

## Return Process Only A Grave Refoulment



By. Dr. Ajay Churungoo

**THE** state government notification, for recruitment of displaced Kashmiri Hindus (Kashmiri Migrants) as per the Prime Minister's package, incorporates a new definition of who is a 'Migrant', which has profound implications. This definition when read together with the 'agreement' which the selected candidate has to sign provides a comprehensive picture of the mindset of the state government.

As per the notification 'Migrant Means A Person' who "has migrated from Kashmir valley after 1st November, 1989 and is registered as such with the Relief Commissioner or has not

conditions and includes an internally displaced person, for the purpose of the clause an internally displaced person means a person who had to migrate within valley from his original place of residence in Kashmir valley for reasons of security and is registered as such with the Relief and Rehabilitation Commissioner Migrants." The state government while starting the recruitment process for the Prime Minister's package has chosen to modify the

### COVER STORY

in Kashmir valley for reasons of security and is registered as such with the Relief and Rehabilitation Commissioner Migrants." Till now the state government recognized only those as migrants, who had migrated from valley after November, 1989. Now it seeks to recognize persons living in valley, who have shifted from one place of valley to the other for security reasons, also as migrants.

government had committed the financial assistance as per the Prime minister's package, news papers in Jammu reported on several occasions the decision of the state cabinet to go ahead with the recruitment drive. People in Jammu were baffled as to why the same decision was being taken repeatedly by the government. After one such news paper report, that the state government has decided to go ahead with the recruitment drive, a group of Kashmiri Hindu activists were reportedly prodged by a journalist friend to go to the Revenue Minister to thank him for the same. The activists reportedly met the Minister who told them that no such decision had been taken by the state cabinet till then and also informed them that they had a wrong notion that they were the only migrants. He reportedly told them that Kashmiri Pandits constituted only a small fraction of migrants of Kashmir and they should not expect more than a few hundred jobs. The activists' delegation returned dejected after meeting the Minister and complained to their journalist friend who had arranged for the meeting. While discussing the issue at Press club a Congress leader, who happened to be there, reportedly told



An evening at a refugee camp in Jammu.  
Paint on Canvas, a 2002 painting by Sh. Verender Sumbly.

--Courtesy: e magazine Shejar

*The new definition empowers the government to recruit persons amongst the locals in the valley for the Prime Minister's package which was essentially devised for persons displaced from the valley.*

*When the displaced population was named as 'migrant' it was an act of 'legal' attrition seeking to dispossess the victim even the sympathy of the population willing to help and deprive them of the help of any proper legal framework which could have guided the government policies.*

been so registered on the ground of his being in service of Government in any moving office, or having left the valley or any other part of the State in pursuit of occupation or vocation or otherwise and is possessed of immovable property at the place from where he has migrated but is unable to ordinarily reside there due to the disturbed

definition of the 'migrant' which guided the policy of the state government so far.

The new definition for migrants incorporates the following qualification, ".... and includes an internally displaced person, for the purpose of the clause an internally displaced person means a person who had to migrate within valley from its original residence

A story, which is in circulation amongst the displaced Kashmiri Hindus in Jammu, may help us to understand the purpose and purport of the modification in the definition of the 'migrant'. Before the state cabinet eventually decided to start the recruitment drive for around 3000 posts for the 'Migrants', for which central

them that the State Cabinet had in fact discussed the issue but the NC leader and the senior Cabinet Minister Abdul Rahim Rather had opposed the move vehemently and also suggested that the Kashmiri Hindus were not the only migrants and there were many migrants living in the

(Contd. on Page 9)



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

1. Sh. Prem Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Sudharshan Bhat of Hawal Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at Ekta Vihar, H.No: 39, Lane-1, Gangyal Jammu. 27/8/2009

2. Sh. Mohan Krishen Trisal originally resident of Banamohalla Sgr; presently residing at 1/10 Vikas Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 27/8/2009

3. Smt. Jai Kishori Koul W/o Late Sh.M.N. Koul of 82 Dadikadal Tankipora Sgr; presently residing at 34-Amar Colony Bantalab Jammu. 27/8/2009

4. Sh. Chaman Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Saligram Kaul R/o 37-Mohinder Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 28/8/2009

5. Smt. Basanti Koul W/o Sh. Soom Nath Koul originally resident of Nagam, Chadoora Budgam Kmr; presently residing at Plot No: 31, Sec. 2, EWS Colony, Roop Nagar, Jammu. 28/8/2009

6. Sh. Dawarika Nath Jotshi S/o Late Pt. Radha Krishen Jotshi originally residentof Bul-Bul Lanker Sgr; presently residing at Rohi Morh-Meera Sahiba Road, Jammu. 29/8/2009

7. Smt. Arandhati Sapru W/o Late Sh. B.N. Sapru originally resident of Drabiyar, presently living at C-130 Saraswati Kunj, Patpar Ganj, Delhi. 29/8/2009

8. Smt. Susheela Misri W/o Sh. J.L. Misri of Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 27, Sector-IB, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 30/8/2009

9. Prof. P.N. Kaul of Banamohalla Sgr;presently residing at C-231, Indira Nagar, Lucknow (UP). 30/8/2009

10. Smt. Reeta Ji Koul (Padroo) W/o Sh. Chaman Lal Padroo originally resident of Bhoori Kadal Sgr; presently resident of Wazir Lane, Bohri Talab Tillo, Jammu. 30/8/2009

11. Smt. Babli Pandita W/o Sh. Omkar Nath Pandita originally resident of Hakcharpora, Kupwara Kmr presently residing at H.No: 133, Lane-2 Saraswati Vihar Near Roop Bawan Temple, Burnai, Jammu. 31/8/2009

12. Sh. Arjan Nath Budk S/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Budki of Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 109, Ambica Vihar Camp Gole Gujral Jammu. 31/8/2009

13. Sh. P.N. Bhat S/o Late Sh. Shiv Ram Bhat of Noorpora Tral Kmr; presently residing at Jammu. 31/8/2009

14. Sh. AK Nehru S/o Late Sh. Madsodhan Nehru originally residentof Aragam Bandiore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 47, Lane-5, Manorama Vihar, Patta Bohri Jammu. 1/9/2009

15. Smt. Lakshmishori Tickoo W/o Late Sh. Lakshman Dass Tickoo originally resident of Bijbehara Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 33-A, Lane-2, Barat Nagar Bantalab, Jammu. 1/9/2009

16. Smt. Chand Rani W/o Late Sh. Arjun Nath Raina of Mattan, Martand Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Purkhoo Camp, Phase-III Jammu. 1/9/2009

17. Sh. Opinder Koul S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul of Magam, Pahalgam, Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 13, Phase-1st, Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 1/9/2009

18. Smt. Payari Ji W/o Sh. S.N. Pandita originally resident of Sopore Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 79, Lane-7, Manorama Vihar Bohri Jammu. 2/9/2009

19. Sh. Mohan Lal Razdan S/o Late Madhov Joo Razdan of Nai Sarak, Malayar Sgr; presently residing at 530B, Tirath Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 2/9/2009

20. Sh. Brij Lal Wangoo S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Wangoo of village Traperpora Shopian (Kmr) presently resident of Vinayak Nagar Ext. Muthi Jammu. 4/9/2009

21. Mrs. Usha Raina Mahaldar W/o Sh. Gopi Nath Raina (Beera) originally resident of 07 Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently resideint of Dilshad Garden/ Shadra, Delhi. 4/9/2009

22. Smt. Krishna Kachroo W/o Sh. M.L. Kachroo formerly resident of Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently resident at New Zealnd/Singapore. 4/9/2009

23. Sh. Hari Krishen Koul S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Koul originally resident of Chattabal/ Rawalpora Sgr; presently resident of Pune. 4/9/2009

24. Sh. R.K. Khushoo S/o Late Gobind Ram Khushoo of 3rd Bridge Malik Angan Sgr; presently resident of Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 5/9/2009

25. Dr. B.L. Fotedar S/o Late Sh. Ganesh Dass Fotedar of Chalpan Kocha, Gankhan, Zainakdal Sgr presently residing at 312/JMC-1044, Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 6/9/2009

26. Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita S/o Sh. Nath Ram R/o

Water Khani Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 438, Lane-II, Hazuri Bagh Bohri Jammu. 6/9/2009

27. Smt. Chand Dulari Dhar W/o Sh. B.K. Dhar of Solan Himachal Pradesh. 7/9/2009

28. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhat R/o Shallayar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 793, Sector-16, Panchkulla Haryana. 8/9/2009

29. Smt. Kamla Raina (Indirawati Razdan) W/o Sh. B.N. Raina R/o Khankhai Sokhta Saffakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 1, Lane-1, Block-A, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 8/9/2009

30. Prof. J.N. Dhar (Thus) resident of 31-P, Sector-1, Trikuta Nagar, Ext. Jammu. 8/9/2009

31. Sh. Mohan Krishen Chakoo S/o Late Jagan Nath Chakoo originally resident of Doompورا Basant Bagh Sgr; presently residing at Gole Puli Talab Tillo, Jammu. 8/9/2009

32. Sh. Nath Jee Khushu S/o Late Sh. Bal Krishen Khushu resident of 11/A, Lane-1, Bharatnagar Banatalab Jammu. 8/9/2009

33. Smt. Indrawati Jalali W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Jalali R/o Gund Gushi Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 94, Phase-I, Purkhoo Camp, Jammu. 8/9/2009

34. Dr. M.N. Rambal S/o Late Kashi Nath Rambal R/o 795 Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 8/9/2009

35. Smt. Leelawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Anand Ram Bhat of Dhobiwan Tangmarg Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 337/B, Sector-I, Durga Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 9/9/2009

36. Smt. Shakuntla (Kamta) Handoo W/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Handoo originally resident of Wazpora Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of B-1/33/2, Safdarjung Enclave New Delhi. 9/9/2009

37. Sh. Poshkar Nath Saproo originally resident of Shalla Kadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 2390, Sector-7-A Faridabad. 9/9/2009

38. Sh. Chaman Lal Trisal S/o Late Sudershan Trisal, R/o Trichal Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of A-45/F, DDA Flats Munerika New Delhi. 10/9/2009.

39. Smt. Meena Ji Bhat S/o Sh. Maharaj K. Bhat of Wandhama Kmr; presently resident of Shipra Path Jaipur. 10/9/2009

40. Sh. P.N. Panita S/o Late Sh. Rughnath Panita R/o Bana Mohalla Sgr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 302, C, PCDA (NC) resident Qtrs. Narwal Pain Satwari Jammu. 10/9/2009

41. Sh. Janki Nath Bhat R/o Agar Bandipora Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 56, Gandhi Chowk Subash Nagar, Jammu. 10/9/2009

42. Sh. Girdhari Lal Raina R/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Raina originally resient of Zainpora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of Muthi Camp, Phase-IIInd, Jammu. 10/9/2009

43. Sh. Ramesh Jee S/o Late Sh. Mohan Lal Bhat R/o Sarban Arihal Kmr; presently resient of Qtr. No: 483, Phase-1st, Muthi Camp Jammu. 10/9/2009

44. Sh. Shibhan Krishan Hashia S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Hashia originally resident of Habakadal Sgr; presently residing at Dubai. 11/9/2009.

45. Sh. Roshan Lal Bakshi S/o Late Sh Dina Nath Bakshi R/o Malik Aangan Fateh Kadal presently resident of Purkhoo Camp, Phase 1st Jammu. 11/9/2009

46. Sh. Makhan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. D.N. Bhat R/o Chandapora Harwan Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 14, Lane-3, Bharat Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 11/9/2009

47. Smt. Shah Ji Koul W/o Late Sh. Amar Nath Koul of Achan Pulwama, Kmr. 11/9/2009.

48. Sh. Ratan Lal Munshi S/o Late. Sh. T.N. Munshi R/o H.No: 6 Village Enclave, Trikuta Nagar, Ext. Jammu. 12/9/2009

49. Smt. Mohan Rani W/o Sh. Mohyan Lal originally resident of Wanpoh Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Purkhoo Camp, Phase IIInd, Qtr. No: 566 Jammu. 12/9/2009

50. Sh. Opinder Krishen Koul S/o Late Sh. M.N.Koul R/o Syed Ali Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently resident of 570-B, Shiv Puri Janipur Jammu. 12/9/2009

51. Sh. B.N. Qanungoo resident of 1-204, Paras Nath residency, Sector-51 Noida (UP). 14/9/2009

52. Sh. Jia Lal Dhar S/o Late Sh. Daya Ram Dhar of Hugam Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Lane-2, Anand Nagar Ext. Bohri, Jammu. 14/92009.

53. Smt. Urmilla Bhat Wo Sh. Munu Jee Bhat originally resident of Dassi Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 3, Phase-2nd, Block-A, Muthi Camp Jammu. 15/9/2009

54. Sh. M.L. Razdan S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Razdan R/o Karafali Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 645, Main Chowk, Talab Tillo, Jammu.

16/9/2009

55. Sh. S.K. Sili S/o Late Jia Lal Seli originally residednt of Mughal Mohalla Rainawari Sgr; resident of Flat No: D-171, Meera Tower, Thane, Mumbai. 17/9/2009

56. Sh. Ashok Kumar Koul S/o Late Sh. Laxman Dass Koul R/o Udampur. 179/09.

57. Sh. Moti Lal Misri R/o Shivpora Sgr; presently residing at Dehradoun. 17/9/2009

58. Sh. H.N. Koul R/o Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Chandigarh. 17/9/2009

59. Sh. Ashok Koul S/o Late Sh. B.K. Koul of Chandpora Sgr; presently residing at 11, Karan Nagar, Jammu. 18/9/2009

60. Sh. Bal Krishen Goja S/o Late Sh. Tika Lal Goja of Goja Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Shahpur Kangra (HP). 18/9/2009

61. Sh. Shibhan Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Koul of Turkwagam Shopian, Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 170 Vinayak Nagar, Sector-1, Muthi Jammu. 18/9/2009

62. Sh. Roshan Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. V.B. Koul originally resident of Bana Mohalal Sgr; presently residing at Bhopal. 18/9/2009

63. Sh. Laxman Jee Raina S/o Late Sh. Amar Chand Raina of Dhobiwan Tangmarg Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 24-D, Sector-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 18/9/2009

64. Smt. Vimmi Koul W/o Sh.Kuldeep Koul R/o Lane-6, B-Block Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu; presently residing at Bridge Water Circle (USA). 19/9/2009

65. Sh. Sandeep Koul S/o Late Sh. Hirday Nath Koul originally resident of Sheelteng Habbakadal Sgr;presently putting up at Qtr. No: 31-D, Pase-IIInd Govt. Qtrs. Muthi Jammu. 19/9/2009

66. Sh. Janki Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Anand Ram Pandita originally resident of Aishmuqam Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Gym Gali, Peer Baba Lane, Janipur Housing Colny, Jammu. 19/9/2009.

67. Smt. Veena Zutshi W/o Late Sh Bal Krishen Zutshi presently residing at Qtr. No: 608, Phase-3rd Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 20/9/2009

68. Sh. Pran Nath Lidhoo S/o Late Sh. Raghu Ram Lidhoo formerly resident of Batpora Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 2/A, Lane-2, Bharat Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 21/9/2009

69. Sh. Niranjan Nath Handoo S/o Late Sh. Zanardan Handoo originally resident of Motiyar, Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 90-A, Pocket, Jasola, Sarita Vihar New Delhi. 21/9/2009

70. Pt. Duni Chand Bindroo formerly resident of Lal Mandi Wazir Bagh Srinagar now residing at H.No: 305, Sector-15-A, Chandigarh. 22/9/2009

71. Sh. Jawahar Lal Rafiz S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Rafiz R/o 19- Chinar Colony Bhagat Barzulla Sgr;presently resident of 624-New Ashiana Appts. Sector-6, Plot-10, Dwarika New Delhi. 22/9/2009

72. Sh.Pran Nath Lidhoo S/o Late Sh. Raghu Ram Lidhoo formerly resident of Batpora-Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 2/A, Lane-2, Bharat Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 21/9/2009

73. Smt. Shobhawati W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Bakshi R/o Batapora Sopore Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 424, Lane-16, Hazuribagh Bohri, Jammu. 23/9/2009

74. Sh. Brij Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Lakhman Joo Raina originally resident of Trisal Pulwama, Kmr; presently residing at B-I Flat No: 300, Aravali Appts. Sector-34 Noida (UP). 23/9/2009

75. Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Nila Koul formerly resident of Nunar Ganderbal Kmr; presently resident of 913, Shalimar Garden, Ext-I, Sahibabad, Gaziabad (UP). 24/9/2009.

76. Smt. Shobawati Raina W/o Late Sh. Ram Ji Raina of Sombruna Nowgam Anantnag, Kmr. 25/9/2009

77. Smt. Rattan Rani Bhan W/o Sh. Amar Nath Bhan originally resident of 32-Gogji Bagh Sgr; presently residing at 5513, Modern Housing Colony Mani Majra Chandigarh. 25/9/2009

78. Smt. Umajigri W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Raina R/o Krangsoo presently residing at H.No: 13, Swarn Vihar Bhoori Jammu. 26/9/2009

79. Mr. Amit Labroo S/o Sh. RK Labroo originally resident of Khandabhawan Tarabal, Nawakadal Sgr; presently residing at 12-A, Janki Residency Kalar Road Bhopal. 26/9/2009

80. Smt. Sham Rani Raina W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Raina R/o Tailwani Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 33-C, OM Nagar Udheywalla Bhoori. 26/9/2009
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Editorial

## India is not a Banana Republic

THE Indo-Pak dialogue seems to have started even though Indian side is still maintaining some ambivalence about its nature content and purport. The meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two countries on the sidelines of SAARC at Thimpu has left no one in doubt that Manmohan Singh is more than eager to start a composite dialogue with Pakistan than his counterpart.

In almost all his briefings to the media Pakistani Prime Minister maintained a brazen stand that the terrorism should be delinked from dialogue and acts of terror have no bearing on the dialogue. The articulation of this position at the highest level by the Pakistan government has almost meant a diplomatic affront in full view of the public since Indian position after 26/11 has been that terror and talks cannot go together.

However there are many other reasons to believe that Pakistani Government is less than eager to go ahead with a dialogue with India. Pakistani government allowed the anti-India rhetoric to build up to feverish pitches in Pakistan around the time diplomatic efforts were on to restart the peace process. LeT was almost given a free reign to blurt out anti-India venom. The Pakistan government demanded access to Kasab. And last but not the least the Government of Pakistan at various levels distanced itself from the Musharraf plan which many believed had brought about a convergence between governments of India and Pakistan.

The distancing by the Government of Pakistan from Musharraf plan has left peace brokers on this side gasping for breath, as they have in recent times left no stone unturned to give an impression that India and Pakistan were just a signature away from an understanding. More disconcerting has been the visible US involvement in pushing forward the dialogue. Demonstrating almost an abject servility the Government of India sent its foreign secretary to brief Americans immediately after the resumption of dialogue at the foreign secretary level between India and Pakistan in New Delhi. The presence of Robert Blacke at Thimpu and his statement to press before the two Prime Minister's met sounded as if the big brother was setting the agenda.

Experts in India have belatedly started asking as to why Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is so eager to engage with Pakistan. The rumours are doing rounds that the Prime Minister is very diffident because he is face to face with a two front situation with Pakistan and China. Some say Pakistan army has communicated unambiguously through its channels that without a solution to Kashmir, it may be forced to use the nuclear option. Some say Prime Minister is not sure about the support of Indian Muslims in case of a building stalemate with Pakistan.

In this building confusion it should have been very appropriate for the Prime Minister of India to take the nation into confidence about what exactly he is seeking to do through a dialogue with Pakistan. He should have taken the nation into confidence about the contours of the solution which as per Pakistani leaders was just a signature away. The impression which is taking roots in the public mind is that India is behaving as a surrogate nation, a colony of somebody else. We have a scenario where a principality large countries are offering its offices to mediate between us and Pakistan.

For the Prime Minister of India it is high time either to demonstrate that Indo-US strategic relations have brought strategic dividends for the country or take the country into confidence about nation's isolation and prepare the people for a long haul. India is a nation and not a banana republic. Indian people have the resources and the spirit to withstand any pressure and eventually defeat its enemies.

### Need to remain vigilant

Dear Sir,

Recently I have received Feb., 2010 Special issue Let 'Truth Prevail' of Kashmir Sentinel. Let me compliment your team for bringing quality material and very important issues by the eminent personalities concerning to very survival of Pandits Threat is not only from outside but also from within. Need of the hour is to remain vigilant and make every effort to keep unity among us by sharing the facts and encourage valued inputs from those who have no vested interests and have contributed in keeping our biradari united. Being originally resident of Srinagar downtown, Kawdara, Budgeir and born in the family of Late Pandit Gopi Nath Challu, I have been a witness to the harassment leading to initial exodus of pundits from the valley.

Since 1983, I am residing in Bangalore and have been associated with our biradari and have tried to keep unity at all cost. A write up '**Poz Pazaan Aalam Dazaan**' attached herewith is an open letter which I hope can be included in your esteemed magazine for publication

With regards,

Dr.Vijay Challu,  
Shivam,  
No. Dasappa Garden, R.T.  
Nagar, Bangalore-560032.  
Ph.9845624742

### KS-The True depiction

Sir,

I have just received a copy of "Kashmir Sentinel" and thank you for sending me the same. The publication truly depicts the sentiments of Kashmiri Pandits and paints real picture of fascism in so-called our mother-land.

We need to develop further our efforts

### LETTER

and highlight our plight forcefully, I am committed to extend all help in this regard.

I wish you all success in your endeavour.

—A.K. Koul  
TATA International Ltd.  
C-159, Okhla Industrial Area  
Phase-I, New Delhi

### Informative paper

Sir,

I would like to inform you of my change of address from number 3 to number 4 Grand West End Greens, Rajkokri, New Delhi-110038

Do appreciate receiving this informative paper.

Thanking you sincerely

—John Bowman.

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By J N Raina

**T**HE 'devil' is in deep distress. Now it is Kashmir plus water woes. The path of conflict-resolution between India and Pakistan is shadowy. Our neighbour is distrustful.

While Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has exhibited his willingness to walk the 'extra mile', Pakistan has opened a new sinister plot called '*Karachi project*', to step up terrorist violence in India. Under such circumstances—when

US Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair has observed that "Islamabad's conviction that militant groups are an important part of its strategic arsenal to counter India's military and economic advantages will continue to limit Pakistan's incentive to pursue an across-the-board efforts against extremism."

It indicates that Pakistan will never ferret out terrorism from its soil for strategic reasons. Now a new picture is emerging. This is why Pakistan has been selectively grooming militant outfits like banned Lashkar-e-Toiba

not want India to gain a foothold in Afghanistan, where it has rendered a yeoman service to the people. India's role is being globally appreciated for speeding up economic activity there.

It is not only the terrorist leadership in Pakistan which has raised a new pitch against India's 'water terrorism', but the main political party, Pakistan Muslim League(Nawaz) has described the 'blockade of water to Pakistan' as 'Indian terrorism'. These issues of mutual interest could well be settled amicably on the table at designated official-level talks. Having bred terrorism, Pakistan's terror phraseology has gone deeper into its psyche. A leader of another faction of the ML(Q) has sought to further damage the Indo-Pakistan relationship by asserting that India intends to 'starve' Pakistan by blocking its water share in the name of 'construction of new dams'.

Pakistan's intentions are doubtful. So far that country has just been raising the bogey of Kashmir problem at international fora, although it is a bilateral issue. But now, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir has raised the decibel level further, punctuated with queer and baseless charges against India.

Asking India not to lecture Pakistan, Islamabad now claims that it is the 'Indian network' which was behind Mumbai blasts and attack on Parliament. Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik has said a terrorist attack of the magnitude of Mumbai carnage, could not be possible without the backing of the 'Indian network'. Can this kind of vituperative language help in normalizing relationship between the two nations?

The Jamaat-ud-Dawaah (JuD), acting as a front runner for LeT, has been issuing threats to India that there will be

no peace with 'Indian water terrorism'. Either war or peace, JuD continues chanting. The Lashkar provokes Pakistan to wage war against India.

Pakistan's National Assembly (Parliament) too has expressed similar misgivings over the construction of dams by India in 'violation' of the Indus Basin Waters Treaty. India has now decided to explain its stand to the world community. India is concerned that Pakistan's political leadership has begun upping the ante. Kashmir is now being put at par with water woes.

The truth is that Pakistan has been, as per India's assessment, 'underutilizing' its water resources, entitled to it as per the 50-year-old permanent Indus Commission. Pakistan's water troubles are because of 'poor water management'. The three rivers of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, belonging to Pakistan under the Treaty, are estimated to have four times more water than the Indian rivers of Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.

Pakistan, overtly or covertly, has been hugely spending on armament and nuclear arsenal, needlessly and beyond its capacity, at the cost of economic development. It pays scant attention on the development of water resources. Terrorism is another factor which has negated Pakistan's development. Water woes are only because of its own volition. This is in addition to climatic changes taking place differently in different regions.

Infiltration from Pakistan is continuing unabated. Several hardcore terrorists were gunned down in Kashmir valley recently. India lost many young officers in fighting the terrorist menace. Union Home Minister P Chidambaram has warned of 'dark forces' inside Pakistan, who are 'implacably opposed to India.' They want annexation of Kashmir. The terror from Pakistan

is 'undiminished'. The ISI is reviving terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. Highly trained militants are being sneaked through the LoC. The pattern is different. Methods of training militants and provoking people in the valley are different. It was discernible to ISI that people in Kashmir were paying little heed to die-hard elements. Now the people are being forced to abide by the dictates of extremist forces like the Hurriyat Conference, led by Syed Ali Geelani, ignoring the moderate faction of the Hurriyat, led by Mirwaiz of Kashmir.

surrender. It is on the plea that they are Indian nationals. But are they ordinary citizens? They are not in hundreds but in thousands. India should understand the magnitude of the problem. How much do we spend daily on Ajmal Kasab ? To say ".... The idea (of surrender) is accepted ..." is preposterous. This is another sort of 'healing touch' therapy as enunciated by former Chief Minister and PDP leader Mufti Mohammed Sayed. The Union Cabinet is already divided on the issue.

It sounds well for Chairman of the U S

***It is not only the terrorist leadership in Pakistan which has raised a new pitch against India's 'water terrorism', but the main political party, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) has described the 'blockade of water to Pakistan' as 'Indian terrorism'.***

***A new phase of militancy has dawned in Kashmir. Militant leaders in Kashmir now receive terrorists from across the border on LoC.***

Karachi sweets are offered—can the 'incorrigible' and spineless Pakistan administration be expected to turn off terror tap? The heedless Pakistan government, in sync with the terrorist and military leadership, has started leveling grave charges of 'water terrorism' by India. The aim is to derail progress and unsheathe new weapons to counter India.

Instead of getting down to brass tacks, Pakistan believes in continuing proxy war. A new phase of militancy has dawned in Kashmir. Militant leaders in Kashmir now receive terrorists from across the border on LoC. Fresh attempts are being made to halt economic development in Jammu and Kashmir by resorting to different modes of violence, on one pretext or the other.

Zardari Government has been 'brainwashed' by the powerful Army, making it to believe that terrorism is the only weapon in possession of Pakistan to defeat India.

(LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), both regarded as assets by Pakistan, gunning down others who are considered a non-essential commodity.

A chilling disclosure was made by a captured Indian Mujahideen(IM) jihadist, Salman aka Chhotu, hailing from Azamgarh district of UP, about ISI-LeT plot to engineer fresh terrorist activities in India's metros, including New Delhi, Mumbai and Bangalore. Many a 'sleeping cells' of the IM have been activated. As a quid pro quo measure, the militants are being paid hefty amounts to do the 'needful'.

Pakistan's political leadership, which remained dwarfed during prolonged military rule, wants to resume dialogue process with India, to ensure peace. However, its Army Chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani is eager to continue its 'strategic depth' in Afghanistan. Pakistan does

Senate Foreign Committee John Kerry that India should remain engaged in talks with Pakistan, but the question arises, who should be engaged; the name-sake civilian government, the Army or the JuD Chief Hafiz Saeed, who has been browbeating India almost every day, and directing Manmohan Singh to talk to him, or face consequences.

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

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Dr M K Teng

# Defending the Frontiers

**A**FTER the Foreign Secretary level talks between India and Pakistan, the meeting between the Prime Ministers of the two countries in Bhutan, has exposed the inconsistencies in the politics followed by India in dealing with what the Indian Government has called 'cross border terrorism'. For quite some time, the Indian Government repeatedly complained about the inability of Pakistan to act against the terrorist regimes, operating in that country, and accused it for the 26/11 attack on Mumbai. There is enough ground to believe that the Indian Government has once again buckled under the American pressure and agreed to resume talks with Pakistan, ostensibly to smoothen relations with Pakistan, but in reality to find a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir, which Pakistan has insisted constitutes the core dispute responsible for destabilizing the rela-

attack, the Americans have been vociferously seeking to persuade the Indian leadership that a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir was vital for a purposeful prosecution of the "war against terror" in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In the recent past, many quarters in the United states have given expression to their dissatisfaction with the Indian Government, often in much less polite words, for its inability to recognize the American concern for a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir, which they claim could not be ignored in view of the urgency with which the Afghan campaign and the military operations against Al Qaeda and Taliban were being carried out.

Publicly the American concerns find expression in crude words, which are considered to be insolent in India, where a fairly large section of people speak English. Brian Trill of the Creator's Syndicate, an American think tank, writes in a paper analyzing the military campaign in Afghanistan,

rial aggressions and ambitions and competing capitalist and communist ideologies against one another—our challenge and foe exists outside the State-system; it is the battle against lawlessness, backwardness and statelessness." Another American Patrick Seale advocates, "an immediate and vigorous US-UN effort to broker a settlement over Kashmir—and if not a settlement then at least a reasonably amicable settlement which India, Pakistan, and the Kashmiris could live with." Seale further notes, "The US should use its full diplomatic clout to bring this about because

Pakistan to the future foreign policy formulations of the allied powers in Asia. The Commander of the allied troops in Afghanistan strongly pleads for a long military presence in Afghanistan committed to "winning or buying over dissidents, expanding the Afghan army and police and reforming and strengthening the Kabul government." Former American Secretary of State for foreign affairs Henry Kissinger, the American Vice-President Joe Biden, Jhon Kerry, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, say the same thing in different words. An American journalist

to "Panch-Sheel and Peaceful Coexistence", "Non-Alignment", "No first Use of Nuclear Weapons", and "Non-Violence", India is isolated in a world where the force is the ultimate arbiter of all inter-state relations. But why then does the Indian Prime Minister shirk from telling the truth to Indian People that, India needs a complete reappraisal of its foreign policy postulates and the Indian political class needs to come out of its intransigence, which has brought the country to such a pass? Indian Prime Minister must tell the nation about what is the "Strategic Partnership" between the Indians and Americans worth, if it underlines the demolition of the northern frontiers of India with the objective of excluding India from any future balance of power in Asia, which the Americans consider necessary for the stability of the "new world order".

For the people of India, these questions need to be answered.

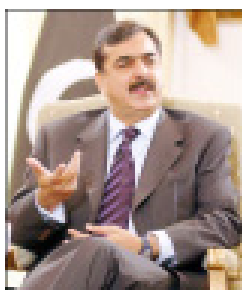
The Americans are

tend the reach of the Anglo-American-Pakistani alliance over the Himalayas; (b) use the Muslim power of Pakistan- spread over the Afghanistan, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir for penetration into Central Asia; and (c) to acquire a factorial role in determining the future balance of power in Asia. The Chinese are keen to consolidate their hold on the Indian territories south of McMahon Line under their occupation; (b) establish its reach over the eastern Himalayas and reach out to Central Asia; and (c) to join United States and Pakistan in the establishment of a triangular balance of power in Asia, in which the Muslim power of Pakistan acts as the balancer, or the laughing partner.

Government of India should realize that the British fortified the northern frontier of their empire in India, which was forged by the Sikhs. It should also know that the Sikhs laid down the northern frontier of India on the ground which had been cut centuries before the Sikh empire was founded, by the Hindus of Kashmir, who Sanskritised the Hima-



Monmohan Singh



Yousuf Raza Geelani



Barack Obama

**Americans seek to strengthen the Muslim power of Pakistan in a more effective way than they did during the Cold War, for their interest in the Himalayas.**

tions between the two countries. However, Americans have not hidden their preference for a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir, which underlines a territorial adjustment altering very drastically, the geographical boundaries of India.

During the Cold War the Americans exhorted upon the Indians how important it was to settle the Kashmir dispute in the struggle to protect "open society and the free world" from totalitarianism. After the end of Cold War the Americans have spared no efforts to support the Muslim Jihad Pakistan waged in Afghanistan against the Soviet intervention though the Jihad spilt over into Jammu and Kashmir, ravaging the whole of the north of India. After 9/11 Al Qaeda

"Thus Kashmir, the dispute at the centre of the bloody fissure between India and Pakistan, remains the most important region to the U.S. interests—and, ironically, it exists as one of the few conflicts over which we cannot wield significant influence. There has not been a call for U.S. mediation, the boisterous Indian population likely won't stomach American pressure and there is a need to reiterate the loathing the Pakistanis feel towards the United States. Particularly the Pakistani military with whom power ultimately resides and which has the capacity to undermine any progress—is well steeped in distrust of the U.S." Trill adds, "Indeed the defining struggle of our time- unlike those of previous generations that pitted competing impe-

Kashmir weighs heavily on the situation in Afghanistan, So long as the Kashmir conflict remains unresolved, the Pakistan military and intelligence services will think that they need Jihadi allies to put down the sizeable chunk of the Indian army in Kashmir and keep Indian influence at bay in Afghanistan, a country Pakistan considers its strategic depth."

There is enough evidence to believe that the Americans are as committed to fortify Afghanistan as a forward post in their Asian policy as they were committed to protect it in the aftermath of the Soviet intervention. There is also enough reason to believe that the Americans seek to strengthen the Muslim power of Pakistan in a more effective way than they did during the Cold War, for their interest in the Himalayas is as deep as it was in the Cold War era. Gilgit-Baltistan horn of the northern frontier of Jammu and Kashmir, now under the occupation of Pakistan, reorganized into what is known as 'Northern Region' is vital to Anglo-American-Pakistan alliance structure in Asia, as it was during the Cold War era.

The American opinion is aware of the significance of Afghanistan and

warns that the withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan and Pakistan will have catastrophic consequences. "NATO will fold. So will Pakistan". That is exactly where the Indians are required to make good the forfeit to keep Pakistan and the Muslims on the American side while they fight the Muslims in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and elsewhere in the world.

There is hardly any doubt about the existence of pressures on the Indian Government to resolve its differences with Pakistan and the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir. There is a visible uneasiness pervading the pronouncements of Indian leaders and an ominous sense of helplessness spread across the national discourse on the whole gamut of relations between India and the other countries of the world, particularly the neighboring countries. The solemn statement of the Indian Prime Minister that "India could not change her neighbors" and therefore, India was bound to buy peace with them, at the cost they demanded is a counsel of despair. Apparently the Indian Prime Minister is convinced that after all, the decades of the Indian commitment

**There is enough ground to believe that the Indian Government has once again buckled under the American pressure and agreed to resume talks with Pakistan.**

using the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir as a lever to smother India into submission. Pakistan is also using the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, as a lever to secure submission of India. And China is also using Jammu and Kashmir as a lever to smother India into submission. The USA, China and Pakistan have common strategic objectives to follow. Pakistan seeks to (a) open the way for the eastward expansion of the Muslim power of Pakistan into Jammu and Kashmir; (b) demolish the northern frontier of India to establish its hold on the Himalayas and (c) assume a central role in the shaping a future balance of power in Asia. The Americans are eager to (a) consolidate their military presence in Gilgit-Baltistan region to ex-

layas. The triangular balance of power in Asia, the Anglo-American-Muslim alliance and the Sino-Pakistan axis seek to realize, can only be achieved by the de-Sanskritisation of the Himalayas.

If the Americans fight for the safety of their borders in a country as far away as Afghanistan, how is it that the Indians do not deem it was necessary to secure their borders In Jammu and Kashmir? Do the Indians believe that after they got rid of Jammu and Kashmir, the Americans, the Pakistanis, and the Chinese would guarantee the neutrality of their borders?

*\*(The author heads Panun Kashmir Advisory)*





By Mahesh Kaul

# Accession of J&K to India is Complete

**T**HE partition of the Indian subcontinent should be seen in the perspective of the Anglo-Muslim alliance that was forged by the British to retain their strategic foothold in the Indian subcontinent to have an access to the Russian activities and the appreciable influence on the Central Asian region mainly in terms of oil reserves. As the oil reserves were in the domain of the Central Asian and Middle Eastern Islamic countries and regions so the British encouraged the separatist Muslim sentiment in India to impress the Muslim World and at the same time kept the nationalist movement for the Indian independence under check, which the British viewed as the "Hindu Nationalist" upsurge.

Kashmir problem is the outcome of the "Great Game" which the British played to keep the separatist Muslim element alive to keep its stakes high even though—the World War II had changed the dynamics of the strategic world order. This move was further meant to make the northern Indian borders weak and pregnable forever and result is the present Kashmir crisis. It was a clear move to sow the seeds of the balkanization of the Indian Union.

The process of maintaining the checks and applying brakes on the Indian nationalists were already devised by the British well before 1947 and M. A. Jinnah was a British prop to materialize the separatist Muslim claims for the partition of India.

These ploys and what was going on in the British mind has been revealed by Krishna Menon, who was close to the British circles, in the following words to Lord Mountbatten well before the partition on 14 June 1947, "Is this frontier of (the northwest of India abutting Afghanistan & Iran) still the hinterland of the Imperial Strategy? Does British still think in terms of being able to use this territory and all that follows from it? There is considerable amount of talking in this way; and if Kashmir, for one reason or another, choose to be in

Pakistan, that is a further development in this direction. I do not know of British policy in this matter. I do not know it whether you know it either. But if this be the intent, this is tragic..... As it becomes more evident, the attitude of India would be resentful and Britain's hold on Pakistan would not improve it." (pp. 15-16, The Untold Story of India's Partition)

Menon was pointing towards the British strategy of using the West Pakistan as a base to stop the Soviet expansion towards the Indian Ocean, Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf and secondly he implied that was the British policy so "subterranean" that even the Viceroy was ignorant about it? These intrigues shaped the Kashmir problem and result is the present state of chaos and desperation.

Accession of the J&K state to the Indian Union needs to be understood by keeping in mind the traits of the British and the separatist Muslim mindset of the Muslim League nurtured by the imperial policy makers to divide India to suit their strategic hold on the Sub continent.

There is a false premise on which the J&K's Accession to India is always understood by certain vested interests "That the Radcliffe Boundary Commission award giving Gurdaspur District to the Indian East Punjab was announced on August 17, 1947, two days after the new Dominions of India and Pakistan had already come into being." It is totally absurd.

The demarcation of the areas that would go to Pakistan was already devised by the British well before 1947, the partition year. Its blueprint was already prepared by the Viceroy Lord Archbald Wavell in 1946 to forge an alliance with the Jinnah's Muslim League, the foundation of this unholy alliance was laid in 1940-41 by his predecessor Linlithgow to project M. A. Jinnah as the sole spokesman of the "Muslim India"

The same blueprint was kept under cover till the opportune time came in 1947 for the British withdrawal. It was deliberately kept in abeyance so that the finger of suspicion for the vivisection of India is not raised on the British Empire.

Narender Singh Sarila, who was an ADC to the last Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten was a witness to the British decisions and policy. Has observed candidly in his book The Untold Story of India's Partition that "secret archives cannot be depended upon to reveal the entire picture. Many decisions that are taken by government are never committed on paper or, if so committed, are not revealed, even after the probationary period for keeping them under wraps has lapsed. For instance, Lord Mountbatten's reports to London, sent after 15 August, 1947, while he was the governor-general of India, have not been unsealed even after almost sixty years, thereby depriving us information surrounding British policy on Kashmir." (pp. 168, The Untold Story of India's Partition)

Lord Wavell was constantly in touch with the Secretary of State in London. His blueprint for the partition was being taken seriously in London. On 29 January 1946, Secretary of State revealed the British policy by stating in a telegram to Wavell that "It would help me to know when I may expect to receive your recommendation as regards definition of genuinely Muslim areas if we are compelled to give a decision to this (Partition)". (pp. 194-195, The Untold Story of India's Partition)

Gurdapur district was not incorporated into the Indian Union after the partition, Wavell's partition plan forwarded to London on 6-7 February 1946 makes it clear as to what was in store for millions of people of the Indian subcontinent. His partition plan which was implemented by his successor Lord Mountbatten reads "1) If compelled to indicate demarcation of genuinely Moslem areas I recommend that we should include (a) Sind, North-West Frontier Province, British Baluchistan and Rawalpindi, Multan and Lahore Divisions of Punjab, Less Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts..... In the Punjab the only Moslem—majority district that would not go into Pakistan under demarcation is Gurdaspur. Gurdaspur must go with Amritsar for geographical reasons and Amritsar being the sacred

city of Sikhs must stay out of Pakistan.....". (pp. 195, The Untold Story of India's Partition)

Therefore it becomes clear that the decision regarding the Gurdaspur district was taken well before partition and the argument regarding its inclusion in the Indian Union after the partition does not hold any ground as it is far from the historical fact made amply clear by Lord Wavell's partition plan.

So the point raised by the fifth columnists and other left liberal intellectuals that "Maharaja Hari Singh could not accede to the newly created Indian Dominion and the Indian Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru could not accept such a request on or before August 15, 1947 because under the provision of July 1947 Indian Independence Act passed by the British Parliament, Pathankot tehsil at that time, the only geographical link of J&K, was located in Gurdaspur District of west Punjab which had been notified under the aforesaid Act as part of Pakistan" is the falsification of the reality.

Another observation by these individuals that "The Maharaja Sahib had therefore no other option than to think of Standstill Agreement with both new Dominions of India and Pakistan and making Jammu and Kashmir an Eastern Switzerland of Asia" is another misinterpretation of constitutional realities and the facts. As the India under the British was composed of the British India and the

***Accession of the J&K state to the Indian Union needs to be understood by keeping in mind the traits of the British and the separatist Muslim mindset of the Muslim League nurtured by the imperial policy makers to divide India to suit their strategic hold on the Sub continent.***

Princely states which accepted the British Paramountcy, the rulers of these states were thus bound to accede to one of the Dominions and there was no provision for the Independent existence. The celebrated political scientist Prof. M. K. Teng in the preface to his book titled Kashmir the Myth of Autonomy has cleared this misconception regarding the accession of the J&K and other princely states to the Indian Union. He writes "the partition of India did not envisage the accession of the Princely states to the Dominion of India and Pakistan on the basis, the British India was divided. The partition of India left the states out its scope and the transfer of power accepted the lapse of the Paramountcy: the imperial authority the British exercised over the States. The accession of the states to India was the culmination of a historical process which symbolized the unity of the people in the British India and the Indian States". (pp. VII, Kashmir-Myth of Autonomy)

It is a populist view in order to cover the truth regarding the accession that Maharaja Hari Singh was trapped and was hence indecisive to accede to India. To clear this misconception

further Prof. M. K. Teng writes, "In 1947, when Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India, the ruler of the state, Maharaja Hari Singh signed the same standard form of the Instrument of Accession, which the other major Indian states signed. The accession of the state to India was not subject to any exceptions or pre-condition to provide for any separate and special constitutional arrangements for the state. Neither Nehru, nor Patel gave any assurances to Hari Singh or the National Conference leaders that J&K would be accorded a separate and independent political organization on the basis of the Muslim Majority character of its population." (pp. VII, Kashmir-Myth of Autonomy)

Thus the above analysis makes it crystal clear that the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to the Indian Union is complete in the constitutional manner. And the role played by Maharaja Hari Singh is that of a true patriot and democrat.

(Writer is a Ph. D. scholar at the CHTM, Center for Hospitality and Tourism Management, Faculty of Management Studies, University of Jammu, Sangarsh)

## IN MEMORIAM

***Time Passes Away But Memory Never Fades***



**Pt. Herday Nath Gurtoo**

***In Sweet and everlasting memory of a noble and guiding spirit, our dearest Sh. Herday Nath Gurtoo who left for heavenly abode on 13th May 1991***

***Remembered By***

**GURTOO PARIVAR**





By Dileep Kumar Kaul

## Continuing place discourse Place Identity and slogans

Conversation gives us an identity. In the process of conversation the idea working in the background is who I am and to whom I am talking. Then come ideas and their communication. Conversation, like all other human activities has a context of place, where the human dialogue occurs. During a conversation the individual cannot escape engagement with the material context of action and interaction, which is place. It is in the place that we and our activities are situated, and it is action and interaction at a place that gives us our place identity. With that we get a conception of self, which in itself cannot be without the effect of place.

But this place identity and the sense of self associated with it cannot be one dimensional. The place itself is made up of more than one meanings which do have their effect on the sense of self. There is a local self that emerges from the sense of the narrowest place i.e. our immediate locality. After place, many more dimensions can be visualized but the most important one that follows is the national self. With these come ecological and religious aspects of the self. In short, the self contains multitudes, and in our conversations all these aspects of self find expression at one point of time or the other.

Slogans, too, are a part of

this is associated every aspect of their community self.

But for Kashmiri Muslims place attachment is not so simple. They know that Kashmir is a part of India but their political premise is rejection of India. This constitutes their local and National selves. It has been said in the beginning that context of place is important for the human dialogue to occur. For this, one has to locate the other person in the context, in the place in which the communication is being made. In other words, while we are talk-

go? Obviously to India. But their females will not be allowed our. They will be kept by the Muslims. Here the ideology comes into play. The Kashmiri Pandit community, in this slogan, is getting the treatment a kafir deserves. He is to be killed or exiled but his women are to be kept to give him maximum humiliation. The local self here merges into a national self associated with Pakistan and it is in that context of Pakistan that Kashmiri Pandits and their women are located by Kashmiri Muslims. In this slogan ideology,

tu Balan, Kabaelye Lalan Kyazi gov Tser [Light snow has fallen on the mountains, why are our dear Kabaelis (Tribals) late?]. Mast Gul is being shown the same kind of reverence after about half a century. This means Kashmir is given a meaning through so called liberators. This is what Kashmir means to them and attains for them the placehood on which they base their place identities. This is the reflection of the place identity in which invaders become sacred because they belong to your religion. Here, the

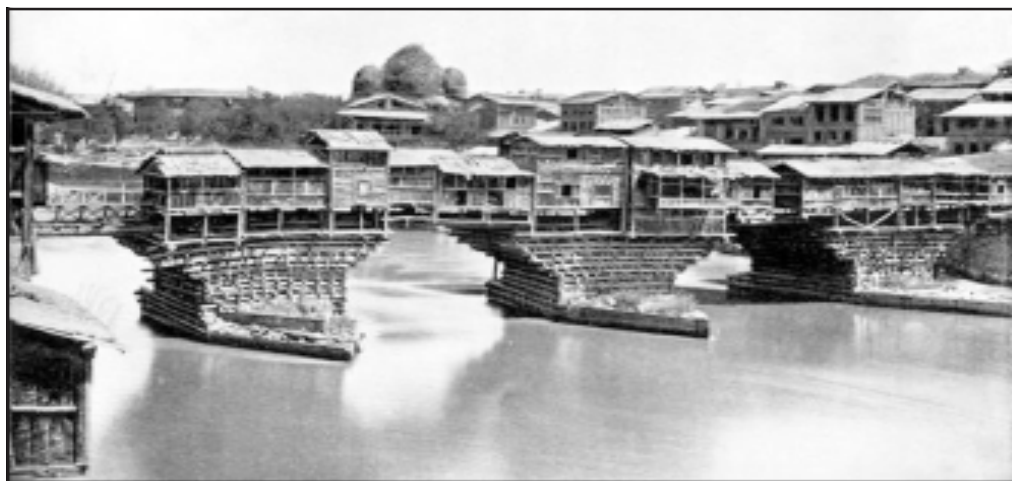
Just see how the whole thing is being imagined. The life of a so called mujahid is finding place in the imagination of the women. In the process of crossing the border or evading the security forces they are hiding themselves in the grass. And all there aunts are prepared to sacrifice themselves for these young mujahideen. How deeply mujahideen are ingrained in the local self shows how does the Kashmiri muslim local self express itself. Some folk songs of this period are less poetic and more direct,

***“Mujaehid bayo laghov paeri, asya ha chhivu tohi saetyi saeriyey.***

[O mujahid brothers, we sacrifice ourselves for you. All of us are with you.]

Can this self vanish so quickly? Will trusting Kashmiri Muslims be sensible?

Sociologists have distinguished between three senses of ‘insidedness’ to a place, i.e. three different aspects of peoples’ affinity with their place. The first is “Physical insidedness”, which means physical awareness of the environment, the physical details of a place. “Social insidedness” is the second one which means a sense of being a part of the social fabric. Then comes “autobiographic insidedness” which emerges from the interaction with the place through a period of time. The Kashmiri Pandits have been deprived of physical and social insidedness. But autobiographic insidedness is with us. All of us are aware of the



**BOAT BRIDGE :** An old photograph of Zainakdal with boat design. King Parvarasena constructed these great bridges over Vitasta (354, third taranga, from Ranjit Pandit's translation of Rajtarangni by Kalhan Pandit). Since then such boat bridges have become well known. (Photo Courtesy: Net)

ing with somebody we are unconsciously assessing his importance, the importance of all aspects of this self, his total

national self, local self and politics of place are very creatively united. Till now this slogan has not appeared immoral or obscene to any member of Kashmiri Muslim clergy, signaling their approval for such treatment that a kafir deserves. But to their disappointment, Kashmiri Pandits escaped along with their daughters, sisters, mothers and wives.

This slogan has always been used, but another slogan that needs consideration is the one used when Mast Gul, the Pakistani terrorist who laid siege on the shrine of Chrare Shareif and ultimately burnt it down. The slogan was, “Chrre Bani Gari, Mast Gul kati Bani [We can get Chrre again and again, but Mast Gull is a rarity].” Chrre, till then, had been a sacred shrine and all of a sudden it loses its sanctity and Mast Gul becomes more sacred. Chrre was a tradition but is Mast Gul a tradition?

In 1947 when Pakistani tribals were driven out by Indian Army the Kashmiri Muslims still wanted them to come back and liberate Kashmir. My late uncle was witness to those moments. My father during those days was trapped in Bandipura. Many Kashmiri Pandits have memories of those days. But my uncle narrated a special story. The Kashmiri Muslim women used to sing a wanwun during those days, “Nyuk Nyuk Sheen Pyav Kohan

religious entity is made to dominate at the cost of place and Chari Shareif is a non entity in this set up. Mast Gul is a part of

**Panun Kashmir is our place and the ongoing struggle for it has kept our place identity intact. Kashmir has an eternal meaning for us and that meaning will remain there till eternity.**

the Kashmiri Muslim local self, the traces of which can be clearly seen in the wanwun of 1947 and this was not the end of it. Many other folk songs glorifying so called mujahideen were composed after 1990, a part of one such ‘wanwun’ is,

***“Yim hai aese pandah wuhri yiem katee aayi.***

***Yiman lajay pofu panuni gofuv manzu hai aayi.***

[They (mujahideen) were fifteen years old, where from did they come! They passed through the difficulties of caves O! let their aunts (father's sisters) sacrifice themselves for these young mujahideen.]

Another part of the song is,

***“Yim hai aesee truvah wuhri yiem katee aayi, yiman lajay maasu panuni gasu mangu hai aayi.***

[They (mujahideen) were thirteen years old, where from did they come! They hid themselves in the grass, let there aunts (mother's sisters) sacrifice themselves for these mujahideen.]

troubles we have borne and our stories are not very different from each other. Our ancestors lived in that Kashmir where people had a longing for Pakistani raiders, we left a Kashmir where meanings of sanctity changed, a shrine was ignored and the person who burnt it down was glorified. This worsening of situation is a part of biographies of all of us. We share a biography of pain and persecution the truth of which has given us the power to fight back, because the troubles we have borne can never be denied by anybody. It is because of the sense of this truth that we go on with the slogan, “Chon taqdeer Myon taqdeer, Panun Kashmir, Panun Kashmir [The destiny of all of us is Panun Kashmir].”

Panun Kashmir is our place and the ongoing struggle for it has kept our place identity intact. Kashmir has an eternal meaning for us and that meaning will remain there till eternity.

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

**It is astonishing to say that how just a seven word slogan can express the erosion of place and then reinventing that place as per the dominant religious ideology and making that the basis of place identity. The slogan is, “Asi Gatsi Aasun Pakistaan, Batav Ros tu Batnyav Saan”**

human dialogue, through which a group communicates with others. During political activities slogans are carefully made so that they give appropriate expression to aims and objectives of a particular group. Religious groups too have their slogans and need- less to say that, slogans too, are not devoid of the effect of the place they emerge from. Slogans are narrative devices by which people locate themselves in a particular period of time and a specific place.

Kashmir has seen most creative sloganeering during political campaigns. Kashmiri Pandits have not been good slogan makers; most probably they did not have much political say. Their most common and most often repeated slogan has been ‘Bharat Mata Ki Jai’. This also involves the place, the nation with which they associate themselves and politically they looked towards India. Their local and National selves are very clear; they live in Kashmir which is India and so ‘Bharat Mata Ki Jai’. With

identity in that context, in that place and our own conversation automatically adjusts accordingly. Same is true of group to group communication. To understand this we will examine the most powerful and the most creative slogan of Kashmiri Muslims that has left a deep impression on Kashmiri Pandit psyche and, in fact, it was meant for that - to persecute and to torture.

But there is more to it than just this. It is astonishing to say that how just a seven word slogan can express the erosion of place and then reinventing that place as per the dominant religious ideology and making that the basis of place identity. The slogan is, “Asi Gatsi Aasun Pakistaan, Batav Ros tu Batnyav Saan” [We want Pakistan., without Kashmiri Pandits and with Kashmiri Pandit females]. See how Muslims locate themselves. Pakistan is their primary longing and that too without the Kashmiri Pandits. Where are Kashmiri Pandits supposed to



**To die while protecting the sovereignty of the Nation is every soldier's dream, but alas! On April 6th those 76 CRPF men didn't die in a counter insurgency operation against Naxalites. They were gunned down in the early hours of morning while they were resting in their camps. The jawans of 62 battalion of CRPF turned out to be sitting ducks for the blood thirsty Maoists.**

# The Sitting Ducks

CRPF men didn't die in a counter insurgency operation against Naxalites. They were gunned down in the early hours of morning while they were resting in their camps. The jawans of 62 battalion of CRPF turned out to be sitting ducks for

Naxalites in India lack both the capability as well as the facilities to tackle Naxalities. 24 battalions have been deployed in Chattisgarh -14 from CRPF, and five each from BSF and ITBP however it is well known that around 8-10 more

hard to imagine that troops that have been employed to tackle "single biggest threat to national security" are being provided with such deplorable living conditions and then to expect the CRPF men to overpower Naxalities

seat in these areas, which are already suffering from lack of development from past so many years. Such atmosphere where there is a lack of proper education system and an absence of growth and development it is easy to brain wash people against



**Officials paying tributes to the CRPF personel killed by Maoists at Dantewada, Chattisgarh.**

**Home ministry puts the death toll in naxalite violence since 2006 as more than 2800(and still counting), these numbers depict an immensely brutal story of maoist violence in India. The numbers are shocking as well as depressing at the same time, almost 220 districts in India belonging to 22 different states are suffering from naxalite attacks, accounting for 40% India's geographical area.**

By Amit Bamzai

**O**n April 6th 2010 in a gruesome and bloodiest attack so far Naxalites killed 76 CRPF men in forests of Mukrana (Dantewada distt of Chattisgarh). To the Nation it meant a loss of few valiant soldiers from the existing lot, but to their families they lost their bread winner and most importantly their dear son.

Chandramouleshwar Reddy coming from Rayalseema village in Andhra Pradesh battled all through his life against poverty but his battle came to an abrupt end when he along with his 75 other fellow soldiers fell to the Maoists bullets on April 6th. He left behind 2 school going children, a wife and his ageing parents who still can't believe that nature has played such cruel game with them. To die while protecting the sovereignty of the Nation is every soldier's dream, but alas! On April 6th those 76

the blood thirsty Maoists who made headlines by carrying out this cowardly attack on unsuspecting and ill prepared CRPF jawans.

Our prime minister declared the Naxalite problem as single biggest threat to the security of the nation way back in 2006, but little progress has been made to counter the growth of this obnoxious weed of naxalism. Home ministry puts the death toll in naxalite violence since 2006 as more than 2800(and still counting), these numbers depict an immensely brutal story of maoist violence in India. The numbers are shocking as well as depressing at the same time, almost 220 districts in India belonging to 22 different states are suffering from naxalite attacks, accounting for 40% India's geographical area. Unfortunately the ground realities don't compliment the big assurances that come from the ministry of Home affairs. The forces employed to tackle

battalions are required for the security forces to dominate. An Hindustan Times story (Are these Men up to it?- April 11 2010) mentions that distance between 2 CRPF camps is 15-30 km, if there is an attack on one CRPF camp the reinforcements are not expected to reach in time. The forces working in the plains of Dantewada live in most adverse conditions possible for defense forces. There is a complete lack of basic amenities for security forces situated there, no proper housing facilities, no clean drinking water available and besides this there is a severe shortage of proper sanitation facilities. Lakhwinder Singh, a jawan posted at Chintagufa says "Even if we want to take an ailing comrade to nearby hospital the Naxalities would blow our vehicle off". This statement is a serious cause to worry because under such unhygienic conditions diseases like malaria and brain fever are found to be extremely common. It is

under such conditions would be mere foolishness. The news story that a committee headed by a former CRPF DGP to look into the 6th April Dantewada massacre came under heavy attack from Naxalities speaks volumes about the hold and dominance that Naxalities have in these areas. Wikipedia claims that Naxalities have virtual control over an estimated area of 92,000 sq kilometers which is popularly termed as the Red corridor. The gravity of the situation is alarming and can be easily ascertained from the fact that Naxalities annually collect around 1500 crore rupees through extortions, kidnappings, etc in order to run their operations in India. These figures are far worse than what Government wants us to believe. Maoists are attempting to take over all the rich mining areas in Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, and Madhya pradesh which would mean that development work would very obviously take a back

the state and convince them to take up arms against Govt. under the pretext of demanding justice for poor people. This Maoist insurgency is leading India to a death by bleeding through a thousand cuts, a slow but sure death. On top of that the current counter-insurgency strategy employed against Naxals is doing more harm to the security forces than to the Naxalites. The strategy such as 'clear, hold and develop' is found unsuccessful here, the reason being lack of knowledge of the terrain amongst security forces, gross shortage of condign resources, ill trained soldiers and minimal reinforcement chances. Unfortunately these circumstances give a cumulative effect as seen on 6th April in Dantewada.

Whenever our brave security people are slaughtered at the hands of Naxalites the entire blame is placed on 'intelligence failure, lack of coordination between central and state forces and neglect of standard

operating procedures. However, under the current circumstances the debacle like Dantewada are bound to occur again and we would still refuse to learn from our mistakes. But alas! It would again be our brave soldiers in CPMF (central paramilitary forces) who would be made the sacrificial lambs. Sometimes I wonder that how unfortunate these CRPF men are, they are paid peanuts, don't have basic amenities which are easily available to other elite forces engaged in counter-insurgency operations across the Globe and then they are made to fight an enemy who is better prepared, has tremendous resources to last them through this never ending war, is high on confidence and is excessively lethal in its attack. This situation reminds me of the title of a Tom Cruise starrer Hollywood movie "Lions for Lambs". Indeed we are feeding our brave heart Lions (security forces) to these cowardly lambs (Naxalites).



# Return Process Only A Grave Refoulment

valley itself. The story, true or a

(From Page 1)

rumor, however became the talk of the town for Kashmiri Hindus living in Jammu. The motives of the State Government became clear after the notification was published and modified definition of 'migrant' came to public light.

This modified definition of 'migrant', when seen together with the 'agreement' which the selected candidate has to furnish before joining, completes the picture of the mind set guiding the state government. The new definition empowers the government to recruit persons amongst the locals in the valley for the Prime Minister's package which was essentially devised for persons displaced from the valley. And the 'agreement' that in case the newly recruited employee migrates from Kashmir valley again 'at any stage for any reasons whatsoever, he will automatically stand terminated from services and shall have no claim against any post under the State', ensures that the new recruit accepts the social and political order in the valley totally and unconditionally.

The grim irony of the whole process is that the state government has vehemently opposed the employment package for the displaced Kashmiri Hindus outside the valley on the plea that the situation has improved significantly on the ground in the Valley and at the same time sought to enlarge the definition of the 'migrant' by claiming that there has been internal displacement within the valley itself from one place to another in recent years because of security reasons and such persons should also be treated at par with 'migrants' outside the valley.

The intentions of the state government are brazen enough to be missed. The State government by opposing the employment outside the valley creates condition of attrition for the Kashmiri Hindus not

to avail of the opportunity of a job for which the Central government has furnished the necessary resources. It also seeks to take a significant slice out of the employment package by creating a new category of migrants living in the valley and creating space for Muslim recruitment. To the secret list of Muslim migrants in Jammu and the Political migrants whose names and whereabouts have always been kept under the warps, one more secret list of migrants who are internally displaced within the valley itself must have been already added well before the recruitment drive started. At the same time the State government resorts to strip the employee of all fundamental rights by making him or her sign an agreement of the type already referred to here.

November 9-10, 1936, in the history of Jewish holocaust, has come to be known as Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass) outside the Germany and 'Night of Pogrom' within the Germany. That night Nazis looted and then destroyed thousands of Jewish homes and business establishment in every part of the country in Germany. After the Kristallnacht writes Richard Rubenstein, "the hoodlums were banished and the bureaucrat took over." In the weeks that followed key Nazi officials led by Henirich Himmler saw to it that the measures against the Jews were strictly 'legal'. Kristallnacht started for Kashmiri Hindus in the latest phase of their genocide after the locks of Ram Temple in Ayodhya were opened in December 1986 and the Muslim vengeance was wrecked on Kashmiri Hindus in Anantnag with the burning and looting of Hindu houses and plunder and desecration of Hindu Temples. But the Kristallnacht didn't abate after a few days for Kashmiri Hindus. It emerged in its full fury on 19 January, 1990 and continued thereafter till whole of the Hindu habi-



Kashmiri Pandits children demanding Homeland.

tat in the Valley was destroyed. The bureaucrats and the political class in the valley had taken over well before the unleashing of destruction to make many of the acts of attrition to look perfectly 'legal' and their control has only strengthened since then.

When the displaced population was named as 'migrant' it was an act of 'legal' attrition seeking to dispossess the victim even the sympathy of the population willing to help and deprive them of the help of any proper legal framework which could have guided the government policies.

Almost all aspect of the handling of the problem of Kashmiri Hindus, in exile where they were in a relative safety from the direct physical assault of the perpetrators, have been subjected to this legal and administrative attrition. At the peak of militancy in early 90's promotion orders of migrant employees were issued posting the promoted Kashmiri Hindu women folk in the areas like Kupwara which were remote and in the grip of militancy. All the women folk at that time chose to forgo their promotion orders and the vacant positions were duly filled from amongst the local Muslim. The processes of usurpation chosen was given a veneer to appear perfectly legal. When land and property records were allowed to be tampered with and Hindu

properties fraudulently occupied or encroached upon the perpetrators used again a methodology to give an impression that usurpation was 'legal'. Prolonged and protracted litigation by displaced Kashmiri Hindus to salvage their properties is a saga of struggle in extreme penury.

Bureaucrats and the communal establishment took over to decide the parameters of ex-gratia relief or insurance claims for the Hindu properties burnt and destroyed in the Valley. A cursory comparison with the parameters of relief and cash assistance given to the residents who had suffered damage during the earthquake in the valley will bring out in ample measure the mindset at work. It took almost hundred orders for the government to restore the basic rights of the 'migrant employee'. For each order to materialize the displaced Hindu employees had to wage a relentless struggle of protests, dharnas and rallies in scorching heat. Hundreds of them perished during these mobilization drives because of heat strokes.

More recent example is about the HRA-CCA allowance for the displaced employees which had been denied to most of them all these years. Employees went to the State High Court for the redressal of their problems. Even after the

double bench of High Court upheld the plea of the employees. But the State Government refused to restore the right and instead chose to challenge the verdict in the Supreme Court. The State Government plea was dismissed by the Supreme Court as well. It is now months since the Supreme Court dismissed the government plea but the State government is yet to move in the matter. In the process hundreds of employees have retired and those who are in service are still not sure whether they will eventually get the benefit which was always their right.

The attrition in exile 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 him of his right to live with dignity and honour.

What the government is doing is brazen and yet those who should act are refusing to see the writing on the wall. Joseph Goebbels once confided about his methods in a confidential meeting with

*At the same time the State government resorts to strip the employee of all fundamental rights by making him or her sign an agreement*

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 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 who is thinking that it has crossed the 'danger zone' and can now wage the war with more confidence. The government of India is living in a twilight between "knowing and unknowing" and is refusing the 'full realization of facts because it feels unable to face the implications of these facts'. Kashmiri Hindus cannot afford to refuse to see the facts because the genocide is far from having abated. The return process initiated by the government is not a rehabilitation process but only a grave refoulment.

*\*(The author heads Panun Kashmir)*





By Bharat Verma

# Offensive Orientation

*For the benefit of our readers we are publishing the editorial of Indian Defence Review Journal of April-June 2010 edition. This editorial is written by Sh. Bharat Verma .*  
--Editor

continue to propel India economy to greater heights at least till the end of the year 2050. China's ageing profile shows trends that it will, first

nary threat developing on its borders.

The level of danger continues to creep north from "orange" to "red" on our land borders

East and breaking up their country, the Pakistani Sunnis not satisfied with this calibrated purge, now want to eliminate the Shias and expel the Ahmadiyas from Islam.

In its devious journey towards fundamentalist Islam, it also wants to lock the women folk inside their homes under Taliban diktat, thus negating fifty percent of its population. This dangerous religious philosophy based on extreme

instability. This in turn provides cheap human resource, to be used as cannon fodder, by the Jihad Factory run by the ISI. One feeds on the other. Islamic fundamentalism occupies Pakistan's political space, that in turn negates Indian influence, which wisely extended up to Afghanistan during British rule. It was the British Indian Army that kept a check on the repeat of a history of invasions from Central Asia.

pocket of influence with extreme philosophy in the valley that will come back to haunt India in the near future.

**Second**, to add to the woes of New Delhi, a bigger threat in addition to the existing one is posed by communist China. While too much 'god' motivates Pakistan, China pretends to be a 'godless' state.

Unlike nations that boast of an army, in Pakistan the army owns the state. On the other hand, in China the People's Liberation Army is loyal to the Chinese Communist Party and not the state. Dissent in both is a 'no-no' in varying degrees. Both, Pakistan and China, unlike India are paranoid about open societies. Thus, Beijing and Islamabad share commonality of purpose and together direct their energies to upstage India in international forums, on the borders and by fomenting internal dissent. In American forces a Unique 'Jointmanship' Islamabad clandestinely transfers sensitive defence technology it receives from the west to Beijing on 'barter basis' as there is ban on transfer to China!

The concurrent rise of China and India pits them against each other, as they compete for the same resources, but one with an authoritarian regime that is scared of Dalai Lama and Google, and the other with a free society that revels in religion, Dalai Lama and Google.

Threat from China was evident from its maps in 1946. Mao with the help of these maps described Tibet as the palm of a hand with its five fingers - Ladakh, Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan and NEFA as Chinese

(Contd. on Page 12)

## New Delhi requires to develop offensive orientation in its thinking....

grow old then rich, unlike Japan, which grew rich then old. India if governed fairly well, will grow rich and then old like Japan.

India's multi-ethnic, multi-religious society is the melting pot in Asia that benefits from rich diversity and open society. However, it is not as fortunate to be situated geographically in a safe haven like America, which is surrounded by nations with similar values.

Historically, the direction of demographic flow for centuries saw invasions from Central Asia to capture Delhi. Every fifty to hundred years, the subcontinent due to the genius of natives tends to generate wealth. From time immemorial this attracted hordes of invaders from Central Asia. Delhi Durbar was unable to defend itself as it neglected its military. Time and again, the rulers in Delhi were subjugated, as their incompetence in wielding the military was pathological.

Once again India is generating vast wealth. Once again it refuses to defend it.

Despite historical lessons of defeat at the hands of marauding armies, Delhi Durbar's incompetence and ignorance in equipping the excellent military machine inherited from the British is again on display. Today the danger of disruption to the Union is much higher than in the previous centuries. Worse, the lack of offensive orientation in political thinking degrades the ability of the military to defend the Union from the extraordi-

primarily on two counts.



First, as a deception plan Pakistan on its birth, professed to be secular, while in reality the leaders wanted a purely Islamic state. As a result the minority Hindu population of more than thirteen percent in a population of 76 million in 1947 got reduced to barely two percent even as the population of Pakistan increased in 2004 to 156 million. After refusing to share power with the Bengalis in the

form of imported Wahabi Islam is intolerant of worldview of others, wields nuclear weapons, nurtures a Talibanised army that runs a large irregular guerrilla force solely motivated by Islamic fundamentalism, and partners China. The ideology of Pakistan is in direct confrontation with the values cherished by India.

Worse, Pakistan's financial bankruptcy exacerbates the internal

Ironically, instead of consolidating and integrating Kashmir, pacifist New Delhi is permitting the birth of a similar

**The physical threat to India will materialize in 2012, after the exit of the American forces from Afghanistan.**

India has the potential to be to Asia, what America is to the world-a symbol of hope, liberty and freedom.

Closed societies like China or Pakistan do not fit the bill. Due to authoritarian regimes in Beijing and Islamabad, in times to come they will remain preoccupied with growing internal societal turmoil. Therefore, they will naturally tend to threaten democratic India, militarily and with the help of their irregular forces to divert attention from the brewing internal storm. Particularly true, as on the hand, the Indian democracy negates their authoritarian philosophy, and on the other, the Union is perceived as a soft target to be conquered or cause rupture.

But technology driven 21st century cannot be China's century in Asia as is being touted by its proxy Pakistan or the Chinese themselves. Simply as these are very brittle, regressive and perpetually paranoid societies that cannot sustain such enlarge influence as they get into an over reach. While the People's Liberation Army, the largest in the world consists of 3.5 million soldiers to project power; Beijing employs whopping twenty one million to police the dissent internally!

Military threat from such dictatorial regimes will increase to free societies as the western democracies retreat from Asia. There already exists a severe trust deficit between China and the small countries in the region.

Possibly India is the only country in Asia that boasts of the potential to occupy the strategic high ground gradually being vacated by the retreating western forces, provided it develops offensive orientation at the political level.

Unlike China, its soft power increasingly impacts on Asia. The young demographic profile will



Excerpted from *Kashmir 1947, Rival Versions of History*, by Prem Shankar Jha.

---Editor

# ‘Jawaharlal, do you want Kashmir, or do you want to give it away?’

**S**AM MANEKSHAW, the first field marshal in the Indian army, was at the ringside of events when Independent India was being formed. Then a colonel, he was chosen to accompany V P Menon on his historic mission to Kashmir. This is his version of that journey and its aftermath, as recorded in an interview with Prem Shankar Jha.

At about 2.30 in the afternoon, General Sir Roy Bucher walked into my room and said, ‘Eh, you, go and pick up your toothbrush. You are going to Srinagar with V P Menon. The flight will take off at about 4 o’clock’. I said, ‘why me, sir?’

‘Because we are worried about the military situation. V P Menon is going there to get the accession from the Maharaja and Mahajan.’ I flew in with V P Menon in a Dakota. Wing Commander Dewan, who was then squadron leader Dewan, was also there. But his job did not have anything to do with assessing the military situation. He was sent by the Air Force because it was the Air Force which was flying us in.’

Since I was in the Directorate of Military Operations, and was responsible for current operations all over India, West Frontier, the Punjab, and elsewhere, I knew what the situation in Kashmir was. I knew that the tribesmen had come in - initially only the tribesmen - supported by the Pakistanis.

Fortunately for us, and for Kashmir, they were busy raiding, raping all along. In Baramulla they killed Colonel D O T Dykes. Dykes and I were of the same seniority. We did our first year’s attachment with the Royal Scots in Lahore, way back in 1934-5. Tom

went to the Sikh regiment. I went to the Frontier Force regiment. We’d lost contact with each other. He’d become a lieutenant colonel. I’d become a full colonel.

Tom and his wife were holidaying in Baramulla when the tribesmen killed them.

The Maharaja’s forces were 50 per cent Muslim



Field Marshal Manekshaw

and 50 per cent Dogra.

The Muslim elements had revolted and joined the Pakistani forces. This was the broad military situation. The tribesmen were believed to be about 7 to 9 kilometers from Srinagar. I was sent into get the precise military



Jawahar Lal Nehru

situation. The army knew that if we had to send soldiers, we would have to fly them in. Therefore, a few days before, we had made arrangements for aircraft and for soldiers to be ready.

But we couldn’t fly them in until the state of Kashmir had acceded to India. From the political side, Sardar Patel and V P Menon had been dealing with Mahajan and the Maharaja, and

the idea was that V.P Menon would get the Accession, I would bring back the military appreciation and report to the government. The troops were already at the airport, ready to be flown in. Air Chief Marshall Elmhurst was the air chief and he had made arrangements for the aircraft from civil and military sources.

Anyway, we were flown in. We went to Srinagar. We went to the palace. I have never seen such disorganisation in my life. The Maharaja was running about from one room to the other. I have never seen so much jewellery in my life —

pearl necklaces, ruby things, lying in one room; packing here, there, everywhere. There was a convoy of vehicles.

The Maharaja was coming out of one room, and going into another saying, ‘Alright, if India doesn’t help, I will go and join my troops and fight (it) out’.

I couldn’t restrain myself, and said, ‘That will raise their morale sir’. Eventually, I also got the military situation from everybody around us, asking what the hell was happening, and discovered that the tribesmen were about seven or nine kilometres from what was then that horrible little airfield.

V P Menon was in the meantime discussing with Mahajan and the Maharaja. Eventually the Maharaja signed the accession papers and we flew back in the Dakota late at night. There were no night facilities, and the people who were helping us to fly back, to light the

airfield, were Sheikh Abdullah, Kasimsahib, Sadiqsahib, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, D P Dhar with pine torches, and we flew back to Delhi. I can’t remember the exact time. It must have been 3 o’clock or 4 o’clock in the morning.

(On arriving at Delhi) the first thing I did was to go and report to Sir Roy Bucher. He said, ‘Eh, you, go and shave and clean up. There is a cabinet meeting at 9 o’clock. I will pick you up and take you there.’ So I went home, shaved, dressed, etc. and Roy Bucher picked me up, and we went to the cabinet meeting.

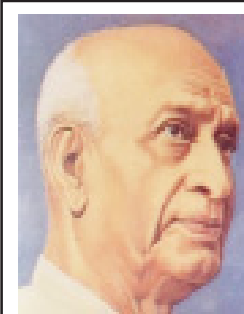
The cabinet meeting was presided by Mountbatten. There was Jawaharlal Nehru, there was Sardar Patel, there was Sardar Baldev

Singh. There were other ministers whom I did not know and did not want to know, because I had nothing to do with them. Sardar Baldev Singh I knew because he was the minister for defence, and I knew Sardar Patel, because Patel would insist that V P Menon take me with him to the various states.

Almost every morning the Sardar would be sent for V P, H M Patel and myself. While Mahajan (Patel’s daughter and de facto secretary) would sit cross-legged with a Parker fountain pen taking notes, Patel would say, ‘V P, I want Baroda. Take him with you.’ I was the bogeyman. So I got to know the Sardar very well.

At the morning meeting he handed over

the (Accession) thing. Mountbatten turned around and said, ‘come on Manekji (He called me Manekji instead of Manekshaw), what is the military situation?’ I gave him the military situation, and told him that unless we flew in troops immediately, we would have lost Srinagar, because going by road



Sardar Patel

would take days, and once the tribesmen got to the airport and Srinagar, we couldn’t fly troops in. Everything was ready at the airport.

As usual Nehru talked about the United Nations, Russia, Africa, God almighty, everybody,



V.P. Menon

until Sardar Patel lost his temper. He said, ‘Jawaharlal, do you want Kashmir, or do you want to give it away’. He (Nehru) said, ‘Of course, I want Kashmir (emphasis in original). Then he (Patel) said ‘Please give your orders’. And before he could say anything Sardar Patel turned to me and said, ‘You have got your orders’.

I walked out, and we started flying in troops at

about 11 o’clock or 12 o’clock. I think it was the Sikh regiment under Ranjit Rai that was the first lot to be flown in. And then we continued flying troops in. That is all I know about what happened. Then all the fighting took place. I became a brigadier, and became director of military operations and also if you will see the first signal to be signed ordering the cease-fire on 1 January (1949) had been signed by Colonel Manekshaw on behalf of C-in-C India, General Sir Roy Bucher. That must be lying in the Military Operations Directorate.

“V P Menon turned around and said, ‘Sam we’ve got the Accession.’”

Sam Manekshaw, the first field marshal in the Indian army, was at the ringside of events when Independent India was being formed. Then a colonel, he was chosen to accompany V P Menon on his historic mission to Kashmir. This is his version of that journey and its aftermath, as recorded in an interview with Prem Shankar Jha.

You went in on the afternoon of the 25th. When you got to Srinagar, were you actually present when the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession?

I was in the palace when V P Menon, Mahajan, and the Maharaja were discussing the subject. The Maharaja was running from one room to another....I did not see the Maharaja signing it, nor did I see Mahajan. All I do know is that V P Menon turned around and said, ‘Sam we’ve got the Accession.’

He said that to you.

Yes, yes he turned around to me, and so we flew back.

And you were actually

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## Offensive Orientation

(From Page 10)

territories that needed to be liberated. Tibet was liberated by force while New Delhi slept. Nepal found India's refusal to defend Tibet as a sign of an unreliable ally and thought it prudent to open communications with Beijing.

Today India stands encircled by China.

To be supreme in Asia, and impelled by the necessity to divert the attention from the growing internal turmoil, Beijing is likely to design a limited but visible military victory in a joint strategy with Islamabad. Pakistan under severe threat of fragmentation would be more than a willing ally.

With Afghanistan being abandoned by the West, beginning July 2011, Islamabad will craft a strategy to take over Kabul with the help of Islamic fundamentalist groups. The irony is that in the aftermath of the exit of the West; Taliban will occupy the Parliament being built by India in Kabul and connive disruption from there of the Indian Union. These groups will not target the West immediately since the latter retains the ability to re-intervene once inaction is deemed as 'suicidal'. The Taliban will initially concentrate on unraveling a soft target like India in concert with Beijing-Islamabad-Kabul or

Chinese Communists-Pakistan Army-Irregular Forces axis.

The physical threat to India will materialize in 2012, after the exit of the American forces from Afghanistan. Earlier India had to contend with a single threat from its West and Central Asia. Now another threat posed from the North under a joint strategy between

Maoist in India. The intensity of Cyber War will meanwhile increase.

In nutshell, the objective will be to keep India off balance.

By 2012, to unravel India, Beijing is likely to para-drop a division of its Special Forces inside the Siliguri Corridor to sever the Northeast. There will be simultaneous attacks in other parts of the border and linkup with the Special Forces holding the Siliguri Corridor will be effected. All these will

if it is attacked. India faces threat from two nuclear powers in its vicinity. Will it shift its stated position of second strike to first strike, if the territorial integrity of the Union is under threat?

2. Will New Delhi have the gumption to order the Navy to retaliate and stop the flow of cargo in the Indian Ocean being freighted to China? Or will it order the Air Force to conduct offensive and decisive strategic strikes inside Tibet?

The ideal opportunity for China to dismember India is between 2011 and 2014 on multiple counts. First, to divert attention from growing internal dissent. Second, beyond this period, Pakistan as a fragmented nation may not exist to support the Chinese. Third, the change of generation by 2015 will witness an assertive India.

Fourth, the new Indian assertiveness will ensure rapid modernization of the Armed Forces with robust military capabilities. Last but not the least, given the fact it does not pose threat to any country, India will create strong international alliances. It is in a unique position and gets along well with the West, as well as countries like Russia and others. In fact, the international opinion will decisively tilt in favour, if India shrewdly deals the powerful geo-economic card held in the arsenal.

The answer to the outlined nightmare stares India on its face, India simply needs to take out the cost-benefit ratio from the game plan of the opponent by rapidly acquiring the requisite military muscle that outguns and outclasses the adversary. War is akin to business. If there is no cost-benefit ratio, it cannot be imposed! Such assertive actions will also naturally propel India in Asia as the most influential player and arrest the slide of retreating democracies.

**By 2012, to unravel India, Beijing is likely to para-drop a division of its Special Forces inside the Siliguri corridor to sever the Northeast.**

China and Pakistan has emerged.

The developing scenario suggests that henceforth GHQ Rawalpindi will further orchestrate provocation against India to regain lost ground in J&K by way of rallies in PoK or Lahore and through military machinations on our borders. It will provide fillip to terrorist attacks, export of fake currency, inserting terrorists in India through Nepal, activation of sleeper cells, and raising controversy on non-issues like water. Beijing while talking ambiguously up to 2012 buildup will continue to support the Maoists in Nepal and step up training and funding to

take place under the nuclear overhang. In concert Islamabad will activate the second front to unhook Kashmir by making offensive moves across the IB in the plains and the desert to divide Indian reaction capability. Meanwhile the fifth columnists supporting these external forces will unleash mayhem inside.

**Two key question for New Delhi:**

1. Will India go nuclear if its territorial integrity is threatened? France's stated policy is that it will use the nuclear option, if Germany is attacked. Germany is not likely to face a nuclear adversary, yet France will use nuclear option

New Delhi requires to develop offensive orientation in its thinking for the answers to be in affirmative. India has produced more than its share of great thinkers in civil affairs.

However, being a pacifist society, it does not boast of a single military thinker of repute. Therefore, we should not hesitate to import knowledge from the best military thinkers to create an assertive society, just in the same way, as we need to import the best defence technologies to set up the most modern defence industry hub that ensures expansion of democratic space in Asia.

## 'Jawaharlal, do you want Kashmir, or do you want to give it away?'

(From Page 11)

present the next morning when V P Menon handed this over during that.....

(Interrupting) I was at the cabinet meeting presided over by Mountbatten when it was handed over....we'd got the Accession. I can't understand why anyone said that the thing was signed in Jammu, because we never went to Jammu.

Was it the cabinet meeting, or was it the defence committee of the cabinet?

No, it was a meeting with Mountbatten presiding, with Vallabhbhai Patel, Baldev Singh...

Nehru, of course.

There were other ministers too; I can't recall....

That was the defence committee. Otherwise, there would have been a much larger group. Sir Roy Bucher was there too?

Yes, yes, Sir Roy took me there.

Was the Maharaja, in your presence, demurring from signing, was he laying down conditions. Was V P Menon

saying 'look you've got to bring Abdullah into the Cabinet first....'

That I honestly can't tell you. All that I can say is that the Maharaja was ... he was not in his full senses. He was running about saying I will fight there. Unless the Indian army comes in, my own forces will fight'; that sort of rubbish was going on. All that V P Menon was telling him was that we cannot send forces in unless the accession takes place. Then he signed it. That is all I can tell you about the actual signing.

And you were present the next morning when the Instrument was handed over to Mountbatten?

Yes.

You have said that the first lot of troops were flown in around noon.

Immediately (emphasis in original) after the cabinet meeting. We went to Srinagar I think on the 25th. I can't tell you the dates. We came back on the 26th in the early morning, and the same day we started to fly troops in. And the

Pakistanis only came in when we started throwing the tribesmen out. It is only then that the Pakistani regular troops came in. I think it was General Akbar Khan, who was married to Begum Shah Nawaz's daughter; can't remember her name, dammit, I used to know them so well in Lahore. I think he organised the tribesmen coming in.

What you said about the Sikhs being moved on the 26th, immediately after the Letter of Accession was given, is not known. The story is that the first Indian troops were moved on the 27th - that they left at the crack of dawn, maybe even earlier, and that they arrived in Srinagar at 9 am. General Sen, who wrote a book about it, said that they were surprised to find troops of the Patiala regiment (state forces) already there. Did you find, when you went to Srinagar that in fact at some point earlier on, perhaps even before 15 August, the Maharaja of Patiala had agreed to send a battalion of his troops to Kashmir.

If that had happened, I would have known. No. There were no soldiers of either the Indian or Patiala forces which had gone in earlier.

Then is it possible that the troops that General Sen referred to were the ones who had gone in on the 26th?

No, that was the First Sikh Light In....Sikh Battalion, that was sent with Ranjit Rai. That was sent on the 26th. The same day we'd had the cabinet committee meeting, the defence committee meeting or whatever. I remember getting out of that meeting and making arrangements. Bogey Sen went in later. Poor old Ranjit was killed. He and I were from the same batch - the first batch at the Indian Military Academy.

In his book, The Great Divide, H V Hodson, who wrote it after being given access to Mountbatten's personal papers, doesn't specifically say that the Instrument was presented to the defence committee at its morning meeting. But he does say that after you had given your appreciation of the military situation in the morning,

discussion went on about, well, we should send in the troops but should we accept the Accession or not.

Which implies that the letter of Accession had already been given but the cabinet (committee) was still in two minds about whether it should be accepted, or whether the Maharaja should be told, well, we are sending in troops to support you, but we are not going to accept the accession just now. In the evening, apparently, the decision was taken that we will accept the accession but with the proviso about the reference to the wishes of the people which eventually went into the letter that Mountbatten wrote.

Now is it possible that although you made the arrangement to send the troops, the actual fly in took place on the 27th.

(Thinks) No they were sent in the same day. And I think you would be able to verify that from air force records because we didn't have all that many aircraft, and had to get them from the civilian airlines. They had all been got ready.

—Courtesy: The Net.



# KPSS (Kashmir) conducts community census

## State Govt. fiddling with Kashmiri Pandits Data

KS Correspondent

SRINAGAR: The recent statements given by the representative of the ruling government on the floor of house has put us in great shock. We never expected that the State Government will even fiddle with the data related to the Kashmiri Pandit Community. As we can understand that if they do so in respect of the Majority Community to satisfy their bosses in New Delhi, but to whom the State Government want to satisfy that they concealed the

gave the distorted the facts and figures related to the Kashmiri Pandit Community. In the year 2008 Kashmir Pandit Sangarsh Samiti (KPSS) initiated a Independent Census Program of the Kashmiri Pandits living in the Valley and visited every nook and corner of the State to collect the data related to the Kashmiri Pandits viz-a-viz population (pre-1990 upto 31/3/2008), killings, temples, health, jobs, financial status and other important factors. These figures reveal that out

of 75,343 (3,67,289 souls) families; 74,692 (3,64,130 souls i.e. 99.14%) families of Kashmiri Pandits living in Valley opted for migration from time to time. These figures also reveal that the KP population in the Valley is still draining out and obviously, it is not the security reason. This clearly indicates that the State and Central Government have failed in restoring their faith in the community and nothing positive has been done to stop this effectively.

S.NO.	Time Period	Kashmiri Pandit Population		
		In Kashmir Valley (families)	Migration (Families)	%age
1.	Till 01.01.1990	75,343	--	--
2.	01-01-1990-31-08-1990	40,741	34,602	45.93
3.	01-09-1990-31-03-1992	6,460	34,281	84.14
4.	01-04-1992--31-03-1998	3,773	2,687	41.59
5.	01-04-1998--31-03-2008	651	3,122	82.74
	Total		74,692	99.14

### UGC’s flawed perception on scholarships

## Minorities being discriminated in J&K

KS Correspondent

Highlighting the contradictions in the ‘Maulana Azad National Fellowship for Minority Students “for the year 2009-10, Sangarsh- A movement for Justice, Equality, Peace, Prosperity and Brotherhood organized a press conference which was jointly addressed by Ranjeet Sharma, Suresh Kumar and Mahesh Kaul President, General Secretary and Organizing Secretary of the movement respectively. Addressing the media persons Mahesh Kaul said that “It is unfortunate that the University Grants Commission while issuing the notification on behalf of the Ministry of Minority Affairs has failed to identify the actual minorities in the state of Jammu and Kashmir while announcing the scholarships for the minorities all over India for the M.Phil, PhD and other equivalent research degrees in universities. “He said that, ‘While the UGC has defined the number of seats for the minorities belonging to different communities in the various states but it has earmarked all the 27 fellowships for the majority community of the stale neglecting the various ethnic communities of the state .This is a serious anomaly as it appears that UGC and Ministry and Home

Affairs are confused about the definition of minority in this demographically changed and conflict ridden state.” Mahesh Kaul further added that, “UGC should define what as per its guidelines constitutes the minority in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Muslim community constitutes the majority population in this state and cannot be treated as a minority .Article 370 and special status of this state should not prompt the UGC and Ministry of Home affairs to create a paradoxical situation where the minorities of the state are subjected to discrimination and subjugation. It is clear that UGC is violating the right to equality and justice. It is severe contradiction that can lead to unrest in the State .Sangarsh has taken a serious note of this contradiction and will sensitize the scholars and intelligentsia about this gross injustice of the Ministry of Minority Affairs towards the minorities of J&K. Sangarsh has already taken the counsel of legal luminaries in this connection and will seek the intervention of the honourable courts to settle this issue of injustice towards the minorities of the state of Jammu and Kashmir’. Among others who were present in the press conference included Nitin Sharma and Bhanu Pratap.

## SC: Allowance to migrants can’t vary regionally

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, May 12: The Supreme Court today rejected the Jammu and Kashmir government’s plea on allowing disparity in the subsistence allowance being paid to migrants from various regions of the state, observing that there was “no distinction between the bullets fired in Doda, Poonch, Jammu or Kashmir”. Dismissing the state’s petition challenging the High Court verdict in a case involving the Zila Doda Mirgrants’ Welfare Committee, a Bench comprising Justices DK Jain and CK Prasad said the migrants from all regions were victims of terrorism, hence, there could not be any discrimination in the relief. The Bench told counsel Anis Suhrawardy, who appeared for the state, that the High Court order for uniformity in the allowance did not suffer from any infirmity. “You are creating more difficulties for yourself when you don’t carry out court orders,” the Judges warned him. People migrated out of the state not due to weather conditions but because of terrorism and the reality being so, there was no question of disparity in the allowance, the Bench said. “Your scheme has been held to be discriminatory” by the High Court and the apex court earlier, the Bench pointed out.

## Poz Pazaan Aalam Dazaan

A well known verse in Kashmiri ‘poz pazaan aalam dazaan’ still continues to hold good during present times. Truth sometimes can be so bitter, especially when it hurts us and we tend to cover-up the facts through misinformation. Being a witness for the past two decades to the personal likes and dislikes of some of our community leaders in Bangalore, i feel ashamed of divisive forces within our community who get cynical pleasure in creating confusion which is aimed at dividing the community. Their intentions unfortunately remain veiled due to their meticulously carved attitude of self denial & self-centeredness which gets maliciously propagated but is never substantiated with ground realities in form of authentic evidence that can speak for itself. It takes larger efforts to unite people but just a bit of misinformation to fractionalize our miniscule biradari. Some of us do tend to present ourselves as the brain behind every success as seen in various functions held at Bangalore for past two decades and try to project ourselves as messiahs for the community. Most of us are aware of the saying “lade foj nam chade sardar ka’ and we deliberately try to ignore and forget about our actions especially when we have other vested interest and hidden strategies at the back of our mind. We must get rid of such attitude within us as it can further alienate us from masses that we may try to deceive but they can not be fooled for ever. It is important to understand the dynamics of human action in relation to our thoughts, con-

sciousness or systemic brain-wash that can be fatal to the very survival of our community in the long run. When we point a finger at others we should not forget that other fingers are pointed at ourselves. What i mean we can not completely disassociate ourselves since we too might have endorsed their actions at times unintentionally in good faith for the larger interest of our community. Truth must prevail and our actions must be transparent taking into account the views expressed by others and approved by the general body of any organization. As the saying goes that united we stand divided we fall. Let us collectively work for the unity of our community members in general and youth in particular who have now started coming in the forefront and will have to face future challenges in a totally different environment with changing needs. Our generation will be accountable for making way for this much needed change. We should not get over possessive and hold on to the chair and be disturbed over such inevitable transitions and put hurdles for the emerging leaders. However, it is heartening to see that the true membership of Kashmiri Hindu Samiti in Bangalore has started growing day by day and its democratically elected Managing Committee Members, currently at the helm of affairs should remain united, transparent and accountable for all our actions besides living up to the expectations of our general body members with utmost honesty. Dr. Vijay Kumar Challu, Bangalore

OPEN LETTER

## KHC rejects return move

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 12: Kashmir Hindu Conference (KHC) Working Body in a meeting here today held under the chairmanship of M L Thusoo discussed the recent notice issued by the Government through the relief organization asking migrants to submit applications on the prescribed format for their return to Valley. Expressing its dissatisfaction over the Government’s move, the KHC said how the displaced people will fill up the format when no blue print for their safety, security and respectable stay in the Valley has been drawn so far. Moreover the basic issue of their stay in Valley has not been settled by the Government so far. The Government under such circumstances should not expect that the displaced people will fill up their forms as till date no guarantees have come from the Government, it added. The meeting demanded that the measures taken for security and safety of the migrants be made public so that a sense of security prevails among the displaced Pandits for their return. It said hundreds of KPs were killed before the mass exodus and no one responsible for the heinous acts was punished under law and instead the killers of over dozens of KPs were set scot free by the Government, it added. The meeting said constitutional guarantees, minority status and reserved constituencies for the KPs. The community think-tank has already presented at formula regarding carving out a big township for the minority Hindus ni the Valley. The meeting among others was addressed by P L Koul Badgami, K L Ganjoo, A K Sadhu, Jai Krishan Raina, S N Raina, A K Bhat, J L Mantoo, G L Bhat and M L Koul.



# MAHA SHIVRATRI—Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants-VIII

BY UPENDER AMBARDAR

**T**HE Shivratri rituals having socio-religious and the historical continuum provide contextual relevance to the exemplary cultural traditions of Kashmir. They are evident expressions of Kashmir's own version of unbroken religious customs, observed Sh. Roop Krishan Dhar, an erstwhile resident of the village Thajvara, district Anantnag and now putting-up at ORT

myriad hues of the Shivratri rituals are embodiments of an ancient tradition, which fortify our familial and social structure, affirmed Sh. Pran Nath Koul, an erstwhile native of Bijbehara, district Anantnag and presently residing at Buta Nagar Janipur Jammu. The haunting and memorable recollections of the festival are like a sweet memory for him. Overtaken by a sudden rush of nostalgia, Sh. Koul stated that as a run-up to

*The Shivratri rituals are an amazing amalgam of faith, beliefs and abundant devotion, which have helped us to manoeuvre in troubled times*

Complex Purkhoo Jammu. Sharing the festival related memories, he disclosed that all the three erstwhile Pandit families of the village followed vegetarian tradition. The distinctive cuisines comprised yellow cheese, *dumalu*, *muja kaela*, crisp fried potato and *nadru chruma* cauliflower and the prized *hakh* as meat was a taboo on Shivratri. He also revealed that potter from the adjoining village of Wagram would bring the Vatak utensils at the auspicious timing about two to three days prior to the festival. They were initially stocked in the uppermost storey of the house '*Kaeni*' before their final entry in the Vatak Kuth on the Shivratri day. As per the family '*reeth*', rice and cooked vegetables were the permitted offerings to the designated '*Resh Doul*'. The notable mission was the absence of milk offering. In sharp contrast to the usual practice, the '*Doon Mavus*' *pooja* was performed in the morning and not in the evening and that too in the 'Vatak Kuth' and not at the river or stream bank. The uniquely

the festival, the whole house was readied for the momentous occasion by clay smearing called '*livun*'. The clay utilised for the said purpose was procured from the local Jaya Devi Wudar or plateau. It was specially collected in autumn and then sun dried for subsequent Shivratri use. The potter from the nearby village of Waghama would bring the Vatak utensil comprising two big sized pitchers '*Nout*', one smaller pitcher '*Choud*', five wide mouthed utensils called '*Doulji*', five earthen lamps, clay saucers called '*Toke*', *dupjoor* and about three to four cooking utensils, locally known as '*laej*'.

Out of the two, one of the '*Nout*' was utilised for storing drinking water on the festival day and the other earthen utensils '*laej*' were subsequently used for cooking purpose for the ensuing year as all the previously used cooking utensils were discarded and replaced by fresh one's on Shivratri.

The Vatak utensils were taken to the Vitasta ghat to get them filled-up with water by the ladies

of the house. However utmost care was taken to protect them from the onlooker's gaze by covering the pooja utensils with the corner portions of the worn

*The uniquely myriad hues of the Shivratri rituals are embodiments of an ancient tradition, which fortify our familial and social structure*

sari's.

Elaborating further Sh. Koul also revealed that as per his family *reeth*, it was customary to utilise only the water procured from the Vitasta river during pooja. Another curious custom entailed that grass '*Aarie*' and '*Vusier*' had to be made from the dry grass bundle, which had been washed thoroughly in the flowing water of the Vistata river. The left over utilised grass had to be fed to the cows in order not to dilute the piousness of the grass, which was utilised for the pooja purpose. The potter who had brought the pooja utensils was given

rice, fresh vegetables, sugar, loose tea and fire wood in addition to cash.

As per the family, *reeth*, the tempting meat dishes of '*roganjosh*', *kaeliya*, minced meat

preparation of '*maech*', sour sheep liver cuisine of *chouk charvan*, *palakh*, *hakh* and '*mujkaela*' were the sacrificial offerings to the designated utensils of '*Bhairav Doul*'. Additionally, a mixture of seven uncooked pulses comprising rajmash, moong, corn, masoor, maha, black and white *channa*, known by the local name of '*Sut Soaj*' was a special offering to the '*Resh Doul*'. It is in complete variance with the *reeth* prevalent in most of the families where only milk is the lone offering. A portion of '*Sut soaj*' was specially kept in the *Shali* storage room, locally known as '*Dhan Kuich*'. It

was in accordance with family belief that observance of this *reeth* would ensure bounteous produce of the grains and pulses during the ensuing year. The family specific *reeth* also ordained that apart from sugar candy '*kund*', kishmish, cardimum, almond kernals and sugar crystal locally known as '*nabud*', were also offered to both the '*Nout*' and the '*choud*'. Sh Koul also revealed that in addition to the electric light, an oil lit earthen *diya* was ensured

would signal the cleaning process in the form of smearing the whole house with a mixture of water and clay. The special clay having unrivaled purifactory qualities was procured from the adjacent Gadibal forest. The house cleanliness process would continue upto Phagun Krishna Paksh Suptami, locally known as '*Hur Satum*'.

However, as per an unusual family custom, the smear aiding fabric, locally known as '*livun hur*' was permitted to be

*The traditionally revered heritage customs of Shivratri are our treasured possession. They not only facilitate our spiritual progress but also assist to sustain our inner strength*

to remain burning throughout the night of Shivratri in the Vatak Kuth. On '*Salam*', the family priest would invariably come to apply *tilak* and tie '*mouli*' (*naerven*) on the wrists of all the family members. In contrast to the most common *reeth*, the '*Doon Mavus*' *pooja* was performed at home and not at the river bank.

On Tila Ashtami, eight oil lit earthen lamps were placed in the Thoker Kuth, cow-shed, Shali storage room, charcoal ash heap, yarbal ghat and outer door of the courtyard. No Jattu Toun was performed.

The traditionally revered heritage customs of Shivratri are our treasured possession. They not only facilitate our spiritual progress but also assist to sustain our inner strength, observed Sh. Pushkar Nath Koul of the village Uttersu, district Anantnag and now a resident of Bantalab, Jammu. Refreshing the festival related memories, he disclosed that Phagun Krishan Paksh Pratipadha, locally known as '*Hur Oakdoh*'

taken out of the house only on Phagun Krishna Paksh Ashtami i.e '*Hur Aethum*'. Strangly enough, the said '*livun hur*' had to be consigned to the flowing waters of the village rivulet as it was regarded as a sinful act if it was thrown at an unclean and soiled place. The ritualistic dishes on '*Hur Aethum*' were meat, fish and a small fish variety of '*gurun*'. The following day of '*Hur Navum*' was a rest day. On Phagun Krishna Paksh Dashmi, locally known as '*Dyara Dahum*', the daughters-in-law would invariably return back to their homes from their parental houses. As per a belief, their home coming was symbolic of the arrival of Goddess Laxmi'. Sh Koul also disclosed that on the next day locally known as '*Vagur Kah*', a small sized earthen utensil, locally known as '*Vaer*' was reverentially seated on the back space of the mud-hearth, locally known as '*Dhaan*'. It was believed to usher-in good fortune, property and wellbeing. Three to five walnuts were put inside the said '*Vagur*' after they had  
(Contd. on Page 16)





BY PROF. M.L. KOULL

# The need for a Lalla Ded Lexicon

'To do philosophy is to explore one's own temperament, yet at the same time to attempt to discover the truth'--Iris Murdok

The very core of Lalla Ded is philosophical and that is why she captures our imagination and tugs at our heart-strings. Her *vaakhs* are so compact and perfect that it is absolutely futile to better them in any manner. The entire repository of *vaakhs* as preserved through generations by our ancestors is a civilisational legacy. Now a time has come that her word reflective of her lofty legacy is under a vicious onslaught. Lalla Ded's word was not just a fluke, but, it, in fact, climaxed the entire tradition of thought-process and aesthetics that was formed, and perpetuated through generations. As an heir to the entire corpus of philosophy and aesthetics she had full awareness of objectifying her experiences, lived and felt, through a word, apt and suitably contextualised.

Poetry (*kavya*) as defined by the Kashmiri aesthetes was word and meaning (*shabadarthav kavyum*) which eventually evolved as the combination of word and meaning (*shabadarthav sahitav kavyam*) at the hands of a host of aesthetes. The very word, *sahit*, during an evolutionary process in aesthetics, came to be the source of the word, *sahitya* (literature) in the domain of Indian aesthetics.

Lalla Ded as revealed by her *vaakhs* was an immaculate scholar of language, both Sanskrit and Kashmiri (*desh bhasha*). As a word-smith she has deftly used apt words to depict her spiritual experiences and yearnings. It is the word that explains her indigenous roots and unbreakable linkages with the civilisational impulse of the land she was born in. Her word is enriching not only 'intellectually and spiritually, but also geographically'. Force and verve of her exceptionally rare word' caused a fright in the mind of Sufi colonisers who resorted to 'medieval forgery' to distort and impale her word. It is Lalla Ded's word that speaks for her splashes of creativity. It is, again, the word that neatly reveals her philosophical

culture and spiritual zest and credo.

To preserve and perpetuate the invaluable legacy of Lalla Ded I am attempting to prepare a sort of Lalla Ded-lexicon (*kosha*) with a view to making her *vaakhs* more intelligible to Lalla Ded lovers and keeping the rootless and deracinated intellectuals and their proteges away from rabidly interfering with the word of Lalla Ded.

Word: **Shiva**

a) One who cuts away sins

Shyati papam iti shiva

b) One who illumines/reveals the universe vasati, to shine

c) One who removes the sleep of ignorance

'sin, to sleep or to dream

**Shanker:** One who does good to devotees and mankind at large

**sham karoti iti shankerah**

**Shakti:** The whole universe lies indistinguishably submerged in the consciousness of Shiva. When He wills to see what is in Him, He is Shakti. Absolute freedom (svatantrya) of Shiva to create is Shakti. In transcendence Shiva is 'bodh', Janan, knowledge. In immanence He is Shakti. There is hardly any object in the world/universe that does not emanate from the consciousness of Shiva. In Kashmir Shaivism Shiva is an absolute non-dual reality. When we speak of Shiva, Shakti is automatically presumed. If Shakti is referred to, Shiva is pre-supposed. Shiva devoid of freedom to create is a dead body. "Shiva shakti bina shavah".

**Parmarth Sar of Bhagvan Abhinavgupta** puts---

**Iccha-Jnan-Kriyashakti Svabhavam eva, n.... shakti**

**Virhitam Jadakalpam, anyat cha anant shakti paripurnam.**

**Prakash:** Shiva in essence is beyond the world/universe. In this state He is prakash, pure *jnan*, knowledge or *bodh*.

Prakash is His *svarup*, intrinsic reality. In Vedanta it is called '*kutastha rupa*', the fundamental nature of Brahman. Every object that we see around us shines in the prakash, luminosity of Shiva's consciousness.

**Vimarsh:** Shiva is prakash, no doubt; but He knows that He is prakash. His knowledge about His luminosity (*prakash*) is vimarsha. Khemraja in his work *Parapreveshika* puts. 'If Shiva were merely prakash, not also vimarsha, He would be totally inert and powerless. It can simply be put that if prakash

Shaiva exponent named Bhasker, Chita and manas are synonymous. Chita is equated with an individual self called *anu*, *pashu* or *atma*. It is *atma*, an individual self, as it 'moves on incessantly to different varieties of existence by sticking to *rajas*, *tamas* and *sattvas*'. Chita serves as a source to feel, think and cognise the Highest Reality, Shiva or Maheshvar.

**Chetyate Vimrishyate anena parmam tatvam iti chitam.**

**Manas:** Manas is the same as *chita*. It is the mind that is replete with various forms of desires and thought-constructs. If it is set to look within, it becomes a mantra. If it is directed to outward objects in the world, it becomes messy with *sankalpas* and *vikalpas* (thought-currents). Lexically *samkalpa* and *vikalpaka* of manas is termed a '*manas vyapar*', mind's activity.

**m a n y a t e budhyate anena iti manah/ mansah**

**Vijnanbhairava** conveys--

**m a n a s a m chetna shakti atma chetya chatushtayam,**

**yada priye parikshanam tada tad**

**b h a i r a v a m vapu !**

**Guru:** He is the spiritual director. He teaches the highest truth to his disciples. He initiates them through a mantra. He also ferries them across the ocean of nagging doubts and misunderstandings He bestows them with his grace (shaktipat). A guru is a perfect soul, a Shiva, with a heightened sense of aesthetics. He initiates a pupil, but does not impose himself on his psycho-physical personalty. He develops him as a free being after the model of Shiva.

**Mantra:** It is the divine power clothed in sound. A guru initiates his pupil through a mantra, which is replete with

energy and force. A mantra is to be meditated upon to achieve a spiritual destiny. An aspirant identifies himself with the deity that is invoked in the mantra. After meditating upon it, he becomes the mantra. To realise the potency of a mantra, a seeker has to have initiative and self-will. The Vedic rishis were '*mantra drshtara*'.

Etymologically, mantra is formed with *man* + suffix *tran* and is explained as '*man-nat trayte iti mantra*'.

**Akula:** It is a lexical word drawn from the Agamas. The Kashmiri Shaivites have accepted the word with its meaning to buttress their concept of Shiva as a non-dual absolute. **Akula** is Shiva in transcendence. He is **akula** because He has no **kula** and has not manifested the world/universe from his own essence.

**Kula:** *Kula* is Shakti, Shiva's immanence in all that exists in the world. *Akula* is subtle, *kula* is gross. it is gross as **akula** manifests itself in gross objects of the world/universe.

Bhasker Roy, an authority on the Tantras puts-

**kulam shakti iti prokhtam, akulam shiva uchyate,**

**kulakula sambandah kaulam iti abhideeyate !**

**Kularnava Tantra** reiterates the same thesis about **akula** and **kula akulam Shivah iti ukhtam, kulam shakti prakritite**

**kulakul anusandhane nipunah kaulika priye**

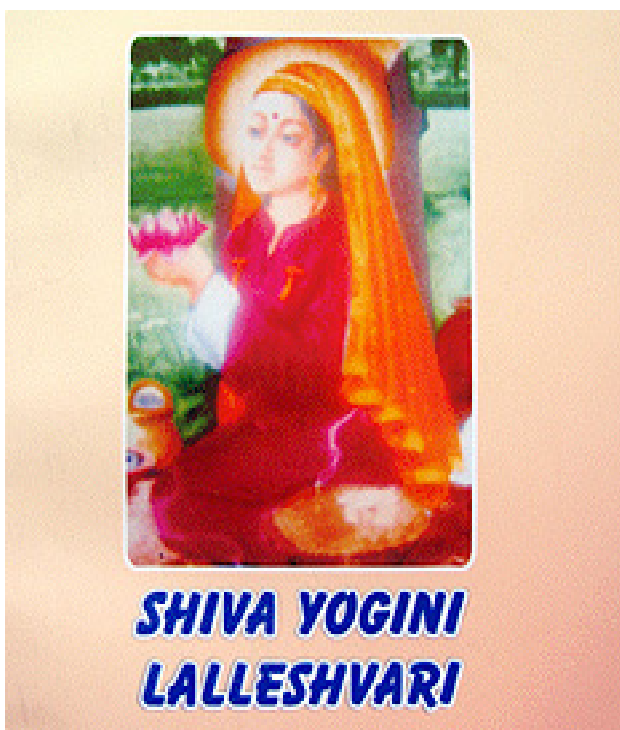
**Shunya:** *Shunya* is a word drawn from the Buddhist texts. In fact, Nagarjun built a whole philosophical thesis on shuniya, which in translation means void or emptiness. In Kashmir Shaivism the word was accepted, but, was invested with a new meaning. The word shunya in meaning is '*abhava*' which becomes '*bhava*' if prefix 'a' is deleted. 'a' stands for Shiva and many other names typifying Shiva. '*pabhava*' stands for objects in the world/universe. So, Shuniya, to Lalla Ded, is the state of consciousness of Shiva in which the world of objects lies merged in an unmanifest form. Such a concept of shunya is positive as against its negative shade of meaning that the Buddhists conveyed through it. A quote from a Shaiva text conveys -

**ashyuyam shunyam iti ukhtam shunyatcha abhava ishyate**

**abhava satu vijneyo yatra bhava layam gata !**

**Nad & Bindu:** The two lexical terms having their origins in the Agamas are vital to the understanding of Lalla Ded as a poetess wedded to the Shaiva thought. Bindu is perfect, luminous, eternal and metaphysical locus in con

(Contd. on Page 16)



Lalla Ded as revealed by her *vaakhs* was an immaculate scholar of language, both Sanskrit and Kashmiri (*desh bhasha*)

is transcendental Shiva, Vimarsha is His Shakti or immanence in all that exists. Vimarsha can also be called I-consciousness of Shiva. It is because of this I-consciousness that Shiva manifests the world/universe which otherwise lies diluted in His consciousness.

Etymologically vimarsh is formed by the prefix *vi* + *mrsh* (root).

**Chita :** It is the limited form of *Chiti*, which is consciousness supreme. Chita is mind that is constituted by *buddhi*, *aham* and *manas*. As per an eminent



# The need for a Lalla Ded Lexicon

(From Page 15)

sciousness supreme. Nada is the expansion (*visfar*) of Bindu to mainfest that what lies submerged in Bindu. Bindu is prakash (I-uminosity) and Nada is vimarsha (I-consciousness). Bindu has layers of expansion, prasar or visfar from a kala, also called Chita-kala, to anand shakti (aa), Icha shakti (e,e), Jnan shakti (u,u) and kriya-shakti (re-ow). As the locus of central luminous and perfect consciousness Bindu has eight layers of outward expansion. It has to be understood that the expansion happens inside the consciousness supreme, not outside it.

In the words of Prof. Nila Kanth Gurtuprakash at the level of *chiti* is Bindu and *prakash* at the level of *chita* is Nada.

**Oum :** Lalla Ded as an initiated Shaivite has alluded to oum as a bija-mantra. To her, *oum & aham* as two bija-mantras have the same import. In a particular *vaakh* she has used the word '*anahat*' in place of *oum* or *pranav*, a vedic mantra. *Anahat*, to her, is not the fourth station in the

process of awakening the *kundalini* that as per yogic texts lies coiled up in a state of sleep at *muladhaar*'. *Anhat*, to her, is the same as Bnidu and Nada. It is '*pranav*', an enternal, unhindered sound, *oum*. This very '*pranav*' when in a state of unity with consciousness supreme or Shiva is Bindu and when in expansion, visfar, for outward emanation is Nada. The entire word-hoard from a to h when lying in total submergence in consciousness supreme (*chiti*) is Bindu, but its evolution through various stages of para vaak, pashyanti, madhyama and vaikhuri is Nada. Bindu, therefore, is the locus of both expansion and assimilation (*samaahaar*).

**Mudra:** Literally, the word mudra means disposition of various limbs of human body in particular shapes. Lalla Ded has used the word in a spiritual sense. Well-versed in the Shaiva-texts she was aware of *khecari mudra* that denotes a psycho-physical posture enabling a seeker to move about in absolute freedom in the skies of consciousness. In the Agamic texts mudra has been ex-

plained in various ways. Mudra is that which gives joy (*mudam dadati*). Mudra, again, is that which removes bondage (*bandhan*) (*mum dravyati*), Khechari mudra is a name for Shiva. It explains his condition. Lalla Ded has referred to '*chopimudri*', which is the condition of Buddha. The disposition of silence is a type of yoga mainly practised by the Buddhists and some Hindu Hath-Yogis. As Lalla Ded did not subscribe to Hathyoga, she pours out that one cannot enter Shiva's consciousness through the disposition of silence (*chopi mudri*).

**Anamya:** The Lord Shiva in His inherent nature (*svabhava*) is beyond the objective world/universe. But, He has a natural tendency to manifest the objective world/universe that lies submerged in Him. The equipoise between His transcendence and tendency to manifest (*shakti*) is what is called anamya or niramaya. In this condition of Shiva all objects (*bhavas*) are beyond the limitations of time and space (*desh* and *kaal*) and lie in absolute identity with Shiva's conscious-



**Shodashi Mata  
Shakti-God as Mother --Painting by Shail Gulati.**

ness only in the form of impressions or images.

In the words of Prof Nila Kanth Gurtu *anamaya* is the

luminosity of all-pervading, transcendental and ever-shining consciousness of Shiva wherein I-consciousness (*vimarsh*) is embedded.

## MAHA SHIVRATRI—Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants

(From Page 14)

been filled up with water. Only vegetarian dishes were permitted to be cooked on the said day. On the morning of Shivratri', head of the family or the eldest son would ensure the preparation of '*Aarie*' and '*Vusur*', precaution being taken that grass shreds were twind leftway. Interestingly, the grass rope is made by right side interlacing of the grass strands. The '*Vatuk*' comprised nout, choud, doul, resh vaer, sonipatul and three small sized '*varie*'. The three '*varie*' were supposed to symbolize the accompanying divine wedding guests.

An array of vegetarian dishes of '*dumalu*', *nadir yakhni*, *hakh*, *vapal hak*, *mujae kaela* and yellow cheese were the characteristic cuisines cooked as per the family reeth. Interestingly enough, the number of walnuts put-in the '*Nout*' were in accordance with the family strength and it

was ensured that no family member got unrepresented. As per the family reeth, an elder family member was required to sleep in the Vatak Kuth during the Shivratri night. The continuous and interrupted burning of the oil lit earthen lamps was also ensured in the '*Vatak Kuth*', which was in addition to the electric light. The vatak utensils were filled-up at Shankar Nag of the village. As per the family reeth, the male member of the family was required to carry the '*Nout*', whileas '*choud*' had to be taken care of only by a female family member. The vegetarian dishes were cooked upto Salam.

The *Vatak Parmujan* was performed on the Shankar Nag, which was accomplished in midst of blowing of conch shell and ringing of the hand-bell locally known as '*ghanta*'. The house inmates would return back to the home to loud accompaniment of

the said music. It was indicative of rejoicing on the satisfactory accomplishment of the divine wedding of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati. During the 'knock at the door'; ritual of '*dubh dubh*', an elderly lady would remain inside the closed door and symbolically wish and grant all the good things of life to the house inmates. On Tila Ashtami evening, seven oil lit earthen lamps having a sprinkle of black sesame seeds (*Sesamum indicum*) were at the first instant covered under a willow basket, locally known as '*Kranjul*' for about one hour. Afterwards, each one of them was placed at cowshed, rice storage room, charcoal ash and cowdung heaps, the courtyard wall, the stream bank and emerging spot of the village stream.

The Shivratri rituals are an amazing amalgam of faith, beliefs and abundant devotion, which

have helped us to manoeuvre in troubled times, recounted Sh. Avtar Krishan Razdan, an original resident of the village Brah, district Anantnag and presently putting up at ORT complex Purkhoo Jammu.

Sharing the blissful memories, he disclosed that on '*Vagur Bah*', a small brass pitcher locally called '*gudva*' was reverentially seated in the kitchen instead of the '*Vatak-Kuth*' usually after the sun-set. Amidst pooja, three walnuts, water cooked rice, hak and fried nadru slices were ritualistically put-in them. As per the family reeth, the Vatak comprised Nout, choud, one specially designed pitcher locally known as '*Gangiz*', one sanipatul, '*dhoopjoor*', one '*Doul*' and is small sized '*Doulji*'. A mixture of rice, maize, barley, black and white sesame seeds, moong and mash were ritualistically put inside the '*Doul*'

amidst the Vatak Pooja. The said offering was locally known as dry '*Sut Soaj*'. As per the family reeth, instead of the usual milk offering, sour reddish locally known as '*mujae kaela*' was specific offering to '*Resh Pyala*', symbolically represented by '*Gangiz*'.

Interestingly, '*Resh Pyala*' substituted '*Resh Doul*' as per the family custom. The '*Nout*' and '*Choud*' utensils were decorated with native wild flowers of '*Takibatin*', '*Verkim*' and dry marigold in addition to '*Babri*' twigs. Only female members would fill-up the Vatak utensils with water at the village spring as participation of male members was disallowed. A lavish spread of vegetarian dishes comprised '*dal-nadru*', *mujae kaela*, *hakh* and *nadir churma*.

The *Vatak Parmujan* on Amavasya was done at the village spring Nagbal. All the Pandit families

would collectively participate in the pooja to the accompaniment of blowing of conch, ringing of hand-bell and burning of fire crackers. During the '*Thuk Thuk*' ritual, it was obligatory to pronounce Lord Shiva as a witness before the main door was opened and house-inmates were allowed inside.

On Tila Ashtami, a red coloured turnip was placed on a grass woven '*Aarie*' and seven earthen lamps having a sprinkle of black til seeds were oil lit. They were subsequently placed at Nagbal, cowshed, livestock room, charcoal and cowdung heaps, and courtyard wall. However no lamp was permitted to be taken inside the house as it was regarded inauspicious. It was also revealed that one previously used oil lamp was also placed at the village rivulet bank.

—(To be continued)





Sanjay Godbole

We are publishing the complete text of Sharda Stotram with English translation for the benefit of our esteemed reader. --Editor

### Sharada Stotram

#### शारदा स्तोत्रम्

नमस्ते शारदे देवि काश्मीरपुरवासिनि ।  
त्वामहं प्रार्थये नित्यं विद्यादानं च देहि मे ॥ १ ॥  
namaste śārade devi kâśmirapuravāsini ।  
tvāmahaṁ prārthaye nityaṁ vidyādānaṁ ca dehi me ॥ 1 ॥

Obeisance to Thee, O effulgent Sarada, worshipped in the City of Kashmir, I always beseech Thee to vouchsafe to me Pure Knowledge.

या श्रद्धा धारणा मेधा वाग्देवी विधिवल्लभा ।  
भक्तजिह्वाग्रसदना शमादिगुणदायिनी ॥ २ ॥  
yā śraddhā dhāraṇā medhā vāgdevī vidhivallabhā ।  
bhaktajihvāgrasadanā śamādiguṇadāyini ॥ 2 ॥

You are faith, memory, intelligence, the divinity of speech, the Spouse of Creator, Brahma. You grace the devotees speech, You are the bestower of inner peace, and all other excellences.

नमामि यामिनीं नाथलेखालङ्कृतकुन्तलाम् ।  
भवानीं भवसन्तापनिर्घापणसुधानदीम् ॥ ३ ॥  
namāmi yāminīm nāthalekhālaṅkṛtakuntalām ।  
bhavānīm bhavasantāpanirvāpaṇasudhānadīm ॥ 3 ॥

I bow down to Bhavani who is decorated with ear ornament studded with the flash of lightning, who is a river of nectar that cures the torments of worldly life.

भद्रकाल्यै नमो नित्यं सरस्वत्यै नमो नमः ।  
वेदवेदाङ्गवेदान्तविद्यास्थानेभ्य एव च ॥ ४ ॥

bhadrakālyai namo nityaṁ sarasvatyai namo namaḥ ।  
vedavedāṅgavedāntavidyāsthānebhya eva ca ॥ 4 ॥

Constant Salutations to Thee, O Mother Beneficent! You are the stay of Veda and the auxillary branches of the Veda, of the Vedanta and all other forms of learning. Salutations to You, O Goddess of Learning.

ब्रह्मस्वरूपा परमा ज्योतिरूपा सनातनी ।  
सर्वविद्याधिदेवी या तस्यै वाण्यै नमो नमः ॥ ५ ॥

brahmasvarūpā paramā jyotirūpā sanātanī ।  
sarvavidyādhidevī yā tasyai vānyai namo namaḥ ॥ 5 ॥

O Mother, You are the personification of Brahman. You are the Supreme Spirit, the light Divine, the Eternal Being. You are the Presiding Deity in all branches of learning. Salutations to You, O Goddess of Learning.

यया विना जगत्सर्वं शश्वज्जीवन्मृतं भवेत् ।  
ज्ञानाधिदेवी या तस्यै सरस्वत्यै नमो नमः ॥ ६ ॥  
yayā vinā jagatsarvaṁ śaśvajjīvanmṛtaṁ bhavet ।  
jñānādhidevī yā tasyai sarasvatyai namo namaḥ ॥ 6 ॥

But for You the whole world would appear lifeless. You are the Presiding Deity of Knowledge. Salutations to You, O Goddess of Learning.

यया विना जगत्सर्वं मूकमुन्मत्तवत्सदा ।  
या देवी वागधिष्ठात्री तस्यै वाण्यै नमो नमः ॥ ७ ॥  
yayā vinā jagatsarvaṁ mūkamunmattavatsadā ।  
yā devī vāgadhīṣṭhātrī tasyai vānyai namo namaḥ ॥ 7 ॥

But for You the whole world would appear dumb and demented. You are the Presiding Deity of Speech. Salutations to You, O Goddess of Speech.

#### शारदा भुजङ्ग स्तोत्रम्

सुवक्षोजकुम्भां सुधापूर्णकुम्भां	सुशान्तां सुदेहां हृगन्ते कचान्तां
प्रसादावलम्बां प्रपुण्यावलम्बां ।	लसत्सल्लताङ्गीमनन्तामचिन्त्यां
सदास्येन्दुबिम्बां सदानोष्णबिम्बां	स्मरेत्तापसैः सर्गपूर्वस्थितां तां
भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ १ ॥	भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ १ ॥
कटाक्षे दयार्द्रां करे ज्ञानमुद्रां	कुरङ्गे तुरङ्गे मृगेन्द्रे खगेन्द्रे
कलाभिर्विनिद्रां कलापैः सुभद्रां ।	मराले मदेभे महोक्षेधिरूढां ।
पुरश्रीं विनिद्रां पुरस्तुङ्गभद्रां	महत्यां नवम्बां सदा सामरूपां
भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ २ ॥	भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ २ ॥
ललामाङ्गफलां लसद्धानलोलां	ज्वलत्कान्तिवर्द्धां जगन्मोहनाङ्गीं
स्वभक्तैकपालां यशश्रीकपोलां ।	भजन्मानसाम्भोज शुभ्रान्त भृङ्गीं ।
करेत्वक्षमालां खनत्प्रत्नलोलां	निजस्तोत्र सङ्गीत नृत्य प्रभाङ्गीं
भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ ३ ॥	भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ ३ ॥
सुसीमन्तवेणीं दृशा निर्जितेनीं	भवाभ्मोज नेत्राज सम्पूज्यमानां
रमत्कीरवाणीं नमद्भ्रूपाणीं ।	लसन्मन्दहासप्रभावकत्र चिद्वां ।
सुधामन्थरास्यां मुदाचिन्त्यवेणीं	चलच्चञ्चलाचारु ताटङ्गकर्णां
भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ ४ ॥	भजे शारदाम्बां अजस्रं मदम्बाम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति श्री-परमहंस-परिव्राजकाचार्य-श्री-शङ्करभगवत्पादैः  
विरचितं श्री शारदा भुजङ्ग स्तोत्रं सम्पूर्णम्

Sharda at Shardi village in the Neelam Valley of Muzaffarabad, in PoK.

--Contributed by : Sanjay Godbole (Pune)



- (From Page 2)
81.

Smt. Chuni Devi W/o Late Sh. M.L.Kaul, resident of Kani Kadal Sgr; presently residing at Plot-16, Flat No: 203 Vikram Enclave, Sofoota Road Shalimar Garden. 27/9/2009
82.

Sh. Jia Lal Razdan R/o Chowgm Kmr; presently resident of Dhar Road Udhampur. 27/9/2009
83.

Smt. Naney Rania/Veena Jee W/o Sh. Tej Krishen Rania R/o Wularhama Pahalgam Kmr; presently resident of Poonch Lines Ram Krishna Vihar Jammu. 27/9/2009
84.

Sh. Vishambar Nath Rania S/o Late Sh. Tika Ram Raina R/o Drissu, Pulwama, Kmr; presently resident of 436, Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 28/9/2009
85.

Sh. Janki Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Shiv Ji Bhat originally resident of Panjipor Baramulla Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 263, Phase-I, Muthi Camp Jammu. 28/9/2009
86.

Sh. Ramesh Kr. Bhat S/o Late Sh. P.N. Bhat of Karfali Mohalla, Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 126/C (Ext.) Sai-Vihar Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 29/9/2009
87.

Dr. P.N. Shangloo S/o Late Sh. Hari Ram Shangloo R/o Kharyar Sgr; presently resident of 181, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 29/9/2009
88.

Sh. S.K. Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Tickoo R/o 27, Mohinder Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 29/9/2009
89.

Sh. Roshan Lal Chowdhary S/o Late Sh. PN Chowdhary orginally resident of Malapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 159, Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 29/9/2009
90.

Sh. Moti Lal Dhar S/o Late Sh. Sham Lal Dhar of Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 103, IInd Lane, Shanti Nagar, Old Janipur Jammu. 30/9/2009
91.

Sh. Bansil Lal Handoo S/o Late Sh. Peetambar Handoo originally resident of Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at Plot No: 5, Sector-10, B-1, Ambica Society Dawarika New Delhi. 30/9/2009
92.

Smt. Dhanwati Moza W/o Sh. Moti Lal Moza originally resident of Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently at G-76, Sarojini Nagar New Delhi. 30/9/2009
93.

Smt. Jai Kishori Watal W/o Sh. Soom Nath Wattal R/o 76, Bagh Jogi Lankar, Rainawari, Sgr; presently at 24/75, Swarn Path, Mansarovar Jaipur. 1/10/2009
94.

Smt. Somawati Jalali W/o Late Sh. Niranjana Nath Jalali R/o Bagdaji, Kralyar, Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 110, Lane No: 1, Naseeb Nagar Janipur Jammu. 2/10/2010
95.

Sh. Ashok Kumar Wali S/o Late Sh. Badri Nath Wali R/o Bana Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 14-A, Lane-6, K.B. Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 2/10/2010
96.

Sh. Poshkar Nath Kachroo S/o Late Sh. Niranjana Nath Kachroo Syed Ali Akhbar, Kocha Fateh Kadal Sgr; presently residing at Ashiana Upwan, Indira Puram Gaziabad. 2/10/2010
97.

Sh. Surinder Sher S/o Late Sh. Badri Nath Sher R/o Peer Bagh Sgr; presently resident of 1176, Sector-37, Faridabad Haryana. 2/10/2010
98.

Sh. Triloki Nath Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Sarwanand Tickoo originally resident of Akhura Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 324, Sector-4, Gangyal Garden Jammu. 3/10/2010
99.

Prof. Kulbushan Raina S/o Late Sh. Madho Lal Raina (Tariwala) originally resident of Dukan-e-Sangeen Fatehkadal Sgrl presently resident of 56-B, Model Town Patiala Punjab. 5/10/2010
100.

Sh. Sham Lal Bhat originally resident of Guptganga Ishber Nishat Sgr; presently residing at 54, Top Sherkhania near Sangam School Jammu. 7/10/2010
101.

Smt. Gaurishori Zaroo W/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Zaroo originally resident of Diwan Bagh Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at Plot Not: 29-B, Sec-B, Pocket-B, Dilshad Garden New Delhi. 7/10/2010
101.

Smt. Indirawati W/o of Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Koul of Lar Ganderbal Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 25, Gen. Lane-5, Saraswati Vihar Bohri Anand Nagar Jammu. 8/10/2010
102.

Smt. Shobawati W/o Late Sh. Raghunath Bhat of Kral Gund Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 60-61, Phase-IIInd, Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 8/10/2010
103.

Smt. Janak Rani Razdan W/o Sh. Sham Sundar Razdan originally resident of Dialgam Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Lale-Da-Bagh Jammu. 9/10/2009
104.

Smt. Neena Koul W/o Sh. Ramesh Koul originally resident Danwari Chattabal Sgr; presently resident of A-54, Pandav Nagar, Delhi. 9/10/2009
105.

Smt. Kishni Koul W/o Sh. G.L. Koul originally resi-
- dent of Gurgani Mohalla Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of 63-1/B East Ext. Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 10/10/2009

106.

Sh. Raj Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Dhar R/o 31-B, East Extension Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 10/10/2009

107.

Sh. S.N. Miskeen of Mallapora, Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at 341-A, Pocket-2, Phase-I, Mayur Vihar New Delhi. 10/10/2009

108.

Pt. Som Nath Kaul S/o Late Sh. Shvi Nath Kaul of Shiv Niwas Jawahar Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of 36-D, Arjun Apartment Vikaspuri New Delhi. 11/10/2009

109.

Smt. Kamlawati Koul W/o Late Sh. Shankar Nath Koul of Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Sector 35, Faridabad Haryana. 11/10/2009

110.

Sh. Rattan Lal Jalali S/o Late Sh. S.N. Jallali of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Chicago USA. 11/10/2009

111.

Sh. Lok Nath Tiku S/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Tiku R/o Rawalpura Sgr; presently residing at 304, Plot No: 14, Sector-45, Faridabad Haryana. 12/10/2009

112.

Smt. Uma Koul W/o Late Sh. Bal Krishen Koul of Gulab Bagh Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 22, Lane-2, Sunder Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 13/10/2010

113.

Sh. Mohan Lal Khushu S/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Khushu erstwhile resident of Wazarpura, S.R. Gunj Sgr; presently residing at 5-Laxmi Nagar Muthi Jammu. 13/10/2009

114.

Sh. Gopi Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Kishore Nath Bhat originally resident of Batapora Ladhoo Kmr; presently residing at Patyalichak, Sangrampora Jammu. 14/10/2009

115.

Smt. Roopa Koul W/o Sh. Bansil Lal Koul orignially resident of Motiyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of GH 507, H.No: 915, Pashim Vihar New Delhi. 15/10/2009

116.

Smt. Pushpa Bhan W/o Prof. A.N. Bhan originally resident of 3 B/C Gandhi Nagar, Jammu presently residing at California USA. 16/10/2009

117.

Sh. Sameer Ji Bhat S/o Late Sh. D.N. Bhat of Ganpatyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of S-25, Private Colony, Srinivasapuri New Delhi. 16/10/2009

118.

Smt. Rita Ganjoo W/o Sh. Chand Ji Ganjoo originally resident of 192, Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 317, Sector-3, Shivalik Puram Janipur Colony Jammu. 17/10/2009

119.

Smt. Mohini Pandita W/o Sh. Brij Nath Pandita R/o 192-A, Sarwal Chowk Jammu, originally resident of Nunar Ganderbal Kmr. 18/10/2009

120.

Sh. Trilok Nath Pandita S/o Ltae Sh. Aftab Ram Pandita of Hakcherpora, Hatmulla Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at Shiv Vihar Trilokpur Gole Gujral Jammu. 18/10/2009

121.

Sh. Babloo Jee Sharma S/o Late Sh. Lambodar Sharma originally resident of Hawal Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 65, Nagrota Camp Jammu. 18/10/2009

122.

Sh. Bushan Lal Khar S/o Late Sh. Madho Ram Khar of Mattan Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 158, Shanti Nagar Ashram Jammu. 18/10/2009

123.

Sh. Moti Lal Moza S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Moza originally resident of Budgir Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 56, Sector-3, Phase-IIInd, JDA Colony Rajinder Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 19/10/2009

124.

Sh. Chuni Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Nand Ram Bhat R/o Noorpara Tral Kmr; peresently resding at Om Nagar Bohri, Jammu. 20/10/2009

125.

Sh. Dwarika Nath Dhar S/o Late Sh. Amar Chand Dhar resident of Arihal Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 212, Sector-1, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 20/10/2009

126.

Smt. Oma Shori Tukra W/o Late Sh. T.N. Tukra R/o Shallayar, Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Greater Noida Delhi. 21/10/2009

127.

Sh. M.K. Zutshi originally resident of Chanapora Sgr; presently putting up at T-IVBL-A Qtrs. No: 2, BSNL Colony Gole Gujral Jammu. 21/10/2009

128.

Sh. Rishi Dev originally habitant of Zainapora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of 145/3 Priya Darshani Talab Tillo, Jammu. 21/10/2009

129.

Sh. Dawarika Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita of Malmoh Magam Kmr; peresently resident of H.No: 381/Q Lane No: 2 Ext. Durga Nagar, Jammu. 21/10/2009

130.

Smt. Raj Dulari Koul W/o Sh. T.N. Koul of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Shiv Dass Colony Tomal Bohri Jammu. 21/10/2009

131.

Dr. Janki Nath Koul (Kenue) S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Koul originally resident of Bagh Jogi Lankar,

Rainawari, Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 265, Bikram Nagar, Sarwal, Jammu. 22/11/2009

132.

Sh. Chuni Lal Tickoo of Reshi Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 9A-Lane 1, Buta Nagar, Paloura, Jammu. 22/11/2009

133.

Smt. Kamlawati Aima W/o Late Pt. Sarwanand Aima of Malyar Fatehkadal Sgr; presently resident of 42-Basant Nagar Janipur, Jammu. 23/10/2009

134.

Sh. Janki Nath Dhar S/o Late Pt. Kanth Ram Dhar originally resident of Zaindar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 66, Ward-17, Shankar Nagar Sailan Talab Udhampur. 23/10/2009

135.

Smt. Kamlawati Khuda W/o Late P.N. Khuda formerly resident of Karafali Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 248-A, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 23/10/2009

136.

Smt. Shobawati Bhat W/o Late Pt. Nilakanth Bhat of Kaloosa Bandipora Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 4, Barnai Road Bantalab Jammu. 23/10/2009

137.

Smt. Jagat Mohni Sumbly W/o Late Sh. Jagar Nath Sumbly originally resident of Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 115, Wazir Bagh, Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 24/10/2009

138.

Sh. Indra Krishen Qazi originally resident of Sheshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 140, Ashoka Enclave Faridabad. 24/10/2009

139.

Smt. Veena Ji Misri W/o Sh. Sanjay Misri originally resident of Zaindar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 501, Block-U, Topsherkhania Jammu. 25/10/2009

140.

Smt. Somawati Sapru W/o Late Sh. Srikanth Sapru of Safriyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 484, Shanti Nagar, Lower Top Jammu. 25/10/2009

141.

Smt. Sham Rani (Radha Jigri) W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Hakim R/o Zainapora Shopian Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 116, Amit Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. 25/10/2009

142.

Sh. Nana Jee Tutoo S/o Late Sh. Vish Nath Tutoo R/o Sheshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Kashmiri Colony Pounichak Jammu. 25/10/2009

143.

Smt. Shyama Kaul W/o Sh. Sham Sunder Kaul resident of 10-D, Type-5, Sector-III, BHEL, Hardiwar. 25/10/2009

144.

Pt. Raghu Nath Raina (Saraf) originally resident of Malikangan, Narparistan Fatehkadal Sgr; presently resident of 48, Indira Colony Camp Road Talab Tillo, Jammu. 27/10/2009

145.

Sh. Gopi Nath Ganjoo S/o Late Pt. Anand Ram Ganjoo originally resident of 47 Gogji Bagh Sgr; presently residing at 104, Sector-2, Trkuta Nagar, Jammu. 27/10/2009

146.

Smt. Batan Jigri W.i Late Sh. Bal Ji Pandita resident of Mumkak Batpora Sopore Kmr; presently resident of Sharda Colony Patoli Brahmana Jammu. 28/10/2009

147.

Smt. Usha Bhan W/o Late Sh. P.L. Bhan originally resident Sopore Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 187, Ambika Vihar Gole Gujral Jammu. 28/10/2009

148.

Smt. Sheela Razdan W/o Sh. Baij Nath Razdan R/o Simoo Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at 15/1-B, K.B. Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 28/10/2009

149.

Sh. Pushkar Nath Garoo originally resident of Sopore, Kmr; presently residing 3/18, Subash Nagar Meerut (UP). 29/10/2009

150.

Smt. Jyoti Wangnoo W/o Sh. Ashok Kumar Wangnoo originally resident of Chinkral Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at Laxmipuram, Sector B-1, Chinore Bantalab, Jammu. 29/10/2009

150.

Smt. Roop Bhat W/o Sh. P.N. Bhat R/o Chandil Wussan Tangmarg Kmr. 29/10/2009

151.

Sh. Chuni Lal Sapru S/o Late Sh. Mahinder Nath Sapru originally resident of Malchimar Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 100, Street No: 2, Vijay Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu. 30/10/2009

152.

Smt. Prabavati Kachroo W/o Late Sh. P.N. Kachroo of New Colony Sopore Kmr; presently residing at 135, Eklavya Vihar, Sector-9, Vasundra Gaziabad (UP). 30/10/2009

153.

Smt. Shanta W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Wantoo originally resident of Fatehkadal Sgr; peresently residing at 146, Bhagwati Nagat Ext. Jammu. 31/10/2009

154.

Sh. Chaman Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Hari Ram Bhat R/o Salamatwari Kupwara Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 2881, Kongposh Colony Jain Nagar, Karala Delhi. 31/10/2009

155.

Sh. Sanjay Sadhoo S/o Late Sh. Piaray Lal Sadhoo R/o of Zaindar Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at Paloura Doka Jammu. 31/10/2009

156.

Smt. Makhn Koul W/o Sh. Brij Krishen Koul R/o Sehyar, Nawakadal Sgr; presently resident of E-479, Sainik Colony Jammu. 1/11/2009







# 'Indian state vacillating on issue of National Security'-PK

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 4: Expressing concern over the vacillations of Government of India on critical issues of vital import for national security, Panun Kashmir has asked the GoI to take the nation into confidence about the purpose and object of its engagement with Pakistan. The organisation opened that the dialogue with Pakistan is, in fact, endorsement of the line of the Government of Pakistan that talks have to be delinked from facts of terrorism and supplements the separatists contention that the isolation at international level has forced India to enter into dialogue with Pakistan.

Addressing a media conference, chairman Panun Kashmir Dr. Ajay Chrungoo said that Panun Kashmir has noted with concern the vacillation of the Government of India on critical issues of vital import for national security. Accusing Indian state of reversal of its policy vis-à-vis Indo-Pak dialogue, Dr. Chrungoo said that the Government of India should take nation into confidence about the purpose and object of its engagement with Pakistan. "The resumption of dialogue with Pakistan seems to be an abject reversal of the stand that the GoI has been taking on Pakistan's support to terrorism perpetrated in our country. In fact, the dialogue with Pakistan has only meant endorsement of the line of the Government of Pakistan that talks have to be delinked from acts of terrorism," Dr. Chrungoo lamented.

Accusing Indian State of buckling under pressure at a time when infiltration and terrorism are at rise, Panun Kashmir

leader said, "It is shocking that at a time when infiltration is showing a rise and terrorist regimes on the ground in Jammu and Kashmir are not only replenishing their ranks but building reserves so that they can withstand security pressures so that they can withstand security pressures for indefinite periods, Government of India has allowed the perception of grow that India is buckling under pressure".

Dr. Chrungoo alleged

seduction freely on the soil of India, the separatist leadership is now free to consult enemies of India on the Indian soil as well as outside the boundaries of the nation".

Alleging that the GoI has allowed its strategic partnership with the US to bring destabilisation for India, Chairman PK Advisory Dr. Chrungoo said, "The attitude of Government of India" in recent times reflects that its strategic partnership with the US has brought

**'The resumption of dialogue with Pakistan seems to be an abject reversal of the stand that the GoI has been taking on Pakistan's support to terrorism perpetrated in our country. In fact, the dialogue with Pakistan has only meant endorsement of the line of the Government of Pakistan that talks have to be delinked from acts of terrorism'**

that through its actions, the GoI is contributing to the contention of the separatists leadership that India is thoroughly isolated internationally on the issue of Kashmir and has been forced to enter into dialogue with Pakistan and the separatists under international pressure.

Lambasting Indian state for allowing sepa-

only strategic destabilisation for India". "It appears that Indian relationship with America have not been able to stand up to the stranglehold of Anglo-American-Pakistan alliance on one hand and Pakistan-China Axis on the other". Dr. Chrungoo added.

Dr. Chrungoo said that it seems the Indian na-

**"Panun Kashmir: declares that India is not a surrogate nation or a colony whose interests will be declared by the foreign powers", he asserted.**

ratists to preach and promote sedition, Dr. Chrungoo said, the weakening of resolve of Government of India is glaringly reflected by the permission granted to separatists to visit China. Preaching and promoting

tion is gradually being transformed into vassal state whose policies on national security and foreign affairs are being determined by imperialist forces. "Panun Kashmir: declares that India is not a surrogate nation or a colony whose interests will be declared by the foreign powers", he asserted.

Referring to the recent statement of Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Dr. Ajay said that the startling revelations by Khursheed Mohammed Kasuri that a final deal for the settlement of Kashmir issue had been agreed upon but derailed due to internal



Panun Kashmir Chairman Dr. Ajay Chrungoo addressing press conference at Jammu .

crisis in enough to understand that something is cooking behind the scenes regarding settlement on Kashmir issue. He added that "Indian people have no obligation to protect the interests of Americans in the region and also that of the state of Pakistan".

Dr. Chrungoo appealed to the Prime Minister of India to remove the apprehensions of the people

of India about the commitment of the people of India about the commitment of GoI to protect the integrity and sovereignty of the India nation.

Making a passionate appeal to the patriotic forces of the state against machinations, Dr. Ajay said, "Panun Kashmir appeals to the patriotic people in the state to be vigilant and sensitive to all machinations aimed

at implementation of Dixon Plan or its variant as a solution to the problems in J&K said and resolve to defeat such machinations.

Dr. Ajay was flanked by Dr. MK Teng, Chairman Panun Kashmir advisory, Sh. ON Trisal, a senior Community leader and president ASKPSC and Sh. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary Panun Kashmir.

**Jagat Guru Bhagavaan  
Gopinath Ji**

CHARITABLE CULTURAL AND RESEARCH FOUNDATION (REGD.)  
Regd. Office: 1/B Dayalsar Road, Bank of Baroda Lane,  
Uttam Nagar, New Delhi-110059

**Om Namoo Bhagavate  
Gopinathaya**

**Invitation**

The Annual Mahayagnya of Jagat Guru Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji will be performed at Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji Ashram, 1/B Dayalsar Road, Bank of Baroda Lane, Uttam Nagar (West) New Delhi-110059.

The function will start at 10:30 pm on Sunday, 13th June 2010 and **Puran Aahuti** will take place at 1:00 pm the next day, 14th June, 2010. Thereafter **Bhandara** will be observed to public followed by **Bhajan Kirtan**. The programme will conclude with **Sandhya Aradhana** and **Prasad Vitran** at 7:00 pm.

All devotees to seek the blessings of our beloved Bhagavaan Ji.

Jai Guru Dev  
Jai Bhagavaan Ji

Sd/-  
Bhushan Lal Bhan  
Secretary

**"Panun Kashmir appeals to the patriotic people in the state to be vigilant and sensitive to all machinations aimed at implementation of Dixon Plan or its variant as a solution to the problems in J&K said and resolve to defeat such machinations.**