reach this stage and, are, therefore, discontented. The reason behind this appears to be wrong development of our ego or development of ego in wrong direction.

The very statement that we should try to love all is egoistic. Love is not what you achieve by any or some method. It is a happening and not an achievement. It just happens. You can only search a way and follow it till it happens to you. Real meaning of love and happiness is complete absence of expectation of a return or some reward or even a craving for recognition for what you have done or are doing. It is simply deriving pleasure or satisfaction just by doing it. For example, when you play with a small child or a pet animal or do something for him you just start vibrating on that frequency which is called Love, and, if you become oblivious of time and place, this becomes bliss. The reason is that you do not expect anything in return from them. You want to make them happy even if it gives you a little physical discomfort. Yet when that child or pet animal grows up you start expecting some love from him in return for your love, it is then that you begin to lose the consciousness of love because, if nothing else, you expect at least love in return for your love. Your body vibrations change because of the fear of the un-

known. You begin to face the Hamletian dilemma 'will it love me or not'? You enter into the consciousness of fear that takes you further towards the consciousness of anger and ultimately of hatred.

To understand this we must know the basic structure of our physical body. We are, as you know, actually a mass of body cells or, in terms of physics, atoms. Each atom, as is a well-known fact of physics, vibrates on a particular frequency and the last division of an atom has been hypothetically conceived as colour and smell. We are, therefore, made of colour and smell converted into atoms, which are vibrating. We look solid because all these atoms are vibrating at such a speed that it is not allowing us to see the separateness of atoms. It is just as in a moving cinema film we cannot separate one frame of picture from other but see it in continuity. We get affected by the vibration of other matters. We feel happy if these are in harmony and unhappy if not. It may be music or any sound - wave or electromagnetic wave or anything that exists is all made up like a living being - the mass of vibrating atoms. It is having a fixed nucleus while a living being has, as a nucleus, the soul which is evolving.

EVOLVING SOUL :

Basically a soul is an Ego-consciousness having a magnetic field of its own. Vibrating atoms form a mass which is around this nucleus and this is what we call bodies of living beings. There are actually two bodies of a living being which are intermixed with each other—the physical body that we see or perceive through our senses and the astral body that we do not see. This astral body is invisible because of a very high frequency or vibrations in its forming atoms. It is like the blades of a fan, which become invisible because of a very high speed of rotation. It may be clearly understood here that we are three persons at a time. First is Ego-consciousness, which is evolving through mind unconsciously. Second is the physical body, which is having, as its command center, the brain. The brain, in turn, is governed by a conscious mind and the third, an astral body, which is also governed by mind but by its semi-conscious part.

WHAT IS DEATH :

What we call death is actually the detachment of Astral Body from the physical body permanently. Here it may be clearly understood that after the

death of a physical body the astral body does exist and sometimes when the vibrations of the astral body are in lower frequency it is seen as an apparition or a shadowy outline. This astral body also dissolves itself in due course of time and only ego-consciousness is left. This is called astral death in metaphysics. Finally, this ego-consciousness dissolves in Super-Ego, which is Godhead and that is *NIRVANA*.

ASTRAL BODY :

Astral body is intermixed with your physical body like salt in water and so it is invisible. The astral body separates from your physical body several times in a day when either you are sleeping soundly or deeply absorbed in thought or when your mind suddenly goes blank. You may have experienced this many times when you suddenly become conscious with a jerk of yourself or when somebody nudges you to bring you to your senses that you feel and say "Oh! How much time has passed" or "Oh! Where was I ""This jerk is felt due to sudden and abrupt re-intermixing of astral body into physical body.

During our lifetime (physical existence) whenever this astral body is separated from physical body it gets connected with a highly vibrating line of atoms which can be called our lifeline because what we call physical death is nothing but the dissolving of this line into astral body. As the poet Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast says :

ZINDAGI KYA HAY?
ANASIR WIEIN ZAHOORE
TARTEEB MAUT KYA HAY?
INHIE AJZAA KA
PARESHAN HONA

In simple words this means that life is assembling or coming together of atoms and death is disintegration or scattering off of these atoms.

After both are separated the physical body dies and the Ego-Consciousness starts wandering in astral body and as it happens in all cases sooner or later another astral body which may either be of your dead relative or a friend or of a much more advanced Ego-Consciousness, which we call or designate as 'spiritual guide', comes and establishes contact with your astral body. This spiritual guide explains to your astral body the ways of Astral World. It may be interesting as well as informative to you to know that you also and always meet your spiritual guide even in your lifetime during sleep when you dream and make astral

travel in sleep.

ASTRAL WORLD :

Just like the difference between the physical body and the astral body, the physical world and the astral world is also a mass of atoms operating on different frequencies of vibration. Hence is invisible to each other.

As described in several books detailing near - death or after-death communication experiences, the books on mediums talking in a trance, planchette or auto-writing and our own personal experiences through planchette and auto-writing we have come to the conclusion that the astral world is what is described as Heaven in ancient scriptures and books of religion. The astral beings live there as we human beings live here. Their bodies, to them, are as solid as are ours to us though it may appear transparent and translucent to our eyes. The only difference that has been conveyed to us by several contacts through auto-writing is that these astral beings do not have any compulsion for food, sleep, sex or shelter. But due to the habits formed during the existence in the physical life these astral bodies do indulge in all this — for sometimes at least— for which they have the powers of materializing or dematerializing any object of their fantasy, till their desire or craving for these earthly habits ceases or that they realize the uselessness of these habits. Moreover, they have their spiritual guides who help them overcome these desires and also to arrange re-birth for satisfying a desire which cannot be fulfilled in an astral body or the astral world. The biggest desire, which cannot be fulfilled in the astral world, is the desire of getting recognition.

DESIRE OF RECOGNITION :

The desire to get recognition is a basic desire. One wants to be recognized as something by others, especially by those who are nearer to you and are in power. Most of our acts are propelled by this desire. This desire changes its objects of recognition from person to person and from time to time. As a child it is focused on parents. As a little grown-up person it includes relatives, relations and friends. As a young person it turns towards opposite sex and when you enter into the mainstream of life it is the society from which you want or expect recognition. All the "ego-consciousness" which is on an advanced stage of evolution re-incarnates either in human form or as pet animals to

satisfy this desire of recognition. And you are one of them. Otherwise you would not have been reading till here and would have closed the booklet after a few pages.

WHY THIS DESIRE IS

NEVER SATISFIED :

This is because you have not reached the goal but have stopped too long at one transit point, which you thought was your goal. You are like that long-distance tourist who stops in a wayside inn on the way and thinks that this inn itself is his destination—the end of journey. We have made this worldly society as our goal—as our Master—instead of God. We have voluntarily opted to be governed by the society—its norms—instead of God's Will. Therefore, in order to change this conditioning of your mind the cycle of life and death is designed. Thus, as already explained, this "ego-consciousness" re-incarnates itself to satisfy the desires which cannot be fulfilled in the astral body and the astral world and, as you should now understand, that all the time you squander or waste on indulging in to satisfy the desires of sex, food or a beautiful shelter can be satisfied more easily in astral world because of the power you acquire there effortlessly of materializing and dematerializing your fantasies. Hence, even our desire for sex is actually the desire to be recognized by the opposite partner. This is the reason we are never satisfied or truly happy.

HOW TO FIND TRUE HAPPINESS :

When you do not know something you have to search for it. This search of the unknown can be done by a process of elimination only because you will have to experience it yourself to know if it is right for you, otherwise, like religion which you accept without understanding, your belief in it begins to crumble as soon as you start facing problems or adversity. And it will because the religion, being man-made, cannot comprehend each and every situation. The only process, therefore, which happens to be the best, is that of elimination though you may try to get happiness anyway you can. However, do not stick to it if you do not get happiness out of it. Leave it and try something different. Do not stick to a particular way of life or object of love. If you are not happy otherwise, you will be spreading out all the wrong vibrations around you and creating an atmosphere of tension around you resulting in health problems of body and mind not only to yourself but to the people around you also.

*(The author is based at Naggpur).
(To be continued)

STONE pelting in Kashmir valley in turning to be a well paid business for the unemployed youth who are doing this for a particular price.

It is said that lakhs of rupees are generated through stone pelting, which are said to be funded by separatist organizations to put the situation in valley back to 1990's.

It was only examined when during the last few weeks hundreds of stone pelters were arrested by J&K police and after severe interrogation of these youth the secret behind stone pelting was unveiled.

Sources from J&K police claimed that during the interrogation it was observed that the back bone of the stone pelting is Pakistan and which through various militant agencies and separatist organizations have hired such youth for a particular price.

Police official on the conditions of anonymity said that these groups which include dozens of unemployed youth are paid heavily between Rs 6-7 lakhs. "Some part of this money is given to those youth who are the main players of the game. Who

Stone pelting a big money making industry

pelt stones and start pelting on police and paramilitary forces," police official said.

One more truth which was unrevealed during the interrogation was that these stone pelters were not only paid by the separatist organizations but also received funds from political parties as well, which is the main reason for stone pelting incidents occurring in a synchronized manner throughout the valley in all the districts during the protests. Police officials also averred that the exact money being pumped into stone pelting is not estimated yet; however it can turn to be in lakhs.

Spokesman of CRPF Prabhakar Tripathi said that the main aim of the stone pelting is to regenerate militancy activities in valley. "This is a new shape of the terrorism which is coming out in Kashmir. Militants also are trying to take re-birth in this kind of atmosphere and that is why several militancy related incidents have taken place during the protests," he said.

"Militants want to

reposition themselves among the people. In the last few years the militants had lost the support from public and by the stone pelting which are the job of the militant sympathizers, they are bit succeeding in getting the support. Stone pelting is directly connected to militancy and militants are trying to emerge and once gain on this soil which we will never allow,"

Tripathi said. He said that during the recent protests and demonstrations at several places grenades were lobbed on CRPF and police. "Similarly unidentified gunmen also opened fire at Sopore, Bomai, Pulwama, Saraf Kadal, Batamaloo and many more places. This clearly proves that the main aim of the stone pelting is repositioning of militancy in valley," he said.

Tripathi said, "Militancy is based on public support. And this is the best way for militants to get public support. Otherwise Syed Ali Shah Geelani had asked youth not to go for stone pelting, even though people came on

roads and pelted stones on CRPF and police in which 3 people were killed. This directly shows the master mind of stone pelting is someone else and whose aim is different and that too out of minds of Kashmiri people. "It is being funded by Pakistan and its agencies through Over Ground Workers and hawala channels," he said.

"There are a large number of instances of unprovoked stone-pelting by hostile mobs on CRPF that has left 1100 jawans injured and close to 300 vehicles damaged in the last one-and-a-half year," Tripathi said.

While talking to an Army official about the real truth behind the stone pelting he said, "There is a link with people across LoC, There is a link with separatists, and there is a link with militants. The main aim of the stone pelting is revival of militancy in valley and nothing else."

He said, "There is a direct involvement of Lashkar-e-Toiba and other militant outfits which on record have asked their over ground workers to escalate

this in valley. The common man is far away from the fact. The masked youth who are leading the protests are travelling from one place to another to encourage the protest. The latter killings of civilians for which police and CRPF have been blamed are actually credited to someone else. Unidentified people have been witnessed in protests that fire on civilians and blame cops or CRPF for the killings."

Meanwhile a divide within separatists in Kashmir over the issue is also worth discussion, which came to the front after President of Jamiat-i-Ahli Hadees Moulana Showkat Ahmad created a stir by coming out with a fatwa that Islam did not sanction pelting stones on armed security personnel.

He said that the stone pelting cannot be justified. "Islam is about discipline and if the leaders are asking people to refrain from stone pelting then they should adhere to these directions. Prophet Muhammad too has asked us to refrain from it," he said. But no one listened to this leader also because the persons behind all this took a new drama out of it and burnt his effigy and

posters on roads.

However, Chairman Hurriyat Conference (G) Syed Ali Shah Geelani claimed that incidents of stone pelting took place in retaliation to the 'tyranny of gun wielding troops'. If troops allow us to hold innocuous and peaceful protests, why would we take to stone pelting?

During his several media addresses he has urged the youth not to go for stone pelting. He has always been asking for peaceful protests," he had said. Just after his release for several weeks when he addressed media he again urged youth not to go violent and ransack building and attack police stations but no one listened to him and which caused deaths of 3 more within 24 hours.

The situation with stone pelting in valley is taking a bad shape. The consequences of stone pelting are seen on ground level. Dozens of youth are being killed, government property is under attack, government is not able to think about the developments and above all which point of concern for one and all is, hundreds of families are starving. (Courtesy: ADNI)

The need for a Lalla Ded Lexicon-III

(From Page 15)

Shiva-sutra, Netra-tantra, vigyan Bhairav, Malini vijayotra tantra, paratrimshikha, Rudra-yamaltantra, mregendra tantra, svacchand tantra et al.

It is pertinent to put that tantras do not present a thought process than can be construed as a finished-product of thought. They contain what we call as seed-ideas, which the Shaivite thinkers used to fabricate a full-fledged philosophical structure, which is well-knit, fully cemented, delicate in details and aesthetic in value.

In the words of Osho, 'where yoga ends, tantra begins. The highest peak of yoga is the beginning of tantra and tantra leads you to the ultimate goal'.

Sahasrar—It is the highest cerebral region above the end of susumuna-nadi and its filaments are red. On its pericarp is hamsa and above it is Shiva himself. Above all these are surya and candra mandalas. In the candra-mandala is a dazzling triangle where sixteenth kala of the moon resides. The subtle-aspect

of it is nirvan-kala within which lives Shiva and Shakti as para-vindu. The Shakti of para-bindu is called as nirvana-shakti which is light and exists in the form of hamsa (Radra-yamal tantra).

Shyashi-kala, Shyashi-rasa—After a yogi explores his nadis (nerves), he awakens his kundalini shakti at muladhar, which is supposed to be seat of Shakti. He traverses through the six-cakras or six-forests or six paths and raises his inherent powers, which otherwise lie in dormancy. Then he comes upon the Shyashi-kala, candra-kata (digit of the mon) residing in Sahasrar. A rasa, translated as manna in English, oozes out from shyashi kala. A yogi licks it up avidly which transports him into a state of rapturous bliss. Licking up of shyashi-rasa establishes the union of a yogi with Shiva and unino is ultimate immersion in Shiva's ocean of consciousness.

Many Kashmiri poets very much in the line of Lalla Ded tradition have frequently mentioned the spiritual union which they

might have in the wake of the manna that they enjoyed as an oozing from Shyashi-kala or Chandra-kala. Such poetry of these poets has been wrongly designated as 'sufi poetry'. Popularly nomenclatured as **shastra**, the Muslim poets followed the much-reverenced tradition of Lalla Ded who had linkages with the indigenous

CONTINUATION

inheritance of bhakti (devotion) and philosophy of Shaiva thought.

Brahma-randa—Its synonym is **brahma-bill**. It is situated at the upper part of Ajna-Cakra within the centre of two eyebrows. A seeker seeking self-recognition concentrates on it for direct entry into sahasrar. The Kashmiri Shaivas hold that brahma-randa is closed by the 'egg of shakti' which among other eggs of maya, prakriti and prithvi lies in a state of dilution in the womb of Shiva's consciousness. A seeker, who has awakened his dormant powers through Shaiva yoga praxes, can surmount the obstruction

posed by the 'egg of shakti' and enter sahasrar which as per Shaiva stipulations is nothing but the auspicious consciousness of Shiva.

Jin—It is a Pali word with its origins in 'Jit', as a word in Sanskrit language. The root of the word 'Jit' is 'Ji'. It is often used for Mahavir, the founder of Jain dharam. It is also used for Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. As Kashmir Shaivism has accepted many seed-ideas and concepts from Buddhism, the word 'Jin' as a lexical word for Buddha stands splashed through many a Shaiva-text. The word 'Jin' denotes Buddha who has conquered his senses which are eleven in number. The conquest of senses for any seeker is a must as it is a prelude to the quest within. Shiva, keshav, and kamalajnath (Brahma) form the trinity and Lalla Ded has placed **Jin**, the Buddha alongwith three gods of Hindu pantheon, thereby raising the number to four. As all these gods are the symbols of Param-Shiva's infinite powers, Lalla Ded in all politeness prays to them to remove the sickness of the world that has overwhelmed her whole being.

Semitic gods are jealous of one another, but the Hindu gods have no such taint.

Anahat nad—A sound is produced when two objects strike against each other. A river or a brook that flows on produces a sound. But, in a human body a sound is produced involuntarily without striking against anything. This is why it is named as anahat-nad. It can be heard by a seeker who has diligently trained his ears through shaiva-yoga practices. In Tantraloka, Bhagwan Abhinavgupta has made a mention of ten types of anahatnad. Bartrihari sought its origins in the '**shabad-brahma**'. But in Kashmir Shaivism its origins lie in para-vakh, which during its descent comes to the level of pashyanti, then to madhyama and finally to vaikhuri. A seeker has to withdraw his ears from sounds that are heard in objective world. He has to move up to the level of madhyama and then to pashyanti. During this inward journey he comes to realise the softer aspect of sounds that are gross. Finally he comes to the level of para-vakh which he has to concentrate on. It leads him to Shiva's conscious-

ness where all sounds lie submerged without having any distinctiveness.

ajapa hamsa mantra—It is directly related to pran and apan as breathing out and breathing in. It is in the **madhya-nadi** when pran vaya goes up from the **hriday** (heart) a sound like '**ham**' is produced and when it returns from dvadashant as apan-vayu, a sound like '**sah**' is produced. A man lives because of the breathing out and breathing in processes. As this process goes on non-stop, he is said to meditate on the mantra of '**hamsa-hamsa**', meaning 'I am that'. A Jiva is called a **hamsa** because he is ever busy in breathing-out and breathing-in processes.

This '**hamsa mantra**' is featured as '**ajapa**', which means that it is not meditated upon. At the level of a Jiva the sounds of '**ham**' & '**sah**' are grossly uttered. But, in the processes of inward journey the said-sounds lose their grossness and get merged in the luminosity of Shiva. So, in that case **hamsa** as mantra is neither to be uttered nor is it meditated upon. It becomes an indissoluble part of consciousness supreme.

- July 1: Barring protest rally by Asiya Andrabi and some minor incidents, situation remained generally peaceful as curfew and curfew like restrictions continued in major towns of the Valley. DC Jammu initiated action against three English dailies Early Times, Glimpses of Future and the Shadow for a story about a Hindu religious place at Anantnag. Terrorists struck in Sudhmahadev and killed a civilian. Two Army jawans were killed as an infiltration bid was foiled on Macchil sector. More para-military and Armed Police was withdrawn from districts to strengthen security for Amarnath yatris.
- July 2: Curfew was extended to more areas as 60 persons, including 23 policemen, were injured in fresh protests. Terming people of Kashmir part of 'my flesh and blood', Omar Abdullah accused PDP of instigating stone-pelting and warned 'perpetuators, instigators and facilitators' of violence of stern action. Arms and ammunition was recovered from Fatehpur, Rajouri. An HM terrorist, who was claimed to have crossed over after hearing about surrender policy and change of heart, has turned out to be a hardcore terrorist and was separated from his under aged wife and lodged in different jails.
- July 3: Four infiltrators were killed on LoC in Kupwara, though curfew was lifted from several areas, the life remained paralysed in the Valley amidst minor protests. A fake Sadhu Aman Khan of Roorkee, UP was arrested from Ram temple as he entered the temple on fake name of Aman Sharma. Two suspects of Handwara were arrested from a lodge at Ragunath Bazar. Eight Pakistani terrorists have reportedly sneaked into Banihal area. SAYSS bandh evokes little response in Jammu. Mirwaiz asked for political solution to Kashmir problem.
- July 4: There was semblance of normalcy in the Valley as police crackdown on stone pelters. PK expressed concern over Valley situation and demanded delinking of employment package from return at the earliest.
- July 5: Separatists march to South Kashmir was foiled as Valley witnessed curfew and restrictions. Omar Abdullah favoured opening of Uri-Muzaffrabad road for all people and initiation of political dialogue. Associate of an LeT district Comdr was arrested in Kishtwar. Mobile phones have also helped to trap terrorists as security agencies intercept their conversation.
- July 6: Army was called out and indefinite curfew imposed in Srinagar as four protesters, including a woman, were killed in fresh protests. Two BSF jawans were killed and a civilian injured as Pak Rangers opened fire in Pargwal sector. AK Antony said that infiltration attempts are on rise. PoK Prime Minister Raja Farooq Haider asked Pakistan to resolve "small and controversial issues" before sorting out the issue of Kashmir.
- July 7: Prime Minister reviewed Kashmir situation at a high level meeting and the Union Home Secretary GK Pillai was rushed to Kashmir as Army staged flag march and curfew was strictly enforced. Kashmir Bar Association president Mian Qayoom was detained under PSA and rushed to Hiranagar Jail. Omar Abdullah spoke to PM, HM and DM. Eight cops were attached in Anantnag killings case. Congress blamed separatists for creating tension Spl. DG BSF said that protest will be lodged at highest level for cease-fire violations as more mortars were fired on IB and tension grips border areas.
- July 8: Curfew was imposed in more areas as Centre talked tough and Omar Abdullah calls for 'All Party Meet' on Monday. Centre is mulling idea of initiating dialogue after normalcy LK Advani termed situation worrisome RDX and grenades were seized in Mendhar encounter as two to three terrorists are believed to have escaped from the encounter. Intercepts suggest involvement of Hurriyat in recent protests.
- July 9: 75 kg explosive powder and six IEDs were seized from Chatroo, Kishtwar while two HM operatives were arrested in Ramban with Hawala money. Three security personnel were injured in terrorist attacks in Sopore, Baramulla curfew was relaxed in light of Shab-e-Mehraj celebrations even if fresh transcripts suggest cross-LoC linkage to the trouble. LeT and HM Comdrs have been reportedly shifted to Valley.
- July 10: Terrorists gunned down a civilian in Doda while a terrorist was arrested in Kishtwar and arms recovered in Reasi. 30 stone pelters and a separatist were detained as curfew was lifted in Kashmir barring Pulwama.
- July 11: Two top LeT Comdrs were killed in two different operations in Kishwan, Kishtwar and Kalaklote, Rajouri while seven were reportedly at large. BSF lodged protests with Rangers for cross-border firing. Curfew was lifted but restrictions continue in Valley as NC. Congress MLAs rally behind Omar Abdullah and PDP ignores PM's advice to attend All Party meet. Army chief attributed present unrest to the inability to build on the gains in Kashmir. Ministry of Home Affairs calls telcos meet on SIMS misuse as 65% of sample survey suggest gross violation of verification directive.
- July 12: All Party meet asked for injuring into deaths and PM's intervention. Searches are on in Mendhar after terrorist' activity in the area. MHA talked tough on SIM verification in Jammu.
- July 13: An Army Major was killed and six armymen including a Colonel injured in Mendhar encounter as two Let terrorists are believed dead and four others are reportedly at large. Separatists march was foiled by restrictions as life remained paralysed on the Martyrs' Day in the Valley. The claims of alertness were dented as PM's fake Advisor was arrested after enjoying security and hospitality by Punjab and Jammu police alongwith his team. Army chief said that trouble in J&K is instigated across the border.
- July 14: Massive searches continued in Mendhar and an LeT Comdr was gunned down in Kishtwar. The strike paralysed Kashmir. On his arrival in Pakistan, SM Krishan said it is time to act against terror.
- July 15: Two more terrorists were killed in Beri-Rakh forests in Mendhar and recovered large quantity of arms and ammunition Pak violates cease-fire in Poonch sector. Life remained paralysed on the 10th consecutive day in Valley. A Colonel and a Major were among 11 chargesheeted in fake Machil encounter. Omar Abdullah appealed for peace. No breakthrough in Indo-Pak foreign minister's meeting as the two took diametrically opposite stands on Kashmir, terrorism and Balochistan even at customary joint press conference.
- July 16: A Major and two jawans were injured and two to four terrorists remained at large as the Beri-Rakh operation entered 5th day. An LeT terrorist was arrested in Kishtwar. Life remained paralysed on 11th day in Valley as curfew was reimposed in many areas. India described terror as the biggest obstacle in normalising ties; SM Krishna briefed PM as Indo-Pak dialogue runs into acrimony.
- July 17: A JCO and a jawan were killed and searches extended to Bhati Dhar and Thera Topa as army claimed that the besieged terrorists are trained in jungle warfare. Another LeT terrorist was arrested in Kishtwar. Army busted a terrorist hide-out in Uri and recovered arms and ammunition. Two JeM terrorists have been detained under PSA by Udhampur administration Valley witnessed half day's normalcy after 11 days as Geelani relaxed agitation. Omar Abdullah met PM, HM and Sonia Gandhi and demanded sustained dialogue at internal and external fronts and employment package for the youth as the leaders appreciated measures of handling the situation and extended full support to the CM.
- July 18: A terrorist was shot dead in Kishtwar while searches continue in Mendhar. Shabnan, the wife of recently killed LeT Distt Comdr Isaq Bhat, turned out to be a top terrorist. Two IEDs were detected and defused in Baramulla and Anantnag districts and searches were initiated in Garoora, Bandipore after reported presence of terrorists. Curfew like situations continued in many areas of Valley; the situation remained tense after a boy, who jumped in Jhelum in Baramulla alongwith two others after police chase, remained untraced. An Army jawan Jatinder Singh has reportedly gone missing alongwith his service gun from Kreri sector in Rajouri.
- July 19: One persons was killed and several others injured in fresh protests as the body of the missing youth was fished out. People alleged that the boy was pushed into the river by an SPO and demanded action against the SPO. LeT Comdr Zarr was gunned down in Bandipore. Beri-Rakh operation that continued for eight days as remaining terrorists reportedly managed their escape even as Army mooted permanent shelters and fencing to deny shelter to terrorists in the areas. Standing by his remarks on J&K, Army chief said that troops need AFSPA protection.
- July 20: Two terrorists and an Army jawan were killed in Sopore as uneasy clam prevailed in the Valley amidst curfew and restrictions. BSF foiled an intrusion bid in Pargwal sector. An Army jawan committed suicide inside a camp in Trehgam, Kupwra. Close on the heels of GK Pillai's disclosure in light of David Headly's revelations, NSA Shiv Shankar Menon, without naming Pakistan, said that the nexus between terrorists, official establishment and intelligence agencies is 'getting stronger' and "a much harder phenomenon" to deal with. After recovery of 13 SIM cards from four terrorists, police has decided to invoke anti-militancy provisions; one card belonged to Pakistani Company Jazz.
- July 21: Terrorists killed a shopkeeper and kidnapped a contractor in Kishtwar while an HM terrorist was arrested in Banihal. Life

(Contd. on Page 19)

(From Page 2)

65. Sh. Jawahar Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul of village Check-Wagund, Qazigund Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 27, A, Sector-A/2 Laxmipuram Chinore Jammu. 22/12/2009
66. Sh. Chaman Lal Raina (Reshi) originally from Khanda-Bawan/Nawakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 149, Lane-1, Shanti Nagar, Top Sherkhania Jammu. 22/12/2009
67. Sh. Shiv Jee Bhat S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Bhat of Dangarpora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 44, Durga Nagra, Jammu. 23/12/2009
68. Smt. Sham Rani W/o Late Sh. Triloki Nath Koul previously resident of Tankipora Dadikadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 27, Lane-4, K.C. Doors Muthi Jammu. 23/12/2009
69. Sh. Shibani Krishen Mujoo originally resident of Karapora Khushki Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of 1/125, Indira Vihar Old Janipur Jammu. 24/12/2009
70. Sh. Omesh Pandita S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Pandita R/o Krishna Nagar, Miran Sahib Jamm, previously resident of Karihama Kupwara Kmr. 24/12/2009
71. Sh. Ram Chand Bhan originally resident of Wanpoh Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 96, Lane-2/5 Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 25/12/2009
72. Sh. Vidya Sagar S/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Musa of Mattan Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Kashmiri Colony, Kartholi Bari Brahamana, Jammu. 25/12/2009
73. Smt. Santosh Raina W/o Sh. Moti Lal Raina R/o Bonapora Akingam, Anantnag Kmr; presently

residing at Qtr. No: 325, Mishriwlla Camp Jammu. 25/12/2009

74. Sh. Prithvi Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Koul originally resident of Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently resident of Lane No: 1, Sector-2, H.No: 24-A, Laxmi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 26/12/2009
75. Smt. Gourishori Wattal W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Wattal of 46-1A, East Ext. Trikuta Nagar, Jammu originally resident of Kralayar Rainawari Sgr. 27/12/2009
76. Sh. Manmohan Kaul (Achkan) (R/o Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently resident of 703, Kapoor Tower, Jesa Park Bajander (Est) Mumbai. 28/12/2009
77. Smt. Raj Laxmi Nagari, W/o Late Sh. R.K. Turki

12/2009

81. Smt. Rajdulari Wali W/o Sh. S.N. Wali originally resident of Kanya Kadal Sgr; presently putting up at 112-P, Sector-7, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 30/12/2009
82. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Labroo S/o Late Sh. S.N. Labroo of Bul-Bul-Lankar-Alikaal, Kmr; presently residing at Patiyala Punjab. 30/12/2009
83. Smt. Deviki Koul (Waffa) W/o Late Sh. D.N. Koul of Bagh Jogilankar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 203, Kashmiri Colony, Vitasta Enclave Paprawat Road, Najafgarh, New Delhi. 30/12/2009
84. Smt. Shobawati Lidoo W/o Late Sh. Poshkar Nath Lidoo originally resident of Village Karagam Handwara Kmr; presently resident of Ganesh Vihar Patoli Brahmna, Jammu. 31/12/2009
85. Smt. Asha Ji Koul W/o Rattan Lal Koul of village Sombruna Anantnag Kmr; presently putting up at TRT No: 12, Block-E, Buta Nagar, Jammu. 31/12/2009
86. Sh. Satish Kumar Koul S/o Sh. P.N. Koul R/o Zaloor Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 162, Lane-2, Roop Nagar Enclave-A, Jammu. 31/12/2009
87. Smt. Kamla Kachroo W/o Late Pt. J.N. Kachroo resident of Flat 4-B, 202 Wispering Palma, Lokhandwala Kandiwali East Mumbai, erst-while resident of Natipora Sgr. 31/12/2009
88. Sh. Bushan Lal Dhar S/o Late Sh. Lambudhar Nath Dhar of Sagam Koker Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 870, Phase-IIIrd, Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 31/12/2009

THOSE WHO LEFT US

resident of H.No: 150, Lane-1 Lower Shanti Nagar, Top Jammu. 28/12/2009

78. Smt. Shobawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Niranjan Nath Bhat of Village Drussu Pulwama Km; present residing at Qtr. No: 13-F, Company Bagh Jewel Chowk, Jammu. 29/12/2009
79. Sh. Triloki Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Nath Ram Pandita originally resident of Tachloo Shopian Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 9, Lane-7, Netar Kothian Lower Barnai Bantalab Jammu. 29/12/2009
80. Sh. Moti Lal Dhar S/o Late Sh. Prathvi Nath Dhar R/o Langate Handwara Kmr; presently resident of 2133 Janta Flats GTO Enclave, Nand Nagri Dilshad Garden, New Delhi. 29/

(From Page 18)

- July 22: Two terrorists were killed in an encounter in Handwara, Kupwara. Terrorists have shot dead kidnapped contractor. The contractor had been tortured and beheaded and his body was recovered from forests in Liddheri area. Curfew was lifted in Baramulla and Sopore and restrictions eased elsewhere as there was relative clam. The Valley. NC Working Committed favoured talks with separatists, autonomy, release of political detainee but asked for dealing firmly with destabilising forces.
- July 23: An Army jawan was killed and a Naib Subedar injured in a blast near LoC in Mendhar sector. Army and police recovered a large quantity of explosives in Banihal and thwarted a terror-plot to target Amarnath Yatra. Valley was put again under curfew and restriction to foil the March to Khanqah-e-Molla by Geelani's Hamid. BSNL deactivated 4 lac pre-paid connections as the subscribers did not turn up for re-verification.
- July 24: Four CRPF jawans were injured in a grenade attack on their bunker at Batmaloo, Srinagar. Curfew was lifted after signs of improvement even though Hurriyat-G called for another week of shut down. In his address to National Development Commission (NDC), CM Omar Abdullah reiterated pursuing inclusive dialogue with diverse political opinion in the state alongside negotiations with Pakistan and amendments to AFSPA to rebuild trust and faith in young hearts and minds. EPICs have once again

reached terrorists who use them for SIM cards and shifting hide-outs.

- July 25: An LeT terrorist, arrested for shooting at a youth in Punzla, Baramulla, allegedly committed suicide in police lock-up. In last three weeks, Valley observed first full day normal life. After rehabilitation policy for surrendered terrorists, proposed policy for the terrorist across LoC and border, J&K government has sought clearance for rehabilitation of 20,000 ex-militants. NHRC has sought full jurisdiction in J&K.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- July 26: An HM terrorist was killed and his associate injured in an encounter at Anyar in Marwah, Kishtwar. 15 people were injured as strike crippled life again in Valley. 18 GCTVs commissioned at Katra, and Bhawan. CM Omar Abdullah said that he always raised voice of J&K people in Delhi and is not a person who speaks one language in Delhi and another at Srinagar. The leaked documents titled 'The War Logs' suggest that ISI support continues to Taliban even as the US pumps billions as aid to its key ally in war against terror.
- July 27: A cop shot at and injured two of his colleagues inside an SoG camp in Pattan, Baramulla. Following Geelani's calander, normal life returned to Valley for a day. The Government Constituted Commission of Inquiry (COI) to probe recent civilian casualties. The two member commission headed by Justice (Retd.) Basher-ud-Din and Justice (Retd.) Y.P. Nargotra as its members will submit its report within three months. The cabinet also approved a relief package of one lakh and employment of Rs five lakh to the next of kin of the civilians killed since June 11, 2010 as one time exception. The LoK Sabha was informed that 740, ultras

tried to infiltrate into J&K since January 2009.

- July 28: Six OGWs were arrested from Shopian district. A cop, arrested under NDPS Act, escaped police custody and the alleged conspirator-cop was suspended and arrested. Strike again paralysed life in Valley. Omar Abdullah said that when democratic means are available to register protests there is no reason of perpetrating violence and putting general public to hardships and difficulties.
- July 29: Violence continued across Kashmir Valley as PDP locked 'Civil Sect' to protest against the alleged continuous "siege" by the government on people of Kashmir. Pak CDs on making IEDs were recovered on the behest of two Kashmir terrorists, arrested from a lodge at Ragunath Bazar, Jammu. The terrorists had tried to pose as computer students. Two cop who had escaped from police custody was re-arrested. British Prime Minister David Cameron said that existence of terror groups like Let on Pakistani soil was "not acceptable" and it must eliminate them to end terrorism in India.
- July 30: Four people were killed and 70 people including security men, were injured in violence across Kashmir valley where public property was damaged by the violent protestors. Acknowledging the situation was not yet normal, P.Chidambaram said that Centre is ready to talk to anyone. Going tough on SIM card fraud, police was asked to book the dealers under stringent laws.
- July 31: Curfew failed to prevent violence as two more people were killed in firing and public property, including Rly Station, Security Camps, IAF vehicle set on fire. An infiltration bid was foiled in Krishan Ghati sector as Pakistani again violated cease-fire to push infiltrators. After seizure of SIM cards from terrorists, Airtel and Aircel dealers were booked by CI wing of J&K police.

Brief of the press statement issued by Panun Kashmir to the media during the media interaction addressed by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, Dr. M.K. Teng Chairman Advisory Panun Kashmir, Sh. O .N. Trisal, senior leader and President ASKPSC and Sh. Kuldeep Raina, Gen. Secretary Panun Kashmir at Jammu on 27-7-2010.

PANUN KASHMIR looks with utmost concern the deteriorating situation in the Kashmir valley. No organ of the society there seems to have been left unaffected by the ongoing separatist, secessionist campaign.

The race of competitive secessionism and communalism has been on full display in the valley for quite some time now. The cycles of public frenzy being generated there have almost crippled the functioning of the government.

The reports appearing in the public sphere, from time to time, underline the possibility of a widespread collusion between the separatist forces leading the campaign in the valley with elements operating within the administration and mainstream political establishment.

Also the reports of infiltration from across the border and LoC are pouring in almost on daily basis. The possibility of replenishment of terrorist cadres as well as their weaponry and other logistics has enlarged significantly in the current environment in the state as well as the region. The situation seems to be pregnant with the possibility of one more ghastly mischief by the terrorist regimes operating in the state.

The situation in the valley appears to us to be worse than that existed when massacres of Hindus at Sangrampora, Wandhama or Nadimarg, took place. In such a situation it is baffling for us to understand as to why the state government is persisting with its policy of implementing the Prime Minister's employment package only if Kashmiri Hindus agree to return to the valley.

In the eventuality of any mishap, both the state and central governments are liable to be charged with willful negligence and they cannot hide behind the written undertakings being forced on the Kashmiri Hindu candidates selected for recruitment in the valley.

We want the state government and the central government to impartially take stock of the situation and not brush our legitimate apprehensions below the carpet. We appeal to the chief Minister of Jammu



(From L to R) Sh. Kuldeep Raina, Sh. O.N. Trisal, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo & Dr. M.K. Teng addressing media persons at Jammu.

and Kashmir and the prime Minister of India to realize the gravity of the situation and intervene decisively by delinking the employment package for displaced Kashmiri Hindus from return to the valley and shift all the new posts created to Jammu where the situation is stable as well as secure.

Press statement issued by Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman, Panun Kashmir on 29.7.2010

KS Correspondent

REPORTS appearing in the press that the state government has refused to implement that part of the Prime Minister's employment Package for the displaced Kashmiri Hindus for which it has to bear the expenses once again exposes the perfidy and the bias of the mindset guiding its policies with regard to internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus.

The State government has taken the plea as per the reports that it is doing so because of the limitations imposed on it by the state constitution as well as lack of financial resources. The approach underlines an ideology of exclusion and brazen communalism. Does the state government not consider Kashmiri Hindus as the bonafide subjects of the state? Which provision of the state constitution imposes a restriction on the state government to employ Kashmiri Hindus in the government services?

The contention of the state government that it does not have the financial resources to implement the Prime Minister's employment package is no less communal and biased. The state government has no dearth of financial resources when it declares to employ thousands of Kashmiri youth who have been involved in terrorism as well as the stone pelters who have launched a quit Kashmir movement in the state.

We urge the government of India to understand the implications of the policies pursued by the state government with regard to internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus. On one hand it is using the financial resources kept at its disposal by the Government of India for the employment of Kashmiri Hindus to coerce them to submit to the political imperatives pursued by national conference and return to valley at the will and mercy of the very forces which pushed them out. And at the same time it is shame

facely refusing to bear any responsibility to ameliorate the plight of the displaced Kashmiri Hindus. The state government seems to have virtually started the process of declaring Kashmiri Hindus as non- state subject.

It is high time the Government of India realizes that the cardinal features of the state government vis a vis Kashmiri Hindus have been to perpetuate destitution amongst them as well as

exclude them from all spheres life in the state. By perpetuating destitution the state government has only tried to undermine the will of Kashmiri Hindus to stand up to communal separatism in the state. By abdicating its responsibility to come to the help of the displaced persons by citing misplaced and false administrative or constitutional reasons the state government seeks to push Kashmiri Hindus out of the state permanently.

"Vision Kashmir reiterates Homeland Demand"

KS Correspondent

VISION KASHMIR on Wednesday reiterated its demand for separate Enclave for Kashmiri Pandits with autonomous administrative and political region instead of being scattered through the dangerous environs without any physical, social and economic security. In a meeting of its executive committee held here today, Convener Vision Kashmir- Sunil Fotedar said that keeping in view the continuous worsening situation in Kashmir, it was imperative that KPs should be given their due share on their land of birth. He also cautioned the KP organization for claiming credit for the recent special recruitment of community youth. Secretary of Vision Kashmir- Sanjay Chowgami also spoke on the occasion.

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