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COVER STORY

RETURN

Progression towards Destruction



By Dr Ajay Churungoo

The Weirdness

There is a perceptible weirdness in the handling of the issue of return of Kashmiri Hindus by the state government. The Relief Commissioner of the state government recently came out with the figures of 1069 employees having joined their jobs in the valley out of the 1800 posts made available from the employment package of 6000 jobs of the Prime Minister's return and rehabilitation programme. Not far back the state government had submitted an affidavit to the Supreme Court stating that only around 700 candidates had joined in the Kashmir valley. The government affidavit stated that it had discovered that, "most of the families were not keen to return to the valley." The affidavit of the state government also categorically mentioned that "till date, no migrant family has returned possibly due to the conditions that prevailed in the state and also in the valley in 2008 because of the Amar Nath land row. During the summer of 2010, the migrants who had already applied to return were yet to take a final decision." The state government claims that the displaced Kashmiri Hindus are uninterested in returning to the valley and at the

same time in the same breath proclaims that they are very much interested to return and have welcomed the new recruitments. The officials in the valley have been giving figures of even around 2300 selected candidates having joined in Kashmir valley knowing very well that the same government had issued notification for only 1800 jobs. The candidates who have chosen to join the jobs in the valley say that the original documents including certificates and state subject proofs which are normally required to be produced before the authorities to verify the credentials and then returned are held back by the authorities as a guarantee for staying put. The PDP leaders

government will eventually shift the jobs to Jammu and by keeping silent about their assessments about the ground situation in the valley they may still have a chance to keep their jobs intact. In the meantime there is a talk doing the rounds in Jammu that the concerned minister in the cabinet is thinking of shifting the women folk amongst the new employees back to Jammu.

The day Omar Abdullah formally released the recruitment orders for the displaced Kashmiri Hindus selected as per the PM's employment package and took pains to self-pat himself and his government for the bold step, he chose to share an anecdote with the audience invited for

of the community. As per eyewitness reports Omar told the so called KP leaders that his father's local physician in Kashmir valley was once visited by a group of terrorists at his home. The armed group told the physician that they had come with a marriage proposal of one of their colleagues for his daughter. The physician shocked and terror stricken however did not lose his cool. He humored the visiting terrorist group by showing a willingness to accept the proposal but asked for some time to consult the elders in the family and get their consent for the marriage proposal. The band of terrorists confident of their power readily agreed and left the house. The physician gathered his family and quietly left the state and the country. He has been since living in a foreign country. The CM told his Kashmiri Hindu audience that since then the physician has visited the valley several times but has never asked for the rehabilitation of his family back in Kashmir.

Sharing of such an anecdote on such an occasion carries a lot of meaning. Was the Chief Minister very subtly trying to warn the community leaders of the uncertainty prevailing in Kashmir valley and dissuading the selected candidates from joining their new jobs in the valley? Or was the Chief Minister only adding an escape caveat to the entire process which his own government had employed to lure or coerce the needy and naïve displaced Hindu aspirants so that in case of any eventuality he can escape responsibility for the decision which his government has ruthlessly tried to implement. Public perception is that the close cabinet colleagues of the CM had for

(Contd. on Page 6)



The migrant school.

who visited the lodging boarding facilities provided by the state government in the valley for the new recruits have confirmed the dismal and poor quality of all these arrangements where the returnees have been huddled into ghetto like accommodations. There are many candidates who have chosen not to continue with their new jobs but are afraid to reveal the reasons and do not want to annoy the authorities. Many of them think that

the occasion which brings out the weirdness in government's approach more clearly and conveys that there is much more in the whole process of return than meets the eye. Interestingly the same has not been covered by the media. The audience on the occasion consisted mainly of the government handpicked Kashmiri Hindus constituted into an Apex Committee to oversee the process of return and rehabilitation as the leaders

1. Smt. Dulari Dhar W/o Sh. Jagar Nath Dhar R/o Hugama (Kmr); presently residing at H.No: 2506, Sec-3, Jain Nagar Delhi. 22/2/2010
2. Sh. Som Nath Raina (Ganhar) R/o Drusoo Pulwama (Kmr); presently residing at Laxmipuram, B-2, Chinore, Bantalab Jammu. 22/2/2010
3. Smt. Pyari Dhar W/o Sh. Bansilal Dhar R/o Lar Ganderbal Kmr; presently residing at 11/C, Sharda Colony, Patoli Brahmana, Barnai Jammu. 22/2/2010
4. Sh. Niranjan Nath S/o Late Sh. Nand Lal R/o Bagihat Kanipora Sgr; presently putting up at H.No: 4, Prem Nagar, New Plot Jammu. 23/2/2010
5. Smt. Phoola Je W/o Sh. Roshan Lal Sidha of Mattan Anantnag (Kmr); presently residing at H.No: 1, Adarsh Nagar Paloura Top. 24/2/2010
6. Sh. Kashi Nath Handoo originally resident of Ali Kadal Sgr; presently residing at 53-Subash Nagar Ext-II Ind Near Govt Qtrs. Block-N Jammu. 24/2/2010
7. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Babu (Dhar) S/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Babu originally resident of Karfali Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Lane-2, Tara Vihar, Paloura Jammu. 24/2/2010
8. Sh. Moti Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Shridhar Joo Bhat of Ghat Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at 1-A/9, Vikas Nagar Sarwal, Jammu. 25/2/2010
9. Sh. Suresh Kumar Kariholu S/o Sh. P.L. Kariholu originally resident of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at A-103, Krishna Apra-Residency, Sec-61, Noda. 25/2/2010
10. Sh. B.N. Bhan Nisar S/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Bhan of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 288, Seh-Manzil, Bikram Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 26/2/2010
11. Sh. Prithvi Nath Zutshi S/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Zutshi of Mattan, Anantnag (Kmr); presently R/o Neel Sheel Vihar Dokh Paloura, Jammu. 26/2/2010
12. Sh. Jaya Miskeen W/o Sh. H.No Miskeen originally resident of Malapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of F-502, Prince Appart. Patparganj, Delhi. 27/2/2010
13. Sh. Raj Nath Naqaib originally resident Drabiyar, Peer Bagh Sgr; presently resident at 402, Shree Balaji CGHS, Plot No: 37, Sec-6, Dwarika New Dlehi. 27/2/2010
14. Sh. Soom Nath Sumbly S/o Late Sh. Neel Kanth Sumbly R/o Pitampura Delhi. 27/2/2010
15. Sh. Shamboo Nath Safaya R/o Ladhoo Sgr; presently residing at Katra. 28/2/2010
16. Smt. Janak Rani Tickoo W/o Sh. Janki Nath Tickoo R/o H.No: 3452, Sec-27-D, Chandigarh and originally resident of Saqthu Barbar Shah Sgr. 28/2/2010
17. Smt. Jai Kishori W/o Sh. Moti Lal Pandit R/o Looswani Pulwama (Kmr); presently resident of Pulwama Kmr. 2/3/2010
18. Smt. Susheela Shalla W/o Sh. M.L. Shalla R/o 201 Pushp Vihar, Shastri Nagar, Opp. Sidvinayak Temple, Vasai (W) Mumbai. 3/3/2010
19. Sh. Poshkar Nath Kachru W/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Kachru erstwhile resident of Kralyar Rainawari; presently resident of 124/3, Dream City, Muthi Jammu. 3/3/2010
20. Sh. Iqbal Nath Bakshi S/o Late Sh. Jagan Nath Bakshi R/o House No: 204, Jullaka Mohalla Jammu. 3/3/2010
21. Sh. Hari Krishen Raina S/o Sh. Baskar Nath Raina resident of 105, Karan Nagar, Lane No: 3, Jammu, formerly resident of Ghat Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr. 3/3/2010
22. Sh. Prem Nath Jee S/o Late Sh. Hakim Chand R/o Pattan Kmr; presently resident at Qtr. No: 520, Camp Mishriwalla Jammu. 3/3/2010
23. Sh. Makhan Lal Nazir S/o Sh. Shamboo Nath Wazir R/o 321-A, Gandhi Nagar, Jammu originally resident of Shallaya Habbakadal Sgr. 4/3/2010
24. Sh. Prithvi Nath Raina S/o Late Sh. Mahadev Joo Rad R/o 114-C, Sec-2, Durga Nagar, Talab Tillo, Jammu former resident of Purshiyar Sgr. 4/3/2010
25. Smt. Ratni Raina W/o Sh. Prem Nath Nath Raina Syed Ali Akbar Sgr; presently resident of D-9, Bharat Nagar, Poonch House Talab Tillo, Jammu. 4/3/2010
26. Sh. Badri Nath Tikoo originally resident of Bijbehara Kmr; presently residing at Flat No. 5794-A, Sector-38, West Chandigarh. 5/3/2010
27. Sh. Makhan Lal Pandita S/o Late Sh. Madhow Ram Pandita originally resident of Tral (Kmr) presently residing at H.No: 6/1, Manorama Vihar Bohri Chungi Jammu. 6/3/2010
28. Smt. Pammi Bhat W/o Sh. Sanjay Bhat R/o Nowgam Kuthar Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 76, Toll Post Nagrota Jammu. 6/3/2010
29. Sh. Badri Nath Pandita of Rohmoo Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of Flat No: 11, GH-08, Sec-5, Mansa Devi Complex Panchkulla. 6/3/2010
30. Sh. Bansilal Jalali S/o Late Sh. Dina Nath Jalali erstwhile resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 204, Naseeb Nagar Janipur Jammu. 7/3/2010
31. Smt. Raj Lakshmi Dhar W/o Late Sh. Triloki Nath Dhar R/o Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Mordabad (UP). 7/3/2010
32. Sh. Prem Nath S/o Late Sh. Attar Chand of Chak Narayan Dass Pattan Baramulla (Kmr); presently residing at H.No: 448, Lane-4, Suryavanshi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 7/3/2010
33. Sh. Janki Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Balak Ram originally resident of Chitney Bandy Aragam Bandipore (Kmr) presently resident of Sector-3, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 7/3/2010
34. Sh. Prem Nath Razdan S/o Late Sh. Nilakanth Razdan of Gund Ahalmar Nai Sarak Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 21, Lane No: 3, Pamposh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 8/3/2010
35. Sh. Dawarika Nath Cherwoo originally resident of Nuzuk Mohalla Anantnag (Kmr) presently resident of 504-A MoD Apparts. Vasundhara Enclave Delhi. 8/3/2010
36. Sh. Dawarika Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Damodhar Koul of Check Wangund Qazigund Kmr; presently resident H.No: 41, Lane No: 07, Buta Nagar, Paloura, Jammu. 8/3/2010
37. Sh. Shiv Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Keshav Ram of Damhal Hanjipora Distt. Kulgam (Kmr) presently residing at 425/4, Laxmi Vihar Tomamal Bohri Jammu. 9/3/2010
38. Smt. Sheela Koul W/o Sh. T.N. Koul R/o 3/109, Indira Vihar Old Janipur Jammu formerly resident of Qazi Masjid Karfali Mohalla Sgr. 9/3/2010
39. Smt. Jai Shree Sadhu W/o Late Sh. Mohan Lal Sadhu originally resident of Shivpora Broadway Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 8, Lane No: 2, Laxmipuram (Ext) Bantalab Jammu. 9/3/2010
40. Smt. Sumitra Devi Chullu W/o Late Pandit Gopi Nath Chullu originally resident of Kawadara Alikadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 10, Dassapa Garden R.T. Nagar Bangalore. 9/3/2010
41. Sh. Dwarika Nath Dhar S/o Late S.K. Dhar R/o Zainapora Shopian (Kmr.); presently resident of 941-JMC Jawahar Nagar Tillo, Jammu. 9/3/2010
42. Sh. Chamman Lal Koul S/o Late Sh. Soma Koul originally resident of Zadipora Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 21, Buta Nagar Enclave Paloura, Jammu. 9/3/2010
43. Sh. Jagar Nath Bhat S/o Late Tara Chand originally resident of Buran Pattan Kmr; presently resident of Flat No: G-334-A Pratap Vihar Gaziabad (UP). 9/3/2010
44. Smt. Raj Laxmi W/o Sh. S.N. Jotshi resident of H.No: 228, Sec-5, Trikuta Nagar, Jammu. 9/3/2010
45. Smt. Sheelawati Peshin W/o Late Pt. Lamboodhar Peshin R/o Malapora Sgr; presently resident of F-G-354, Partap Vihar Gaziabad (UP). 10/3/2010
46. Smt. Laxmishori Bhat W/o Late Sh. Jagan Nath Bhat (Khan) of Hawal Pulwama (Kmr); presently resident of Qtr. No: 36-D, Police Lines Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 10/3/2010
47. Sh. Vijay Kumar Bazaz S/o Late Sh. Jia Lal Bazaz of Rambagh Bhalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 398, Durga Nagar, Sector-1, Jammu. 12/3/2010
48. Smt. Shanta Raina W/o Late Sh. Rajinder Raina of Old Amar Singh Ahatta, Qtr. No: 3, Jammu originally resident of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr. 12/3/2010
49. Smt. Mohini Raina W/o Late Prof. Mohan Lal Raina (Kaw) originally resident of Barbar Shah Opp. Ram Ji Temple, Sgr; presently 85-Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 13/3/2010
50. Smt. Shobhawati W/o Late Pt. Gawash Lal originally resident of Malapora Habbakdal Sgr; presently resident of 89/4, Krishna Nagar, S.J. Enclave New Delhi. 13/3/2010
51. Sh. Shibani Krishen Zutshi S/o Late Sh. Ved Lal Zutshi R/o Mallapora Sgr; presently resident of H.No: A-52 Unitech South City-II, Gurgaon. 14/3/2010
52. Sh. Niranjan Nath Bhat of Arihal Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at 15/249 Vasundhara Gaziabad. 14/3/2010
53. Smt. Usha Suri W/o Dr. (Prof.) B.L. Suri resident of H.No: 225, Colonels Colony Bohri Jammu. 16/3/2010
54. Sh. Brij Nath Deambi S/o Late Sh. Kanth Koul Deambi of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at S-53/44 DLF City, Phase-III Gurgaon Haryana. 16/3/2010
55. Smt. Somavati W/o Late Sh. S.L. Bangroo R/o 64-A/1 Laxmipuram Bantalab Jammu. 17/3/2010
56. Smt. Santosh Bhat W/o Sh. Sham Lal Bhat R/o Wangham, Shangus Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 257, Phase-1st Nagrota Jammu. 17/3/2010
57. Smt. Mohan Rani Pandita W/o Late Sh. Kashi Nath Pandita originally resident of Village Lajura Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 121, Lane-4, Vikas Nagar Patoli Jammu. 18/3/2010
58. Sh. Mohan Lal Raina S/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Raina R/o Chowgam, Qazigund Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 403, Indira Nagar Camp Nagrota Jammu. 18/3/2010
59. Smt. Satyawati W/o Late Sh. Prithvi Nath Pandita of Narparistan Fatehkadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 20/21 Sector-2, Ganga Nagar, Bantalab Jammu. 19/3/2010
60. Sh. Bal Krishen Aga R/o 78/1, Kathihal Zaindar Mohalal Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 40, Geni Lane Sarawati Vihar Bohri Jammu. 19/3/2010
61. Smt. Raj Laxmi Koul W/o Late Sh. Moti Lal Koul of Khawaja Mohalla Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 47, Lane-2, Shantipuram Lower Roop Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 19/3/2010
62. Smt. Prabawati Saraf W/o Late Pt. Prem Nath Saraf of Batapora Shopian Kmr; presently residing at Camp Mishriwalla Jammu. 20/3/2010
63. Smt. Shobawati Parimoo W/o Late Sh. Jeevan Nath Parimoo of Dalhasanyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Akalpur Mohr, Lower Muthi Jammu. 20/3/2010
64. Capt. S.N. Koul S/o Late Sh. Hari Koul originally resident of Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 322/A Prem Nagar Plot Jammu. 21/3/2010
65. Sh. Mohan Lal Pandita originally resident of Ranipora Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at Toll Post, H.No: 75, Nagrota Jammu. 21/3/2010
66. Smt. Kunda Raina W/o Late Sh. Nath Jee Raina originally resident of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 493-A Janipur Housing Colony Jammu. 21/3/2010
67. Sh. Mohan Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Thakur Koul (Sopori) of Purshiyar Habbakdal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 99, Lane-4, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 22/3/2010
68. Sh. Soom Nath Rania S/o Late Sh. Sri Kanth Raina of Chowanadigam Devsar Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 368, Lower Muthi Akalpur Road, Jammu. 22/3/2010
69. Smt. Mohan Rani Munshyi W/o Sh. Mohan Lal Munshi originally resident of f Munshi Mohalla Ranteng Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of Radhika Homes F-2-10A, Sec-2, Vaishali. 22/3/2010
70. Sh. Lambodhar Nath Bambroo S/o Late Sh. Sona Ji Bambroo of Akhoora Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of 224/a, Suryavanshi Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 23/3/2010
71. Smt. Susheela Koul W/o Vinod Koul originally resident of Shalla Kadal Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 124/c-5, Meeyo App. Saviniti Nagar, Maleviya Nagar New Delhi. 23/3/2010
72. Sh. Kashi Nathi Trakroo S/o Late Sh. Bishambar Nath Trakroo of Wanganpora Nawakadal Sgr; presently resident of Chandigarh. 23/3/2010
73. Smt. Shanta Saproo W/o Late Sh. Dwarika Nath Saproo of Purshiyar Habbakdal Sgr; presently resident of F-4, Plot No: 1/1/ Vaishali, Prem Kunj, Sec-2, Rajinder Nagar Shalimar Garden Ext.-II, Sahiabad. 23/3/2010
74. Smt. Prabha Kalla of Late Sh. D.N. Kalla of Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 35, Lane-2, Block-B Roop Nagar Jammu. 24/3/2010
75. Ms. Monika Bindroo D/o Sh. S.J. Bindroo D/o Sh. S.J. Bindroo of Om Nagar Udhaywalla Bohri Jammu. 24/3/2010
76. Sh. Anand Ji Razdan originally resident of Mattan Martand Anantnag Kmrp presently resident of B-46, Flat No: F-2 of F-3, Shalimar Garden Sahibabad Gaziabad. 24/3/2010
77. Smt. Roopa Pandita W/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Pandita originally resident of Wahibug Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 49, Sec-2, Govind Nagar Camp Road Talab Tillo Jammu. 25/3/2010
78. Dr. M.L. Tikoo originally resident of Wadwan Budgam (Kmr.); presently residing at Turkey/Canada. At Jammu H.No: 151, Lane-15-A, Lower Shanti Nagar (Toph) Jammu. 25/3/2010
79. Smt. Chuni Kachroo W/o Late Sh. H.K. Kachroo originally resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 299-D Sainik Colony Jammu. 26/3/2010
80. Smt. Zawalanjee Ganju W/o Sh. Jagan Nath Ganjoo resident of C-3, Pamposh Enclave Greater Kailash New Delhi originally resident of Kanimohalla Rainawari Sgr. 26/3/2010
81. Sh. Sanjay Raina S/o Late Pt. Girdhari Lal Raina resident of H.No: 101, Ward-10, Main Bazar Udhampur. 26/3/2010
82. Smt. Mohini Moza W/o Sh. Mohan Krishen Moza originally resident of 223-1, Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 76/3 Adarsh Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 28/3/2010
83. Smt. Somavati Koul W/o Late Pt. Tika Lal Koul originally resident of 59-Karan Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 81-Bhagwati Nagar, Sector-1, Jammu. 28/3/2010
84. Sh. Kashi Nath Raina S/o Late Tara Chand Bhan (Raina) originally resident of Khee-Jogipora Kulgam Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 85, Sec-2, Bagwati Nagar Jammu. 29/3/2010
85. Smt. Jai Kishori Zadoo W/o Late Sh. Ram Ji Zadoo of Purshiyar Habbakdal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 149-H, Sec-1, Durga Nagar Jammu. 30/3/2010
86. Smt. Sheela Dhar W/o Sh. Som Nath Dhar originally resident of 334-Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently residing at 242-A, Sector-2, Gangyal Jammu. 30/3/2010
87. Mrs. Rani Thusu S/o Late Mr. O.N. Thusoo presently resident of H.No: 47, Lane-2, Gole Pully Talab Tillo Jammu. 31/3/2010
88. Smt. Chand Rani W/o Sh. Prithvi Nath Tickoo originally resident of Batsar Gam Kulgam Kmr; presently at H.No: 625, Sec-3, Bagwati Nagar Jammu. 31/3/2010

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EDITORIAL

We have to change our neighbours

PRIME MINISTER has had his way. Government India has finally given a go ahead to an unconditional dialogue with Pakistan. It has accepted the frame work which the Pakistan has been seeking to impose on India. The retreat which the Prime Minister of India made after promising an unconditional dialogue with Pakistan at Sherm-el- Sheikh due to intense pressures from within his own government, scathing attack from opposition and the leading analysts on strategic matters as well as the manifest public disapproval is now a story of the past. And all this has happened not in an atmosphere of mutual cordiality and accommodation. Events preceding the decision only point to intense pressures exerted by Pakistan bordering on threat and brazen intimidation.

Just a few days before our Prime Minister took the decision of inviting the Pak Prime Minister to witness the World Cup cricket semi-finals at Mohali, Indian Intelligence had discovered a massive plot to blow up Indian Mission in Kabul. The direct involvement of the Pakistani authorities in the impending attack was so brazen that India had to warn Pakistan and even name the Pakistani officials involved in the plan. Due to timely fore-warning the planners had to abort their fateful mission. Many similar attacks had been pre-empted by India in a not too distant past.

Peaceful gestures by India

have not been followed or accompanied by similar gestures from Pakistan. In fact peaceful gestures from India have emanated in an atmosphere of intimidation by the Pakistani government. Immediately after our Prime Minister extended the invitation to Pak Prime Minister to attend the Mohali cricket match Pakistani Prime minister responded by a brazenly abrasive statement almost sounding as a demarche to India. He appeared ordering India to start an 'uninterrupted and uninterrupted' dialogue with Pakistan. Pakistani government seems to be following a simple adage about the behaviour of India, 'If you lick India it will kick you and if you kick India it will lick you'.

Contrary to this India is following a foreign policy approach underlined by a formulation that 'we cannot change our neighbours'. Indian approach towards Pakistan is determined more by this perception about foreign policy than by its strengths, threat perceptions vis a vis its neighbours, international environment and its future goals. 'We cannot change our neighbours' has become a charter of incremental surrenders to Pakistan. For Pakistan it is becoming as a blank cheque to indulge in anything to further its goal.

Foreign policy anywhere in the world has been always about changing the neighbours. It is about interacting with the international environment and working consistently to change it to suit one's national interests.

Indian approach is a sort of inversion where our foreign policy is directed inwards to bring about an internal change to suit our neighbours. The results of this inversion are manifest to avert notice. Government of India has already been forced to undermine the internal security threats sponsored by the neighbours of India. Internal security challenges are either kept away from public view or undermined. Fall in the internal violence is attributed more to the fall out of peace process rather than the success of security forces or the changes in the strategy of those who are spearheading the International terrorist operations in our country.

The Director General of the state police force in Jammu and Kashmir recently put the number of active terrorists to around 450 and claimed that there has been a 45 per cent decline in the incidents of terrorist violence in the state. Almost in the same breath he claimed that the entire terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan is live and kicking. The military commanders on the ground have been testifying the same. There is no attempt to correlate the two observations and then make an assessment. Having almost less than 500 active terrorists on the ground, increased number of infiltration bids along the LoC and a live and kicking terrorist infrastructure in POK carries a meaning. Coupled with increased belligerence of Pakistan to dislodge India from Afghanistan we have a scenario which if taken into consideration

will eventually lead to conclusions of abandoning our present engagement with Pakistan. But since our foreign policy has suffered an inversion it is more or less directed to calibrate and modulate assessments about internal security to sustain itself.

With an albatross of its own policy round its neck Government of India is not in a position of taking into consideration the increased stranglehold of radical Islam over the social milieu, organs of society as well as the government in Jammu and Kashmir while devising its policies vis a vis terrorist regimes operating in Jammu and Kashmir and the Government of Pakistan. Self deception has become a strategic imperative for Government of India to sustain its foreign policy.

To bring the nation back on track vis a vis its dealing with its neighbours the very underlying premises of Government of India need to be questioned and debunked decisively. Government of India has to abandon its official position that we cannot change our neighbours. It has to tell the world that changing of Pakistan is an essential prerequisite for peace not only between India and Pakistan and the region but for international peace as a whole. The cardinal shift has to take place from Kashmir being the core issue to Pakistan. Let us say with confidence that we have to change Pakistan and that is in the interests of everybody on the globe.

It does not matter what we say but all must say the same

LETTER

Sir,

Dr. Ajay has put his heart and soul in his write up on "where did Pandits fail?" He wants to hammer home the need to forge unity among the members of the Pandit Baradari. It is an unfortunate fact of our history that Pandits has always been on the receiving end. We all know that one of the main

weapons of aggression of the Jihadis has been to instill as much of fear in the opponent as possible. Over the centuries the Pandits have absorbed this fear in their genes. As a result of this the fear stricken Pandits have always looked to ways and means for their survival praying always for some divine intervention / protection. This has, more than

once failed them even while fleeing from the Valley. The ultimate result has been genetic disability of the Pandits. This fear complex haunted them even when they had to migrate. While in the Valley they just existed without any support system upto 18th Century. They suffered only on one front. However, in the post independence period they began

suffering on two fronts one from the original adversaries and the other from the apathy of the Indian govt.

I know that unity is to ask for the moon. But keeping the present developments in view it is in the interest of all the members of the Baradari to draw at least a four or five point agenda acceptable to all the parties and groups which

should be widely debated to arrive at one demand. This is the only solution for which all of us must make an appeal.

If we don't fall in line then JAGTI will be the end of the Road and not a mile stone anymore.

—P.L.Aima

Email:

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'Instrument of merger' was not must for Kashmir



By J N Raina

WHILE epoch-making changes come about globally, an environment of negativity continues to prevail in Kashmir, denying its denizens a decent and unfettered life. Some diehard elements, feigning as well-wishers of Kashmir, behave iridescently and bring down the nation on its knees.

During my sojourn to Kashmir in early November, 2010, coinciding with U S President Barack Obama's visit to India, I found people confused and caught between the devil and the deep sea. Their misfortunes have compounded because of wicked activities of some pigheaded people.

People remained squeezed in-between government curfew, and 'civil curfew', ordered by hard line separatist leader Syed Ali Geelani. His shut-down calls during four months of tourist season, brought misery to common people. But response to his prankishness was subdued. The two factions of the Hurriyat Conference, one led by Geelani and the other by Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, wanted to draw Obama's attention towards the orchestration of heinous stone-pelting incidents, master-minded by ISI.

People were fed up because of continued sporadic violence, affecting trade and big business related to tourism industry. In spite of these obstacles, I found people doing their usual avocation. Vehicular traffic remained unaffected. Anti-Geelani posters appeared on the city walls. Geelani was served an ultimatum to review his agitation programme, or else face the consequences. The posters, put up by an outfit, called 'Islami Ittehad', warned the Hurriyat that the situation will take an ugly turn, if Geelani failed to respond. Ultimately he had to bow and bend his neck, but not before Obama exited from India.

I perceived a civilizational change in the Elysian valley, in the absence of five lakh Kashmiri Hindus, who remain exiled for 20 years, following Islamic jihad, perpetrated by Pakistan. It was Diwali. The ritual was observed by non-Kashmiri Hindus and the skeleton Sikh community, just symbolically. There was sound of crackers without an echo.

The world-famous Dal Lake has shrunk in size considerably. Several hundred crores of rupees have been spent for de-weeding and anti-encroachment programme, but of no use. The bulk of funds have been sucked in by corrupt bureaucrats and others. I was accompanied by a Pune-based farmer, who wanted to study the cultivation of Kashmiri saag, rich in protein and fibre. Mughal gardens on the periphery of the Lake,

wore a deserted look in the absence of tourists. Our presence was conspicuously felt by gardeners. There was hardly any pilgrim at the famous Khirbhawani temple, near Srinagar.

Maverick writer-activist Arundhati Roy, who was there somewhere in the valley, provoking anti-India activities, is loathe to speak about Kashmir's decadent environment. Instead, the anarchist author of "The God of Small Things", in league with Geelani, has been causing disaffection among Kashmiri against the Indian State. She has been indulging in secessionist activities. Her imagination has run riot.

Why to blame Delhi Police for its 'failure' to register an FIR against Geelani and Roy, besides six others, for indulging in seditious activities, at a seminar in New Delhi on October 21, when Union Home Minister P Chidambaram is non-serious about the committal of grave offence. To the nation's chagrin, Chidambaram merely said no action was planned against the anti-national activists, because what he said 'not taking action is also action'. It is mind-boggling.

Delhi Metropolitan Magistrate Navita Kumari Bagha, on a complaint filed by Sushil K Pandit, on October 28, was constrained to make some disparaging observations on the nature of the offence. "After giving my thoughtful consideration on the submissions made and the material on record, I come to the conclusion

that the complaint clearly disclosed commission of cognizable offence. But the police till date had failed to register an FIR".

As if the disgrace for Roy was not sufficient, she took comfort from Jawaharlal Nehru's out-of-context observations on Kashmir that "...if the people of Kashmir do not wish to remain with us, let them go by all means....we will not keep them against their will, however painful it may be to us." Flamboyant Roy



Arundhati Roy

expressed 'sympathy' for 'azadi' demand, which is just like vapour in the thin air. She has the gumption to compare herself to Nehru. In her reaction to the court's direction to police, she said "Perhaps they should posthumously file a charge against Nehru too", for his unobtrusive remarks passed in 1952 that "if by some decree or adverse fortune, it (Kashmir) ceases to be a part of India, it will be a wrench and a pain and torment for us....I want to stress that it is only the people of Kashmir who can decide the future of Kashmir".

But Roy should have also taken note of Nehru's observations

that Article 370 of the Constitution, guaranteeing special status to Jammu and Kashmir, is temporary, and will remain only so far it is there. Roy, Geelani and six others had participated in a seminar on "Azadi the only way". Allowing such a seminar was preposterous, where Roy is reported to have said "Kashmir has never been an integral part of India". It is intriguing. But she seems to be oblivious of the fact that Nehru had already obtained the 'consent' of the then National Conference, led by popular leader Sheikh Abdullah.

According to Dr M K Teng, a constitutional expert and retired Head of the Department of Political Science of Kashmir University, "The accession of Jammu and Kashmir (with India) was unconditional and irrevocable", as Maharaja Hari Singh, then ruler of the undivided state, had signed the same instrument of accession that other larger princely states had signed. The "instrument of attachment", he says, was not applicable to Jammu and Kashmir, as it was a "post accession arrangement", to consolidate smaller units in "administratively viable units". The facts have been kept 'hidden' which has led to 'confusion'. Hari Singh was the sole authority to execute the accession on the terms specified by the dominion of India. When Sheikh was released from detention, on September 29, 1947, the NC, under his leadership, adopted a resolution and decided to

support the state's accession with India. The decision was conveyed to Nehru, but 'interestingly', says Mr Teng, in an article, appearing in the Kashmir Sentinel, official organ of Panun Kashmir, the NC kept the decision as a 'closely-guarded secret'. The princely states were not required to execute any 'instrument of merger'. This is why India's External Affairs Minister S M Krishna has said that Kashmir has acceded to India just like Mysore acceded to India.

To complete the process of integration of the small princely states, the State Department of India drew up an 'Instrument of Attachment', erroneously described as 'Instrument of merger'. The major Indian states, including Jammu and Kashmir, were not required to sign the instrument of attachment. It was also mandatory for Pakistan to withdraw its invading forces from the occupied parts of Kashmir, as laid down by then Crown Prince and Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten, Nehru and the Security Council, for any 'reference to people'. Pakistan refused.

Roy has unabashedly interpreted 'Indian nationalism' as 'aggressive' and 'Hinduised'. What has she to tell Jamiat Ulema-Hind, one of the largest Muslim organisation in India, for its affirmation that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India.

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

NEWS

Long term vision needed in J&K: Army chief

NEW DELHI, Jan 29: Calling for a long-term vision with regards to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir, Chief of Army Staff General V K Singh has said a holistic view with "focus and resolve" were key to the issue, and troop reduction was not an option as of now.

"Jammu Aand Kashmir is a complicated set of things. There has to be a holistic view on what we do there. We have to take a very different view for the long term. Don't take decisions for the sake of expediency for a certain purpose. You have to have focus and resolve, and the Government should put some people on the job," he told a news channel.

Reiterating the Army's stand, he

said troop withdrawal was not an option at this time, adding, "The day the 42 camps on the other side are wound up, and Pakistan stops its proxy war, that would be the time to withdraw our troops. Until that time, it is not possible. J&K is not about mathematics. We have to be pragmatic about troop reductions."

Pointing that it was impossible for these terror camps in Pakistan to function without official support and complicity, Gen Singh said, however, it was in India's diplomatic interest that a dialogue process with Pakistan was kept alive.

Warning against the prevalent undercurrents in the border State that was ideology focussed, the Army chief

said ignoring the ideology being preached in the Kashmir valley would be at one's own peril.

"We must look very closely at the ideology being preached. What are we doing to counter this ideology? Are the mainstream political parties doing anything about it?" he asked adding that while the Army was all for political endeavours, the entire approach to the issue required new thinking.

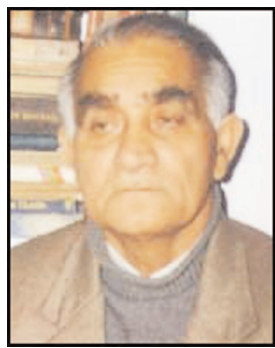
To another query on the series of scams that have implicated Generals, even former Chiefs, Gen Singh said, "I have to ensure that the backbone of the Army is stiffened. It had become flexible. We have told our rank and file that we will spare nobody - whether

you are a sepoy or a General, nobody will be spared if you do wrong."

"It is certainly sad, but these scams are aberrations," he added while stressing, "It is my fervent desire, I have made a promise to myself that I will not allow these things to happen again."

Asked to comment on the recent 'Rashtriya Ekta Yatra' of the BJP's youth wing, Gen Singh said there were shades of political scapes which have little relevance to the Army.

"These are political wrangling and political games which don't concern the Army," he said and added that "There has been a lot of noise about the issue."



By Dr. M.K. Teng

NOW that the Government of India has repeated its Sharmul-Sheikh performance at Thimpu and offered to resume the composite dialogue with Pakistan, virtually jumping over the stand it had taken in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on Mumbai, there is much more that the Indian Government has to explain about what it intends to do in Jammu and Kashmir. Evidently the climb-dam by the Government of India on crucial issues involved in its policy in respect of Jammu and Kashmir, reflects a willful surrender. This perhaps emanates from its inability to face political blackmail and pressure brought to bear on the Indian leaders in the name of economic development and under the cover of peace and security of the region.

The Indian policy reflects a strange sense of helplessness, which pervades the outlook of the Indian political class and which acts as an impelling force to drive those in power to invite Pakistan to the conference table again and again, after every small and major misdemeanor Pakistan has committed. Every time, Pakistan has returned to the conference table, grumbling and growling at the inability of the Indian Government to make the composite dialogue purposeful and result oriented. The cause of concern is not the abrasive attitude of Pakistan, but the uneasiness with which the Indian political class reacts to it.

The Indian Government has rather, with deliberate intent, tried to play down the way Pakistan has expressed its dissatisfaction with the

purpose and the pace of the peace-process. It is mainly because the Indian leadership has shown reluctance to face the prospect of laying down a baseline of its policy on the Kashmir issued. In fact, the Indian political class has so far evaded the crucial decision of fixing the "irreducible minimum", beyond which it would not go to reach a settlement with Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir. Its exhortations to urge upon the Indian Government "to walk an extra-mile" from its "stated positions" in order to be able to reach an "out of the box" solution of the Kashmir problem and its extravagant eagerness to nudge the Indian Government "to go far enough in its engagement with Pakistan, to reach, a settlement on Kashmir", are idle expressions used to camouflage the subterfuge it has indulged in so far. The truth is that the Indian political class has never mustered courage to stand up to its neighbours. In fact, the Indian political class has never shared with the Indian people the import of defending their borders.

Muslim outlook

The Government of Pakistan, its military establishment as well as the civil society in Pakistan, are, all agreed upon the baseline of their stand on Jammu and Kashmir. The civil society in Pakistan has, on no occasion, found it necessary to urge upon the Government of Pakistan, "to walk an extra-mile" in order to reach an "out of the box settlement" on Kashmir. Pakistan has stuck to its stated position that : (a) the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir are a part of the Muslim nation of Pakistan (b) the Muslims of the state of Jammu and Kashmir acquired the right to unite the State with the Muslim homeland of Pakistan from the partition of India, (c) the Muslims of the

State were denied their right to unite the state with Pakistan in 1947, when the ruler of State Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to India, against their wishes and (d) India, which pledged itself to implement the United Nations resolutions, envisaging a plebiscite to enable the Muslims of the State exercise their choice to determine the final disposition of the State in respect of accession, has not

recognized the Muslim majority composition of the population of the British India and the princely States as the basis on which the territorial jurisdiction of the Muslim homeland was determined. The Kashmir dispute, Pakistan has claimed in unequivocal terms, is a manifestation of the unfinished agenda of the partition of India.

The Muslim League laid claim to the Muslim ruled princely

secure the Muslims in India, a separate freedom which ensured them the realisation of their Islamic destiny was fundamentally Muslim in outlook. The territorial claim to a Muslim India, comprising the Muslim majority provinces of the British India and the Muslim ruled States the Pakistan Resolution envisaged, was also Muslim in outlook. The claim that the unification of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan is the unfinished agenda of the partition of India is also Muslim in outlook.

Irreducible Minimum

Pakistan has not allowed its stand on Jammu and Kashmir to be wrapped in any ambiguity. In fact it has spelt out the baseline of its stand on Jammu and Kashmir in unmistakable terms. It has refused to deviate from its stated position that the Muslim majority composition of the population of the State is basic to any settlement on Jammu and Kashmir. It has refused to delink the Muslim majority composition of the state from the right of self-determination, which it has consistently maintained, flowed from the partition of India. Exactly, as the Muslim League agreed to divide the Muslim majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal and the Hindu majority provinces of Assam, on the basis of population, Pakistan has offered to accept the division of the State on the basis of population, as a basis for a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir. It has proposed the separation of the Muslim majority regions of the State, comprising the Muslim provinces of Kashmir, the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province and the Muslim majority district of Kargil in the frontier division of Ladakh and their unification with the Muslim homeland of Pakistan, as the irreducible minimum

which it is ready to accept as the basis of a solution of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. The participation of Pakistan in the peace-process, in the ultimate analysis, is aimed to persuade the Indian people to accept the application of the principle which underlined the partition of India, as a basis of a settlement on Kashmir.

Interestingly the peace-process carried on between the Bajpai Government and the Government headed by Nawaz Sherrif; followed by negotiations between the Bajpai Government and the military regime headed by General Musharraf; the long and atrocious talk held at the Track Two level, largely a framework of conflict resolution, fabricated by the American diplomacy and the Manmohan Singh-Musharraf parleys leading to the so-called "non-territorial settlement" on Kashmir; reveal a continuity in the stand taken by Pakistan. The stand taken by Pakistan has underlined; the separation of the Muslim majority regions of the State, on the Indian side of the Line of Control with their eventual disengagement from the Indian Union and their reintegration within a framework of political imperatives evolved by the two countries India and Pakistan, with the consent of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Musharraf plan lay bare the perfidy. It recognized the separation of the Muslim majority regions of the State and their reorganisation into a new political entity on the territories of India which was governed by Pakistan. The Musharraf plan envisaged the division of the State into six geographical zones of which five were Muslim majority zones, the transfer of power in the state to the Muslim separatist regimes under the garb of self-

(Contd. on Page 11)



The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan shaking hands at Sharmul Sheikh.

redeemed its promise.

From the very inception of the peace-process, which was primarily an Indian initiative, Pakistan has unflinchingly stuck to its self-righteous commitment that its claim to Jammu and Kashmir, based upon the Muslim majority composition of the population, is non-negotiable. Pakistan has stressed time and again that its claim to Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the Muslim majority composition underlines the principle on the basis of which India was divided in 1947 and the Muslim homeland of Pakistan was created. Pakistan has repeatedly stated that the partition of India marked the culmination of a historical process which underlined the Muslim struggle for a separate Muslim homeland in India, comprising the provinces and the regions of the British India populated by the majority of Muslims and Muslim princely states. Pakistan has consistently held that the partition of Indian

states as well, on the basis of prescription and conquest because it could nor bring itself round to accept the exclusion of the Muslim ruled states from the Muslim homeland of Pakistan. The Muslim League leaders considered the Muslim ruled princely states to be the citadels of the Muslim power in India, which had survived the establishment of the British rule in India. The insistence of the Muslim League on the lapse of the Paramountcy was used by it to isolate the Muslim ruled states. Except that the lapse of the Paramountcy caused the Muslim League some tactical disadvantage in the Jammu and Kashmir, its acceptance by the Congress brought India to the verge of disintegration. Were it not for the people of the Muslim ruled States, who defeated the designs of the Muslim League and the Muslim rulers, India would have been divided further. The ideological commitment of the Muslim struggle for a separate Muslim homeland in India to

(From Page 1)

quite some time opposed the entire employment package of the Prime Minister. However, the reasons put forward by the CM to convince his colleagues to support the package at least that part of it for which government of India has agreed to bear the financial burden is not in public knowledge.

The uncertainty

The anecdote shared by the CM while releasing the recruitment orders for the displaced Kashmiri Hindus is a measure of deep and dangerous uncertainty that has gripped Kashmir. This uncertainty is quite manifest. And his willingness to push the Kashmiri Hindus into this uncertainty is a measure of the insensitivity and hostility for the displaced Hindus in the political class of Kashmir valley. When brother of Farooq Abdullah rebuffed him for apologizing to Kashmiri Hindus for what had befallen upon them it was only a decla-



Susheel Raina

ration of the ruthless zeal of the order before which all seem to be powerless in Kashmir. The general uncertainty prevailing in Valley is quite manifest. A Kashmiri Hindu boy Susheel Raina S/o Sh. Badri Nath Raina living in Chandugam, Ashmuqam in valley along with his family which stayed put in valley all these years while most of the Kashmiri Hindus were living in exile in Jammu and rest of India, has been missing for days at the time of writing of this article. He is suspected of being kidnapped by the terrorists and his family fears he might have already been killed. Head of the religious order Ahle-Hadis, Maulvi Shaukat was killed the other day in the mosque when a remotely controlled IED was exploded by the terrorists. The deceased had been opposing the stone pelting and hartal campaign lead by the radical Islamist leader Ali Shah Geelani. The pro-Pak and stridency was on display amongst the masses on the day when India-Pak cricket semifinal of the World cup was being played in Mohali on March 30. As per local reports crackers worth crores had been purchased and kept in reserve to celebrate Pakistan's victory in the match. Wazwaans had been arranged in numerous

Progression towards Destruction

localities to hold public feasts after Pakistan defeats India. The schools, colleges and government offices saw very thin attendance and the markets assumed a deserted look. Security establishment was so scared that they imposed Section 144 to stop people from gathering on roads. Many areas police prevented shopkeepers to provide TV sets and screens for the telecast of the cricket match. The posters of prominent Pakistani cricketers were being pasted on cars and prominent places and many areas police had to intervene to prevent it. In the evening when it started dawning upon the people that Pakistan was losing the match terrorist outfits issued instructions for a general black out in the entire valley. Terrorists entered the house of a local NC leader Ghulam Mohiuddin Bhat and fired indiscriminately killing him on the spot. Although the killing was interpreted as the beginning of the anti-election campaign by the terrorists many believe that Bhat was killed because he had not put

placement, chances of backlash violence in case of repatriation, nature and intensity of instability in Kashmir valley, accountability etc. does not concern those who are at the helms. In fact during last more than two decades successive governments in the state and the center have jointly participated in a campaign to hush up and trivialize the destruction of Kashmiri Hindus. The National Human Rights Commission took the suo moto notice of the backlash massacre of Kashmiri Hindus at Wandhama in Ganderbal district of Kashmir valley during the previous stint in the government of the National Conference and sent an enquiry team to the valley. The findings of the enquiry were never allowed to come to light. After the Nadimarg massacre during Mufti Sayed's tenure as the Chief Minister, the then Union Home Minister Sh L K Advani publicly displayed his discomfiture to listen to the victims. The alleged connivance of the police in not acting in time to

by explaining, "Deniers operate as the agents of the original perpetrators (of the genocide), pursuing and hounding them through time. Through these agents the perpetrators reach once again into the lives of the victim long after their escape from the perpetrators physical grasp." Recruitment drive of Kashmiri Hindus in valley has nothing to do with rehabilitation because it does not address the issue of rehabilitation at all. Recruitment drive is a cosmetic intervention to disguise the compromises which the governments in the state and the Centre have jointly embarked upon. It is a device to insulate rabidly communal order from criticism and accountability. The willingness to hostage displaced Kashmiri Hindus to a Muslim communal order has widened the reach of the grasp of the perpetrator who subjected them to genocide.

The Takers

But why are there takers amongst the displaced Kashmiri Hindus for the Prime Minister's employment package? At least a thousand

and thus loss of this form of attachment compounds the impact of torture.... in their attempt to maintain attachment bonds victims turn to the nearest source of hope to regain a state of psychological and physiologic calm. Under situations of sensory and emotional deprivation they may develop strong emotional ties with the tormentors." This has been called as 'traumatic bonding'. Traumatic bonding of victims usually is preceded by a state of denial amongst the victims themselves. Ervin Staub refers to a this denial as a defense mechanism. "Denial is one of the primitive defense mechanisms. It means screening out part of reality or making it unreal in our minds... interpreting events in a way that suits our needs." This type of denial and traumatic bonding with the perpetrator is manifestly evident when we talk to the returnees.

Three main factors: Destitution, naivety and a suicidal wishfulness, seem to

Destitution, naivety and a suicidal wishfulness, seem to have influenced the Kashmiri Hindus who have decided to join in valley

off the lights of his house which had irritated the terrorist commanders of the area. The uncertainty in valley has only deepened after the happenings in Middle East. The slogan in the streets is, "Khoon ka badla June mai lengey... we will take the revenge of the loss of life during stone pelting campaign in June." So perceptible is the din of this simmering unrest that even the Prime Minister of India and the chief Minister have expressed their apprehensions about the impending trouble in the summer of this year.

Powerlessness of the Victim

But in this whole sordid drama powerlessness of Kashmiri Hindus, the victim of genocide is most glaringly evident. This powerlessness has been primarily because government of India has chosen to abandon them in search of a deal with those who perpetrated the genocide on them. During the meetings of concerned Working Groups created by Prime Minister the existential threat to the Kashmiri Hindus posed by the communal political order in Kashmir valley with all the instruments of violence at its disposal were repeatedly brought to the notice of government of India. Such concerns were meticulously and ruthlessly ignored. Causes which had led to internal dis-

prevent the crime and a deliberate insensitivity of the authorities in the state and the Centre demoralized and frightened the victims that they chose to leave the village and forget the crime. The victims of the Chattisinghpura massacre who were willing to come forward as witnesses had a same experience and chose to remain silent. The government created an Apex committee of the representatives of displaced Kashmiri Hindus to give an impression that they were being taken into confidence with regard to their return and rehabilitation. But in fact everything was decided beforehand and that too in written. Those who objected were forced to walk out and their places were eventually filled with henchmen. The apex Committee, like the Jewish councils created in concentration camps in Europe before the World War 2, has become only an instrument of the government to promote its policy. Everything which comes in the way is being ignored or suppressed. Government has now transformed itself from a bystander into a collaborator. Powerlessness of the victim gives confidence to the perpetrator and the collaborator to continue with their acts. Professor Henry Theriault, a descendent of the survivors of the Armenian Genocide in 1914 captures this viciousness

have agreed to avail of the employment opportunities provided by the package and return to the dangerous uncertainty as is prevailing in the valley. Holocaust expert Joel E Dimsdale says, "In destruction process the perpetrators do not play the only role, the process is shaped by the victim too. It is the interaction of perpetrators and victims that is fate." To understand the issue one has to understand what happens to the victims when they are abandoned by their own governments in whom they despite all reasons to the contrary continue to repose their trust. Psychological studies on victims of extreme persecution and genocidal destabilization have revealed peculiar behavior which is difficult to comprehend under normal circumstances. Saporta and Van der Kolk make a profound observation in this regard in their seminal work Psychological Consequences of Severe trauma, "In a government sanctioned torture, the betrayal of the victim by its government can be viewed as the loss of an important attachment bond, both real and symbolic. Regardless of one's conscious attitude about one's government, there tends to be a hope, or aspiration that will embody parental qualities such as the provision of protection and security. The betrayal of these expectations



Moulvi Shoukat

have influenced the Kashmiri Hindus who have decided to join in valley after being selected for the employment package.. There are families who have lived on the meager relief for more than two decades. To withstand the pressures of destitution for more time has almost become unbearable. There are over aged unemployed and unmarried ladies whose parents hope that getting a job will help them finding a partner. There are divorced ladies whose parents want to overcome the fear of what might happen to them in case they are no more. There are village folk who think that a job in Kashmir may help them to reclaim and develop their lands and property. Enforced destitution of the displaced population has been a conscious policy of both the perpetrators and the collaborators within the government and outside it. Systematically different types of coercive influences have been unleashed during their exile to produce anxiety and stress for a protracted period and the destitute displaced Hindus from Kashmir are responding by trying to adapt or conform.

Naivety, lack of understanding
(Contd. on Page 7)

For the benefit of our esteemed readers, we are publishing the paper presented by Prof. Hari Om (former) Head of Maharaja Ghulab Singh Chair, Jammu University, to the group of interlocutors on J&K State during his meeting with them on Feb 21, 2011 at Jammu.

--Editor

Dear interlocutors,

I fully appreciate your willingness to engage me in the dialogue process which you are spearheading on behalf of the Government of India. This appreciation is more so because I have been openly contesting the motivation of Government of India, which forced them to start the dialogue process. I have also openly questioned the very architecture of the peace process, which the Government of India has been carrying on in the state for quite some time now.

To be frank, I have also raised serious questions publicly about your functioning and criticized many of your statements. For example, I have taken a serious exception to your statements like "there are no red lines"; "Kashmir is a political problem that needs a political settlement"; "prepare a roadmap for Azadi for discussion"; and "Indian Constitution could be amended to accommodate the Azadi demand."

As a matter of fact, I am fully aware of the position that you have been holding on the issue of problem in Kashmir even before you were appointed as interlocutors. And knowing that you have a perspective on Jammu and Kashmir which

is in public knowledge, I am not that sure how much your personal views will prejudice your functioning as the interlocutors on behalf of Government of India.

I want you to appreciate my dilemma in offering my views to you as representatives of Government of India. This dilemma rises fundamentally from the impression that the Government of India has created about itself amongst those citizens in the state who hold Indian integrity and sovereignty as sacrosanct and inviolable. The Government of India has over the years presented itself as a neutral party in the entire crisis which has gripped the state. It has presented itself as an arbitrator of dispute between the nationalists in the state and the separatists. In fact, the Government of India has gradually painted itself or allowed it to be painted as a colonial power which is desperately trying to retreat from its colonial territory.

If the whole dialogue process is about how to effect retreat from the state of Jammu and Kashmir beguiling the people of India that it has actually protected the national interests in the state, then I have no comments or views to offer to you. In such a situation you

are no more than an alien whose aim is to bring about second partition of India on communal basis. In case it is not so, then there is a clear-cut task for you which you have not even started as yet. And that task is to convince



people like me that your views about the nation conform to the spirit of the Constitution of India and that you have a commitment to protect the indivisible unity of India in the state as well as protect the nation-building vision of India.

I have one thing clearly to state even in a situation of dilemma which I have tried to put forth in front of you and that is that a clear-cut circumstantial evidence is

available in the public domain which points to the fact that the recent public mobilizations in the Kashmir Valley and the unrest got also encouraged by the perspectives which Government of India created about Jammu and Kashmir from time to time in recent years. If the Prime Minister of India publicly affirms that a solution had almost been arrived at between India and Pakistan on the vexed issue of Jammu and Kashmir, then it does not need anybody else to prompt further the separatists to rise and exert pressures to push forward the process which got derailed because of the dethronement of Pervez Musharraf and subsequently by the horrific 26/11 Mumbai terrorist attacks. Prime Minister has taken a position that neighbors cannot be changed is a recipe for a surrender. Are we actually witnessing unfolding of this surrender and is your appointment continuity of the same policy of surrender? In such a situation do you expect anybody in the state to come forward and express views and give suggestions, which can salvage the national interests in the State?

In the end, I would want to say that there is no problem of Jammu and Kashmir. It's

problem in Kashmir. The problem is neither constitutional nor a political one. It is basically a problem of uncontested communalism of the leadership of Kashmiri Muslims. So far, the Government of India has tried to address it by incremental surrenders or by creating a process of circumventing it. The Government of India has failed squarely if at all it ever had the intention of defeating separatism. The path of retrieval is, however, clear enough for all of us to see and traverse with determination. Patriotic citizens in Jammu and Kashmir will not allow second partition of India and surrender to separatists operating from within the Government and outside. What the Kashmiri separatists and Pakistan are demanding is utterly unacceptable.

However, there are several issues which need a serious discussion but these could be discussed only after you convince persons like me that there would be no surrender and no move to pander to communalism and separatism.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely,
Prof. Hari Om

Progression towards Destruction

(From Page 6)

ing and ignorance about the major political happenings which have a bearing on the very survival of victims drives the victim to suicidal actions. Dimsdale writes about the behavior of Jews as they were being pushed towards a holocaust, "the Jews did not always have to be deceived, they were capable of deceiving themselves." Some of the selected candidates of the employment package and their close kins who were approached by well-wishers to reconsider their decision stubbornly refused any counseling. A somewhat comical anecdote which happened sometime back will reflect the nature of this naivety more than anything else. A married young Kashmiri Hindu who is working as an officer in a central government department accompanied his wife to Kashmir valley. His wife had been selected for a teacher's post and had decided to join the post. Young man's father had been killed by Islamist terrorists in valley during 90's. Young man had told his wife not to remove her Bindi mark on the forehead and

flaunt her 'Dejhaur', the ornament which is a sign of a married woman amongst Kashmiri Pandits and hangs from the ear lobe to the front of the bust. He told her that by doing so he will be able to gauge the reaction of the Muslim officer receiving the joining report and thus will be able to decide whether she would continue with the job or not. The selected lady reached Kashmir valley and went to the school to submit her joining report along with her husband. On reaching the school they found only the peon in the school who told them to sit and wait for the education officer. Another Kashmiri Hindu lady was already sitting in the reception room along with her husband. She had also come to join for a teachers post. The young man asked his wife to sit in the reception room and he himself went out to smoke a cigarette. When he returned to the reception room he found her wife had already removed the bindi mark from her forehead and hidden her 'Dejhaur' in the locks of her hair. He asked her why she had done so and his wife told her that the other

Kashmiri Hindu lady sitting there had advised her to do so. While he was narrating this episode to his friends in Jammu, one of his friends interjected and said, "Tell me if your wife would not have removed her bindi and continued to flaunt her 'Dejhaur' and the education officer and

CONTINUATION

other employees of the school had received her warmly and with respect, would you conclude that everything is hunky dory and keep your young and beautiful wife there to serve as a teacher in a village."

A scholar who is doing research on the Hindu survivors of the Tribal Raid in Kashmir Valley in 1947-48 reminded me of the viciousness of the naivety of people in situations of emergency and extreme distress and cautioned me not to get surprised by it. He reminded me that Kashmiri Pandits living in Srinagar continued to remain engrossed in performing the marriages in the marriage season, played tumbaknari and music, while the invaders had almost reached the out-

skirts of the city in 1947. A survivor of the tribal raid from Baramullah revealed that he was a school student when the raiders entered Baramullah. The Hindu residents of his locality assembled in a village to discuss the issue. Blissfully naive they came to a conclusion that the best response to the impending raid was to remain a kilometer away from the main roads. They held the view that raiders had mainly 3 not 3 rifles with them and such a rifle had a firing range of not more than a kilometer so if they remained out of the range they will be safe. Cultivating naivety is also a sort of an escape response. There is deliberate inclination of the victims of genocide and protracted persecution to black out inputs, shun out unpleasant inferences and remain in a make believe world to maintain a feel good perception. When confronted by serious life threatening situations, "the victims can react in five ways: by resistance, by an attempt to alleviate or nullify the threat (the undoing reaction), by evasion, by paralysis, or by compliance."

The suicidal wishfulness or a very perverted cleverness seems to have effected many of the selected candidates who

have decided to join. The persons in this category are fully aware of the dangers of returning to the uncertainty of the valley. They are aware of the grim situation there and the sway and dominance of the radical communal forces there. None of them has faith in the government's capability to protect them. They accept that sooner or later some mishap may happen there. And ironically all of them have a hope that if a mishap happens then they will run back to Jammu and stake their claim as a migrant employees and the government will have no choice but to adjust them in Jammu. And all these clever persons individually think that the impending mishap on which they are laying their hopes to escape and get a redemption will not happen with them.

Looking at the attitude of Government of India, the state government, the political establishment in Jammu and Kashmir as well as New Delhi towards the problem of internal displacement of Kashmiri Hindus, one cannot but be haunted by the lines of holocaust expert Ervin Staub, "there was a progression of steps along a continuum of destruction."

(The writer is chairman Panun Kashmir)

Sufi Militants Struggle with Deobandi Jihadists in Pakistan



By Arif Jamal

AS Punjab governor Salman Taseer came out of a restaurant in an upscale area of Islamabad, one of his bodyguards uttered the slogan “*Allahu Akbar*” and fired on the man he was supposed to guard, killing him on the spot. The assassin in the January 4 killing, Malik Mumtaz Qadri, belonged to the Elite Punjab Police, a force specially trained in counterterrorism work and the protection of important individuals (Dawn [Karachi], January 5). Qadri was also believed to be associated with the South Asian Barelvi Sufi movement. The other bodyguards from the elite force did not try to stop him and the smiling Qadri surrendered to his fellow officers after he made sure the governor was dead. He later told the police that he had killed the governor because Taseer had insulted the Prophet of Islam by describing Pakistan’s controversial blasphemy laws as “black laws.” Within hours of the assassination, Barelvi ulema (religious scholars) and more than 500 leading members of the Jamaat Ahle Sunnat (“The Community of People of the Traditions of Muhammad,” a Barelvi Sufi religious organization) had issued a fatwa against leading the deceased governor’s funeral prayers or even attending his funeral (The News [Islamabad] January 5). When the police brought the assassin to court a day later, hundreds of lawyers showered him with rose petals. There were widespread demonstrations in Qadri’s favor throughout the country. With all opposition to Islamism and jihadism in Pakistan falling silent since, Sufi Islamism has succeeded in doing what Deobandi jihadism had failed in the past.

Pir Mohammad Ilyas Attar Qadri and the Struggle against Deobandism

The most unusual and disturbing aspect of the assassination was that the killer belonged to the Dawat-e-Islami, a Barelvi Sufi group which normally shuns violence and has been in the forefront of the struggle

against Deobandism (a conservative Sunni religious movement that has become associated with militancy) and the Ahle Hadith jihadi groups. Founded in 1984 as a small group around Pir (spiritual leader) Mohammad Ilyas Attar Qadri, Dawat-e-Islami grew into a formidable organization by the mid-1990s when more than 100,000 persons gathered at its periodic ijtimaahs (conventions). Pir Ilyas Attar Qadri had sensed Deobandi extremism would grow as a result of the Afghan jihad and wanted to organize the Ahle Sunnat to face that challenge. However, Pir Ilyas believed in peaceful resistance. [2] Surprisingly, the Dawat-e-Islami is loosely structured on the model of the Deobandi Tablighi Jamaat (an international Islamic reform movement). All Dawat-e-Islami members, however, are required to wear parrot-green turbans and shalwar-kurta (traditional South Asian clothing) like their Pir.

Pir Ilyas Attar Qadri has sworn bay’at (allegiance) to four of the leading orders in Sufi Islam; the Qadriya, Chishtiya, Naqshbandiya, and Suharwardiya. He, however, took the suffix of Qadri as his title because he had sworn bay’at at the hands of Pir Ziaud Din Ahmed Rizvi Qadri, a successor of Imam Ahmed Reza Khan Barelvi, the 19th century Ahle Sunnat imam who challenged the rise of Deobandism by issuing a fatwa against the movement. As the group grew larger, most of his followers started calling themselves “Attari-Qadri,” turning the group into a mystic sub-order. [3] Like most Barelvi spiritual leaders, Pir Ilyas Qadri places more stress on zikr (devotional acts) and less on shariat (Islamic teachings and doctrines). However, unlike most modern pirs, he does not ignore shariat altogether. In this way, he serves as a bridge between the Barelvi ulema (Islamic scholars) and the pirs (traditional spiritual leaders). This is one of the reasons why he attracts students from the Barelvi madrassahs. Pir Ilyas is called “Amir Ahle Sunnat” by his followers, which reflects his desire to lead the Ahle Sunnat.

Formation of the Sunni Tehrik

Pir Ilyas Qadri’s reluctance to adopt violence against Deobandi jihadi groups led to a mini-rebellion among his followers, particularly those who had studied at Barelvi madrassahs. Consequently, a small group led by Saleem Qadri founded the Sunni Tehrik in 1990. Saleem Qadri wanted to meet Deobandi vio-

lence with more violence, as Pir Ilyas Qadri’s “non-violence was not taking the Barelvis anywhere.” [4] However, Saleem Qadri did not break his religious allegiance to Pir Ilyas Qadri even after leaving his group, nor did he ask his followers to break links with the Dawat-e-Islami. This approach worked and soon the ranks of the Sunni Tehrik swelled. The membership of the Dawat-e-Islami and the Sunni Tehrik also overlaps at the lower levels with several other Barelvi groups.

The Sunni Tehrik was the first Barelvi group to articulate the demands of the majority Barelvi sect and to use violence to achieve them. Their four basic demands were:

■ The protection of Ahle



Malik Mumtaz Qadri

Sunnat beliefs.

- The protection of the rights of the Ahle Sunnat.
- The protection of Ahle Sunnat mosques.
- The protection of the Ahle Sunnat awqaf (religious endowments), such as shrines.

The Sunni Tehrik was ready to use violence to achieve the last two demands in response to Deobandi groups’ use of violence to take over Barelvi mosques and awqaf property. Soon after its founding, the Sunni Tehrik started using force to take back the mosques the Deobandis had allegedly taken from the Barelvi ulema. The Dawat-e-Islami and the Sunni Tehrik cadres complained bitterly that the state had helped the Deobandi and Ahle Hadith groups and ulema to grow at the expense of the majority Barelvis. One of their most consistent demands has been for Barelvi imams to be appointed to army-owned mosques. The rise of the Sunni Tehrik posed a direct challenge to the Deobandi jihadi groups. Consequently, Saleem Qadri was assassinated in Karachi in early 2001 by Arshad Khan (a.k.a. Polka), a Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan/Jaish-e-Mohammad

operative (The News [Islamabad] April 9, 2001).

The Jamaat Ahle Sunnat Challenges the Military’s Pro-Jihad Policies

Before he was assassinated, Saleem Qadri had played an important role in radicalizing the Barelvi youth, though neither he nor his spiritual leader, Pir Ilyas Qadri, were able to provide effective leadership to the ever growing numbers of restless Barelvi youth. This leadership was eventually provided by the hitherto dormant Jamaat Ahle Sunnat, the religious party of the Ahle Sunnat ulema. Dawat-e-Islami and the Sunni Tehrik had played an important part in reviving the Jamaat Ahle Sunnat, which held a convention in Multan on April 1-2, 2000. It was the biggest gathering of Barelvi groups in more than a century. The convention was very critical of the Pakistani military’s pro-jihad policy and support to Deobandi groups. In his speech, Jamaat leader Syed Riaz Hussain Shah came down hard on the military, saying: “If the civil war in Kashmir is the right policy, the government must involve all the Muslims in it. It will be dangerous, as is becoming evident, to arm only a few sects [such as the Deobandis].” However, the most important thing was that the Jamaat Ahle Sunnat had adopted the Sunni Tehrik narrative of a forceful defense of Barelvi interests as its own. The Jamaat Ahle Sunnat emerged much stronger after the convention and began to play a major part in the country’s Islamist politics.

The first opportunity for the Jamaat Ahle Sunnat to show its strength came in the fall of 2005, when Denmark’s Jyllands-Posten newspaper published 12 cartoons depicting the Prophet of Islam as a terrorist. The cartoons created anger among Muslims across the world. The fiercest demonstrations took place in Pakistan, where the Jamaat Ahle Sunnat and other Barelvi groups (including Dawat-e-Islami and the Sunni Tehrik), remained in the forefront of the demonstrations and sustained them for months. Every time the government indicated its intention of amending the blasphemy laws, the Islamists descended to the streets with a vengeance. Again, each time the Jamaat

Ahle Sunnat and other Barelvi groups were in the forefront of the protests. The Jamaat Ahle Sunnat also led demonstrations against the release of Aasia Bibi, an illiterate Christian farm worker and mother of five who was accused of committing an act of blasphemy (insulting the Prophet Muhammad) and sentenced to death by a lower court based on the evidence of her lone accuser.

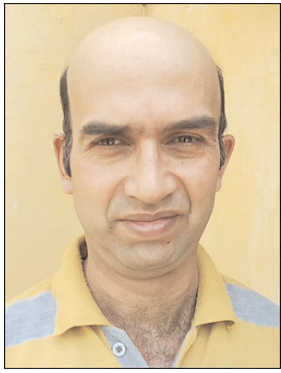
Conclusion

Although the Barelvis are the majority Muslim sect in Pakistan and in South Asia, Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), under Saudi pressure, never allowed or encouraged them to take part in the Afghan and Kashmir jihads. When the jihad in Afghanistan started in 1980, the Saudis agreed to match American donations dollar for dollar, but also made sure that only their favorite sects, such as the Ahle Hadith, the Deobandis and the Jamaat-e-Islami, were allowed to take part in it, keeping Barelvis and Shias out of the jihad. Although the Barelvis are more hardline than the Deobandis in some respects, they are not armed like the latter. [9] Neither are they trained in guerrilla warfare like the Deobandis and the Ahle Hadith, who have been actively waging jihad for more than a quarter century. However, the Barelvis can show their street muscle through their numerical strength. The groups discussed in this article make up the backbone of the growing Barelvi/Sufi extremism in Pakistan. While the Dawat-e-Islami prepares the masses and the Sunni Tehrik counters violence from Deobandi and Ahle Hadith groups with more violence, the Jamaat Ahle Sunnat dominates the street with its madrassah-educated cadres to promote Sufi Islamism. The assassination of Governor Salman Taseer shows that Sufi Islamism can be a bulwark against or an alternative to Deobandi and Ahle Hadith jihadism but it is in its own way as great a threat to international security as the militancy of the Deobandi and Ahle Hadith movements.

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By Dileep Kumar Kaul

THE Kashmir we see today is the result of many political contestations. What is most tragic is that Kashmir is still visualized as a place in terms of these political contestations. The primary contestation is between Hindu and Muslim consciousnesses. Muslims are trying to put Kashmir as a Muslim place in which all good things happened after the Muslim rule. All death and destruction that was caused is conveniently brushed under the carpet. But there are such cultural icons who are the makers of a place. When an invader comes attempts are made to appropriate these icons. The Muslim rulers of Kashmir have never been without their religious interests and it is in this sphere of religion that they attempt to put these cultural icons. This shows the importance of cultural icons. They rise above all the invasions of caste creed and colour. The proselytizers always understand the importance of these cultural icons and the role of these icons in making of the identity of a community and a place. The attempts to appropriate a sage like Lalded are a scintillating example. Muslim proselytizers in Kashmir have been straining every nerve to establish that Lalded had converted to Islam because "Lalded Consciousness" forms the core of the place consciousness of Kashmir.

Lalded, the shavite Yogini is such a consciousness, whose spiritual intensity has touched both Hindus and Muslims. I do not intend to establish her as a secular icon which many Kashmiri scholars have tried to establish. The problem is that when attempts have been made to establish somebody as secular it clearly means taking her out of the perspective of the place she belongs to and placing her in the perspective of politics. That has been done to Shiriyabhatt. He was a doctor who cured Badshah of the disease when every other doctor including the court doctors of the Sultan had failed. This unequivocally established the genius of Shiriyabhatt. But he is nowhere in the Kashmiriyat discourse where Badshah

rules the roost. Shiriyabhatt belonged to a persecuted community that was being persecuted for religious reasons and he could have easily left Badshah, who till then was a persecutor, to die. But he acted in the true spirit of a doctor cut across religious barriers. Shiriyabhatt was compassionate even to his persecutor. This is because he belonged to Kashmir which made him like this. This is "Lalded Consciousness." But in the political discourse of "Kashmiriyat" such a cultural icon has been taken away from the perspective of his place and forced into a subordinate position to the ruler Badshah who only after being cured by Shiriyabhatt, and on his request to get back those Kashmiri Pandits who had run away because of persecution, agreed to get those Pandits back into the valley. In the whole discourse Shiriyabhatt, the cultural icon stands above all. But everybody talks of the generosity of Badshah who till being cured by Shiriyabhatt was not generous. So after being placed in the political perspective Shiriyabhatt loses his essence as a cultural icon. When I say I do not intend to establish Lalded as a secular icon I do not want to establish her as a communal entity. She is the expression of the "placeness" of Kashmir and should be taken like that.

This legacy has been carried forward by other saints also who were born Muslims. But in their many poems they have resisted the attempts to erode the place consciousness and with vehemence used the language that reflected their intense consciousness of their place. They had rebelled against the dominant place eroding forces in their society even when the threat of sword loomed large on them. Same place eroding forces are ruling in Kashmir now and hardly anybody talks about these saints now. The spiritual intensity of Lalded is deeply felt especially by Kashmiri Muslim establishment who, understanding her grandeur, want to make her Muslim. They are trying their best to take her out of her place perspective, the perspective of Kashmir and put her in the perspective of Islamic Politics. In the perspective of this politics she has to be in a subordinate position because only then she will become a useful personality who for the whole of life was a Shaiva Yogini and eventually converted to Islam. If we examine the

effect of Lalded on Kashmiri psyche we see that she flows down to our times as a consciousness which cuts across rival faiths and establishes Kashmir as a sacred geography. This "Lalded Consciousness" purifies Muslims in the sense that in spite of the efforts of the Muslim establishment with all the resources at their disposal, the Muslims in general and the Muslim mystics in particular, found inspiration enough in this "Lalded Consciousness" to resist conversion of Lalded into a Muslim communal symbol.

Kashmiri mystics like Ahad Zargar; too, like Lalded, used indigenous terminology to express his experience of the ultimate cosmic consciousness. His extensive use of this terminology which is rooted in the place shows that he felt that his feeling could be better expressed by this terminology. When spiritual experience is expressed in language it needs a terminology, which cannot be confined within the sphere of a particular creed. If non Islamic terminology means deviation from the faith, which it certainly means, then Ahad Zargar was an infidel and he was declared so more than once. The spiritual history of Kashmir is full of those poets of Lalded Consciousness, who were born Muslims. Nobody knows how much of their writings may have been destroyed.

In eighteenth century mystic Momin sahib said,

*Ogunuy sapun tu dognyar Traav
Paanu Maenzi Paan praznavo lo.*

In this verse he advocates non-dualism and makes an assertion to shun dualism (dognyar) and attain absolute oneness (ogunuy). His use of Indigenous terminology is notable. In 18-19th century mystic Shah Gafoor says,

*Yor Yith Zanmas Kenh
Chhunu Laarun
Dhaarnaayi Dhaarun
Soo Hum Soo
B r a m a h , V i s h n u ,
Maheshwar Gaarun
Dhaarnaayi Daarun Soo
Hum Soo*

Note the use of indigenous terms like 'dhaarna' and 'soo hum soo'. These terms are from a specific method of meditation and Bramah, Vishnu, Maheshwar clearly signify polytheistic attitude which is a serious deviation from Semitic monotheism. This cannot be put under the parrot cry of secularism in which many writers have included it. This is pure rebellion. Shah

Gafoor belonged to the spiritual methodology to which all the mystics of Kashmir subscribed, but the so called 'Kashmiriyat' does not take this spiritual culture of Kashmir into consideration. It, in essence, denies the spiritual culture and politicizes the whole thing. This is the tragedy of Kashmir. They have to deny the spiritual culture of Kashmir which decisively undermines the rationale of proselytization. They tried to usurp the symbols but failed repeatedly. In short this spiritual culture cannot be muslimized. After all, it is impossible to deny the existence of numerous poets of "Lalded Consciousness" who were born Muslims.

In 19th century mystic Shah Qalandar says,

*Shiv Shah Qalandaru
Chhunu Kaensi Hyuvuye*

He says that "Shiva" is not like anybody else. Here Shiva means the ultimate cosmic consciousness. For Lalded too, Shiva is the ultimate cosmic consciousness. Shah Qalandar's voice, too, is considered very near to Kashmir Shaivism. The significance of the word "Shiva" for the place identity and legend of Kashmir is well known. This "Lalded Consciousness" is expressed by the noted mystic Shams Faqir in another poem,

*Zaanvuni Zaan kar
Pranas Tu Gyaanas
Zaan Milunaav
Bagwaanas Sutyi*

*Pooza Karuni Gayi Manz
Karmuvaanas
Dharma Shaasturunis
Butkhaanas
Kor Lali Yikuwatu
Aakash Pranas
Zaan Milunaav
Bagwaans sutyi.*

(O knowledgeable one, Know gyana and prana, merge this knowledge with Bhagwaana, the god consciousness. He who is involved in the act of worshiping should worship the temple of idols which is this world of activity in which we humans dwell—this is what is actually meant by the worship of form shown in dharma shastras; but lalded merged her prana with the ultimate cosmic consciousness, so merge yourself with god consciousness; that is the ultimate goal).

In the above verse Shams Faqir admires the oneness of Lalded with the ultimate cosmic consciousness. Note the use of terminology that connects Shams Faqir with the polytheistic spiritual tradition of Kashmir. But idol worship has a different meaning for

him. One who worships the form visualizes god in his own way. In this world of karma everybody does his karma in his own way. So visualization of God is also in one's own way. Shams Faqir is talking of a democratic theism which accepts all the forms of god that everybody visualizes. That way idol worship is the real worship which is not monological, does not bind you and allows you to respect every form. Shams Faqir says that idol worship is okay but the ultimate aim is achieving that state of consciousness which Lalded had attained. This whole poem is important from the point of view of Lalded Consciousness. In another verse he sums up the spiritual grandeur of Lalded:

*Wopdeesh Karni Gayi Nund
Reshaanas*

*Rindav dopphas aeni
Irfaan*

*Tsepi tspiras gindun
shahi hamdaanas*

*Zaan milnaav bagwaans
sutyi.*

(Lalded went to teach Nund rishi her spiritual path

The path which mystics call awareness or gnosis

She played hide and seek with Shahi Hamdaan so merge yourself with God consciousness).

Nundarishi, too has acknowledged the spiritual grandeur of Lalded in his famous verse:

*Tas Padmaanporichi
lale,*

*Tami gale amreth piva
Swa saani awtaar lwalaye*

Tyuthuy var me titi diva.

(That lalla of Padmaonpore, i.e. Pampore, who drank the divine nectar to her fullest, she was undoubtedly an awataar whom we hold in our heart; O God! grant me the same boon as to attain that spiritual state).

Nund Rishi too carried Lalded Consciousness within her. And see what Shams Faqir says! She played hide and seek with Shahi Hamdaan, one who is known for spread of Islam in Kashmir. Lalded did not have any discourse with him but played hide and seek in mystic sense captured by Shams Faqir. Mention of a folk fable is relevant here. It is said that in a state of ecstasy Lalded roamed in streets without any clothes. Once when she was walking through a market she saw Shahi Hamdaan coming. It is important to note that Shahi Hamdaan and Lalded were not contemporaries. Anyway the fable is there. Lalded who was without

(Contd. on Page 12)

The Islamist Impulse Haunting Pakistan



By Ashok
K. Behuria

IT is a truism to say that the elite in Pakistan has used Islam to perpetuate its hold on power ever since the state came into being in 1947. The judiciary in Pakistan has been the latest to emphasise its Islamist credentials to legitimise its rise as an important constituent of the influential 'quartet' that is ruling Pakistan today.

While it is debatable whether the current phenomenon of judicial activism will survive the tenure of the incumbent Chief Justice of the Pakistani Supreme Court, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, it is certain that the judiciary may have sealed the prospects of all debates in Pakistan on whether Pakistan should be a secular or an Islamic state. Initially conceived as a Muslim state, Pakistan has advanced incrementally since the days of Jinnah from a notional 'Islamic republic' to a state where Islam has occupied prime of place.

If the judiciary now arrogates for itself the power to quash any possible parliamentary legislation to declare Pakistan a secular state, it indicates the persisting appeal of Islam in Pakistani society and its body politic. To a large extent, it also explains the phenomenon of growing Islamic radicalism in Pakistan.

Judiciary against secular Pakistan

On August 16, 2010, during the course of a 17-judge full court hearing on the 18th amendment passed earlier by the Pakistani parliament, the Supreme Court Chief Justice held that the sovereignty of parliament did not mean it enjoyed unfettered powers to introduce any amendment to the constitution. He reportedly asked, 'Should we accept if tomorrow parliament declares secularism, and not Islam, as the state polity?' Another judge joined him in asking, 'Will it be called a rightful exercise of authority if tomorrow parliament amends Article 2 of the constitution which states that Islam will be the state religion?'¹

Such comments drew instant criticism from a section of the media. The News on Sunday wrote editorially, 'What is worrisome is that these were not off the cuff remarks but a considered view shared by a majority of the country's educated elite'.² It went on to quote a Pakistani analyst who said that 'Islam in Pakistan... has ceased to be a religion and worldview; it has become an obsession, a pathology. It has been drained of all ethics and has become a mechanism for oppression and injustice'.

Army chief's emphasis on Islam

The judiciary is not alone in its penchant for Islam. Other important constituents of the quartet have also time and again stressed the Islamic roots of Pakistani society and polity. For example, not long ago, the

Pakistani chief of army staff, Gen. Parvez Kayani, reportedly said while addressing a gathering in Police Lines, Peshawar, on November 25, 2009: 'Pakistan was founded by our forefathers in the name of Islam and we should work to strengthen the country and make committed efforts to achieve the goal of turning it into a true Islamic state'.⁴ A few days later, while responding to a suicide attack claimed by Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) on a mosque in Rawalpindi on December 4, 2009, he reportedly stated: 'Pakistan is our motherland. It is the bastion of Islam and we live for the glory of Islam and Pakistan... Our faith, resolve and pride in our religion and in our country is an asset, which is further reinforced after each terrorist incident'.⁶

It is thus becoming increasingly clear day by day that the terms of popular discourse are being increasingly decided by the radical Islamist elements rather than the elements advocating 'enlightened moderation'. By invoking 'Islam' the elite may be seeking legitimacy for its rule in an overall Islamised context, but it is perhaps unaware that it is indirectly legitimising the demand of the radical elements for the establishment of an 'Islamic state' in Pakistan.

The roots of the secular-Islamic divide

The debate over whether Pakistan should be 'a Muslim state' (for the Muslims of India) or an 'Islamic state' has a long history of its own. It had started in the womb of the Pakistan movement itself. In the Karachi Session of the Muslim League in 1943, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, an important member of the League, had clearly stated in the presence of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, 'There is no denying the fact that we want Pakistan for the establishment of Quranic system of government. It will bring about a revolution in our life, a renaissance, a new fervour and zeal, and above all, a resuscitation of pristine Islamic purity and glory'. Addressing Jinnah, who was presiding over the session, he had stated, 'Quaid-i-Azam (the great leader) we have understood Pakistan in this light. If your Pakistan is not such, we do not want it'. In his submission later, Jinnah had endorsed these views and held that 'Islam was the bed-rock of the community'.

As a leader of a mass movement, Jinnah was aware of the appeal of Islam amongst the Muslim masses and did not hesitate to use it to his advantage. For example, he urged the students of Islamia College Peshawar in 1946 that the League stood for carving out a separate state and turning it into a 'laboratory of Islam', where Muslims were in a numerical

majority to rule there under Islamic law. He used Islamic symbols to sell his idea of liberal democracy on many occasions.

Soon after his famous address to the Pakistan constituent assembly on August 11, 1947, where he asked his colleagues to work towards a system where 'citizenship' of the state would be more important than the religion of a person, he would ask each Pakistani to 'take vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam', 'to develop the spirit of Mujahids' and be unafraid of death because 'our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause'.

Use of Islamic symbols: Jinnah and his successors

Jinnah also used Islam as a unifier to stitch together disparate ethnic and sectarian identities which had started raising their heads soon after partition. In his speech on the occasion of the opening of the State Bank of Pakistan in July 1948, he even went to the extent of criticising 'the economic system of the West' for creating 'almost insoluble problems for humanity' and urged the audience 'to work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice' and evolve 'banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life'.⁸

Jinnah's efforts to sell his idea of a liberal democratic Pakistan based on basic Islamic principles of equality and social justice sought to bridge the gulf between liberal democracy, which he wanted Pakistan to adopt as a system of governance, and a Sharia-based Islamic system, which many of his followers instinctively gravitated towards. He was perhaps aware of the contradictions he had to deal with in the process. In one breath he would dismiss the idea of Pakistan becoming a theocracy, while in another he would comfort the clergy, which was vocal about Sharia, by saying that the constitution will not be in conflict with the Sharia laws. He did not live long enough to resolve these contradictions. The constant tussle between the moderates and the conservatives would mark the political landscape of Pakistan heretofore.

The rulers of Pakistan who succeeded him inherited this legacy of unresolved contradictions. They employed the same tactics to justify their actions. The liberals like Ayub Khan (1958-1969) and Zulfikar Ali

Bhutto (-1972-1977) used Islam to justify their actions, legitimise their rule and even to undermine their political opponents. The years of military dictatorship under Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988), which coincided with Afghan Jihad, saw the balance shifting towards the Islamists. It was during this time that the Islamic content of Jinnah's speeches was isolated and served as proof of his Islamist rather than secular orientation. Democratic leaders like Nawaz Sharif, who followed Zia, even tried unsuccessfully to introduce Islamic provisions into the constitution.

The influence of the radical elements has grown manifold in Pakistan in the post-Zia years, despite the much-advertised efforts of Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008), another military dictator, to bring 'enlightened moderation' to Pakistan. Musharraf's own attempt to appropriate Islamic symbols, much like Jinnah's, could not make much of a dent into the radical Islamic constituency that is threatening to swamp Pakistan today.

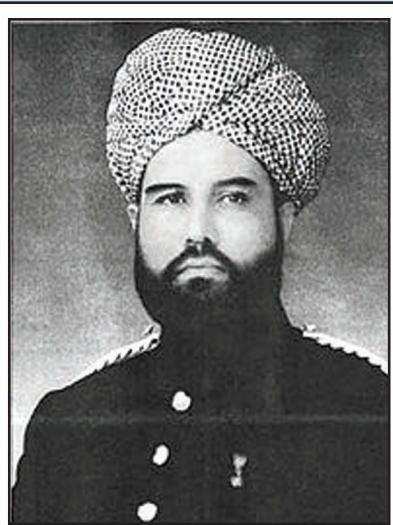
Crisis of identity

The inability of the elite to define the Pakistani nation in non-religious geo-cultural terms has allowed Islam to endure as the most important marker of the Pakistani identity. This sense of identity crisis has been underlined by a Pakistani writer in the following words:

The mind of the Pakistani intellectual has often been agitated by considerations of the question of our national identity. But since the traumatic events of 1971, this self-questioning has assumed the proportions of a compelling necessity... If we let go the ideology of Islam, we cannot hold together as a nation by any other means... If the Arabs, the Turks, the Iranians, God forbid, give up Islam, the Arabs yet remain Arabs, the Turks remain Turks, the Iranians remain Iranians, but what do we remain if we give up Islam?

Ironically, as long as Islam remains the most potent referent, it will certainly emit strong Islamist impulses which will indirectly legitimise the operation of radical Islamic groups in Pakistan. Rather than leading to a consensus, the increasing accent of the state on Islam has hardened the boundaries between different sects and groups within Islam. Each of these groups has tried to define Islam in narrow and exclusivist terms and sought to impose their world views on others in militant ways. If one goes by their separate versions of Pakistan, one will find many Pakistans within Pakistan competing for influence and legitimacy.¹⁰ Rather than fighting them or trying to transcend such a fissiparous trend by promoting a progressive version of Islam, the state apparatus has collaborated with the Islamists and even granted them their mini-emirates in far-flung areas. Inevitably, the Islamist discourse has been dominated by sectarian and regressive maulanas (religious scholars) of all shades, pushing the resultant vector in the direction of growing Islamisation of Pakistani society with each passing day. The trend is too obvious to be ignored and

(Contd. on Page 11)



Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang

J&K 'alarmingly corrupt': TI

PDS, Power, PHE 'meritorious'

Syed Junaid Hashmi

JAMMU, Mar 16: After dropping a bombshell in the year 2005 by ranking Jammu and Kashmir as country's second most corrupt state, Transparency International (TI) has dubbed the state as 'alarmingly corrupt' and concluded that levels of corruption have increased despite state's disappointing ranking.

The survey conducted in the year 2008 with special focus on BPL households, mostly in rural India has placed Jammu and Kashmir at number 3 with Assam at the top followed by Bihar among the alarmingly corrupt states. Further, the corruption is alarming in Public Distribution System (PDS), Electricity and water supply.

Designed and conducted by Centre for Media Studies (CMS) in collaboration with the Transparency International India (TII), this corruption study has rebutted official claims and concluded that every three out of four rural BPL households, who paid bribe, paid it directly to concerned government staff for getting their grievance redressed.

The survey is based on the actual experience of paying bribe by BPL

households in availing one or more of the 11 selected public service, divided broadly into "basic services" (PDS, Hospital Service, School Education (up to 12th), Electricity Service and Water Supply Service) and "need based services" (Land Records/Registration, Housing Service, Forest, NREGS, Banking Service and Police Service (traffic and crime)).

Besides, among the three districts of Jammu and Kashmir included in the survey, perception of corruption among BPL families was the highest in Srinagar (63 per cent) while in Anantnag and Doda districts, the proportion was 48 and 40 per cent, respectively. Report has called upon the state government for serious introspection, restructuring and even repositioning of certain services meant for BPL households.

Among basic services in Jammu and Kashmir, nearly 30 per cent of the BPL households paid bribe for Electricity service. Moreover, it needs to be mentioned here that in the Power Sector Reforms rating for the year 2006 by CRISIL-ICRA, Jammu & Kashmir had got lowest score -9.58 among all the Indian states. The other basic service where

a high proportion of the BPL households paid bribe was Water Supply service.

Survey also found out that for the services like Housing, Forest, Police, and Land Records and Registration, as high as 70-80 per cent of the BPL households felt that corrupt practices were prevalent in these services. It has concluded that this may also be one of the reasons of comparatively low level of interaction of BPL households with public services.

Besides, the report maintains that for most of the services, majority of the BPL households in Jammu and Kashmir felt that there has not been any change in the level of corruption since the first report was published in the year 2002 and second in 2005. State government might not have taken much initiative to check corruption in public services, report has observed.

Report has also taken note of the fact that as a part of good governance, the services available in the delivery points should be efficient so that citizens need not make repeat visits for the same purpose. However, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, survey report has said that visitors to the service delivery points

pay bribe to avoid repeat visits in the process of getting a particular work attended to.

It maintains that between 11 and 40 per cent of the BPL households in Jammu & Kashmir had to make repeat visit (three or more times) to basic service delivery points for the same purpose. Proportion was higher in the case of need-based services. Survey report has stressed that out of the total BPL households (106,000) in Jammu and Kashmir, 30,917 households paid bribe to one or more services to get their work attended to.

On an average, a BPL household paid Rs. 557 to one or other service in the last one year as bribe. Overall, total bribe involved in availing eleven services in the year is estimated to be Rs. 17.2 million. The survey concludes that though the RTI Act has been enforced in Jammu and Kashmir, the awareness about it among BPL households is low.

The survey has credited Jammu and Kashmir for being the only state which passed a bill to attach the assets of corrupt public officials when there is prima-facie evidence against them, pending investigations and prosecutions. **Source: Earlytimes**

Peace-Process- Hidden Agenda

(From Page 5)

rule; withdrawal of the Indian armed forces from the State in the name of demilitarization; the unification of the Muslim majority zones situated on the Indian side of the Line of Control with the occupation territories of Azad Kashmir under the cover of "irrelevant borders" and the placement of the State under the joint-control of India and Pakistan. Manmohan Singh cried aloud, undoubtedly to attract the attention of the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir and perhaps, the Muslims in India, to the historical task, he had accomplished by putting Jammu and Kashmir on a ten year long journey to join Pakistan. The Musharraf plan provided for the revaluation of the arrangements made in accordance with its provisions after ten years a stipulation which the Indian Government tried to underplay.

Greatest Betrayal

Pakistan appears to have convinced itself that India has finally accepted the principle of the partition of India as the basis of a settlement of Jammu

and Kashmir. Evidently the impatience and the urgency, the Foreign office of Pakistan has exhibited about the progress of the peace-process, arises out of its eagerness to evolve a procedure for the separation of the Muslim majority regions of the State, their disengagement from the Union of India and their eventual integration with the Islamic power-structure of Pakistan.

The territorial bound-

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aries of Pakistan, laid down by the partition of India in 1947, were confined to the territories of the British India. The Indian princely states were not brought within the scope of the partition of India. The claim Pakistan has laid to Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the Muslim majority composition of its population did not from a part of the process of the partition and the transfer of power in India. The right of the self-determination of the colonial peoples was an expression of the historic process of decolonisation, the second world war set into motion.

The right of self-determination was never conceived as an instrument of any religious war. India was not divided to ensure the Indian people their right of self-determination.

Jammu and Kashmir forms the most crucial part of the northern frontier of India. It continues to be central to the security of the Indian borders in the north. Any prescription for a second partition of India, to disengage the State from the Indian Union will not usher in a State of peace between India and Pakistan. Peace between the two countries will always depend upon the mutual respect they have for each other's strike capabilities. The Indian political class, whatever, the nature of its commitment to the Indian unity, cannot ignore the hard fact that Pakistan has a stockpile of nearly two hundred nuclear weapons in its basement. Pakistan is an ideological state-a fact, which the Indian people can overlook at their own peril.

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

The Islamist Impulse Haunting Pakistan

(From Page 10)

appears irreversible in the present circumstances.

The malaise and the remedy

The failure of democracy, prolonged periods of military rule, persisting crises of governance and a self-perpetuating highly exploitative and inequalitarian socio-economic structure have created the ideal context for radical forces to thrive in the name of Islam, which they argue could provide the panacea for all the ills Pakistan is suffering from at the moment. The Pakistani strategy of using some of these elements against India has strengthened the hold of the militant constituencies further and led to unintended consequences at the internal level. The rising incidence of sectarian violence and the spread of Taliban into the hinterland amply demonstrate this trend. Pakistan is thus likely to countenance a prolonged period of

CONTINUATION

chaos and turmoil.

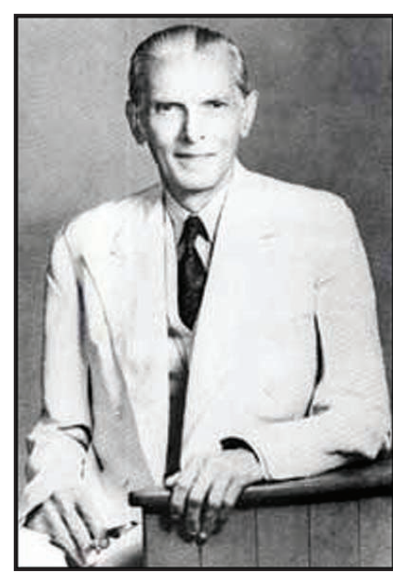
In the aftermath of the devastating floods, whose impact has been made even more severe by the economic crisis visiting Pakistan today, the situation may even become worse and make the

state more fragile than ever. It will require a total transformation of Pakistani society to lift Pakistan out of the mess it is in today. Pakistan can arrest its decline and reverse the trend by de-emphasising Rs Islamic identity, reconstituting itself as a liberal democracy, bringing about people-centric socio-economic reforms, and

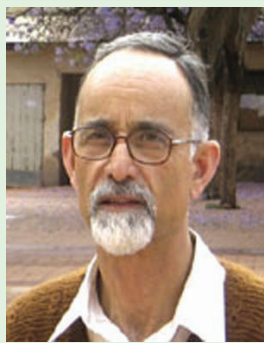
integrating itself with regional economies. Is it prepared for that?

***(The writer is a Research fellow at Institute of Defence and Analysis)**

—Source: Strategic Analysis



Ali Mohd. Jinnah



By Tej Nath Dhar

Mahmoud Darwish is one of the most notable Palestinian poets and prose writers, who has published over thirty volumes of poetry and eight books of prose. Named after one of the sections in it, *Journal of an Ordinary Grief* is the English translation of one of his major prose works. Though it is based on personal experience of the poet—about his arrest, his interrogation, and his imprisonment—it is also about the displacement of Palestinians, their pain and suffering, and their resistance against their oppression. Darwish always equated himself and Palestine.

The different sections of the book read like short meditations on the troubled existence of Palestinians. The first one is in the form of questions and answers, about a journey, in which people who have been deprived of their homeland traverse “the road of exile.” The ones who died for it “died from the virus of love.” Their “homeland surpasses Paradise: it is like Paradise, but it is also attainable.” The questions

also relate to the attitude of usurpers, who “commit the crime, deny it, and when the victim confronts them they sidestep the question by talking of peace.” The search for the homeland is also for the lost heart, for “a place is not only a geographical area; it’s also a state of mind. And trees are not just trees; they are the ribs of childhood.” The account also punctures the falsehood spread by the Israelis that the Arabs sold their land to them. When the protagonist’s grandfather returned to his place, he was charged with “stealing into his own country.” Because people have been rendered homeless, grief flows from the pores of their skin and happiness comes only from the boots of fighters.

Darwish also writes about memory and history and the war of memories between the Israelis and Arabs. The former use the memory of the holocaust to justify their

claim to the Arab land, but when the latter ask for their homeland they are denied their memory. They hardly realize that a homeland is not just a map, but a place of ancestors. In their state of homelessness, writing of history for Palestinians takes a different direction: “Do not write a history except that of your wounds. Do not write a history except that of your exile.” And the only way out for them is to fight: “When you fight back you belong. And the homeland is this struggle.”

The section on the ordinary grief reads like a poem. It is about being a Palestinian, about arrests, trials, military tribunals, and the travesty of justice. People are made to realize “that philosophically you exist but legally you do not.” You are arrested even when you are “committing a dream” and because victory eludes you “you feel no longer a citizen. Your history is nothing more than dreams that are torn to pieces like a

newspaper, and each dream is a disaster.”

Another section provides details on the Kufr Qasem Massacre which the Israelis justified by their philosophy of “Either be a killer or be the one killed.” It also reveals how the people involved in it were either pardoned or found guilty of a technical error and let off with a rebuke and a fine of one Israeli piaster.

Darwish writes lyrically about the beauty of his land, especially about Gaza. He also elaborates on the dichotomies starkly visible in the Israeli position, for it recognizes that “the state has a right to kill its own people and those belonging to other nations, but the individual does not have a right to fight for the sake of freedom.”

Darwish’s book is a must read for all those who want to know the pain of exile, the suffering of the Palestinians, and how and why the refugees are transformed into bombs.

Journal of an Ordinary Grief by Mahmoud Darwish; translated by Ibrahim Muhawi; New York: Archipelago Books, 2010; pp xv + 177; price \$ 16; PB

**(The author is a prolific writer. His publications include History-Fiction interface in Indian English novel and under the shadow of Militancy; The Diary of an unknown Kashmiri.*



Late Mahmoud Darwish

The “Lalded Consciousness”

(From page 9)

clothes ran away and jumped into the Tandoor (oven) of a baker (Kandur in Kashmiri). After some time she came out of the tandoor in a golden costume. This fable is a typical example of Lalded Consciousness. The main point is that Lalded is walking through the market without any clothes and people are looking at her. This clearly implies that the people around her are emancipated and recognize her spiritual stature. But she runs away on seeing Shahi Hamdaan. This clearly establishes him as a person who is not aware of her spiritual stature and is just looking at a woman without clothes. This shows how spiritually emancipated he was! Kashmiri people walking in the streets were more emancipated. But more important is the fact that this fable is owned by Kashmiri Muslims who knew very well that Shahi Hamdaan was a Sayyed who had run away to escape the anger of Taimur. Taimur had asked Sayyeds to prove their purity and genuineness by walking on fire. The folk consciousness of Kashmir made Lalded to jump into fire and come out wearing golden clothes. This makes the meaning of the fable profound and shows how deeply the Lalded Consciousness is rooted in the folk psyche of Kashmir and how the

out of place consciousness which Shahi Hamdaan represented is rejected.

Shams Faqir’s Lalded Consciousness becomes more intense in his later poems:

Shareer Trovum, Nermal Chhovum, Provum Brahman Kaaliye.

(I gave up my body, embraced the experience of nirmal the purest one, and attained the brahman)

Note the use of attainment of

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Brahman the ultimate cosmic reality. In the same poem he talks about the highest state of consciousness which is Turya Awastha—

Sopun, Zagrath, Turya, Sushupth

Zagtas Phyoorus Iqbaliye.

(realizing different states of consciousness swapana, the dream state, jagriti the awakened state, sushupti the state of semi consciousness and turya the absolute awakening I accept that I roamed the universe)

He has written poems in Islamic terminology as well. When these poems are compared with the poems of “Lalded Consciousness” the difference in intensity becomes evident. It appears that Shams Faqir had experienced Turya Awastha and attained

Brahman.

There have been mystic Poets who directly opposed the tyranny of religious laws and resisted attempts to curb their spiritual freedom. One who opposes ‘Shariat’ deserves death. But mystics like Waza Mahmud have no fear of death. The ‘Fatwas of Killing’ do not mean anything to them. The following verse is addressed to such fatwa givers, but the mystic who is one with God makes a mockery of these fatwas—

Heetu Chaney vonyi Bu anal haq paray

Ditu Fatwa Maarnuk Yakbaar me.

(You gave me the excuse to say now that I am god; give me a fatwa of killing if you can)

If somebody says he is one with God he deserves the fatwa of death. Waz Mahmud’s poetry reflects the religious environment of his times which still persists. After this verse he expresses his aversion for curbs in clearer terms,

Haali mansoor Chhum Banyomut yeth tane.

Tali Pyeth Chhem Sharuhuchi Talwaar may.

(My being has suffered like Mansoor who said I am God. The sword of Shariat is hanging over my head)

Note the usage “Sharuhuchi Talwaar” i.e. the sword of Islamic Law. Waz Mahmud associates the

Islamic Law with sword, i.e. the violence one has to face if accused of blasphemy. Lalded had said, “Pooz Kas karakh Hootu Batta.” She had warned Kashmiri Hindus against stagnation. Waz Mahmud is doing the same thing with respect to his community and times. His courage can only be compared with Ahad Zargar. Needless to say that Waz Mahmud is among the truest exponents of “Lalded Consciousness.”

These examples of “Lalded Consciousness” are overt expressions. In many other poets this consciousness may be present in covert forms which can be explored after research. This consciousness brings Kashmiris to a state of mind, when during the times spiritual curbs are imposed; the soul of people gets stirred and gives them the power to go forward. This consciousness is the key element of the place identity of Kashmir. It reflects the inner urge of a human being to break away from spiritual stagnation. This urge has got the most intense expression in recent times in Ahad Zargar. By calling Ahad Zargar an infidel and making a Muslim of Lalded will in no way suppress “Lalded Consciousness.”

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

Astrology – A New Meaning



By G. K. Gurtu

ASTROLOGY has been in the news from time to time. It is being aired on many TV Channels. But I have a feeling that we are missing the woods because of the trees. I am of the view that it is a moot point whether astrology is a science—exact or otherwise—or an art or even a hoax and that its propagation or teaching will be beneficial or not. The main question is of its usefulness in the larger perspective. And here opinions differ. Sri Paramhans Yoganand in his book “The Bhagwat Geeta: Royal Science of God” says “The true science of astrology is mathematics of one’s own actions, not the mathematics of brainless stars. Karma governs the stars and one’s destiny, but Karma is governed by one’s will power. Man’s free will and divine determination which can change the course of events in

his life, or at least mitigate adverse aspects. One whose body and mind are very strong is impervious to adverse astrological influences; there may be no outwardly reaction at all, even when evil vibrations may be radiating from negative configuration of the stars.”

To start with, it can be stated with some certainty that, with a spectrum of nine planets, twelve Rashis, twenty-seven Nakshtras, the four Charans of each, coverage of 360 degrees and on top of it their numerous combinations and permutations, it is very difficult, even for a good astrologer to analyse, evaluate and arrive at a correct and infallible prediction within, say, an hour or so of the perusal of the horoscope keeping at the same time one eye on his fee and the other on those waiting in the queue, because as Sri. K.N. Rao in the special introduction to the book “The Mystery of Rahu in the Horoscope” by Sri. Shiv Raj Sharma says, “every planet has to perform all the three activities of creating (The Brahma Principal), of preserving (The Vishnu Principal) and the destructive principle (The Rudra Principal). Unless all the three sides of a planet in a horoscope is understood the interpretation of a horoscope is bound to be lopsided.” The prediction

becomes, at best, a good guess work based on some learning, experience and the knowledge of the working of human psychology. Further, some astrologers, knowing that fake gems are in the market, are dabbling in prescribing and selling these to the gullible public at fantastic rates.

Secondly, a person, being endowed with a conscious mind and thus in a state of constant evolution, is sent to the earth—as a child is sent to the school to learn, grow and move ahead—for two reasons, that is,

person comes in to this world with a specific destiny—he/she has something to fulfil, some message to be delivered, some work has to be completed. You are not here accidentally—you are here meaningfully. There is a purpose behind you. The Whole intends to do something through you.

Thirdly, in view of the above, the placement of the planets in a horoscope and the resultant course of various events in the life of a person is, therefore, pre-fixed in accordance with the les-

events in the life of a person are milestones of learning in the journey of life. So, if a person is denied some pleasure he is also spared of some pains. The best option, open to a person, therefore, is to thank God for His bounties in his good days and to surrender to Him to pray and do acts of charity and thus to seek His mercy in times of adversity.

It is here that astrology can be of some use as it can throw some light. The benefits of astrology are that a person comes to know in advance the occurrence or non-occurrence of various events in his life, the role he is assigned and the allotted path his life is to traverse, provided of course, the horoscope is correctly prepared, the astrologer is well-versed, the prediction is truthful and unbiased, and lastly, the person concerned is receptive. This foreknowledge need not lead him to fatalism, rather generate in him a confidence in his ultimate redemption. This knowledge may be employed in preparing him to develop a sense of objectivity (DRASHTA BHAV) so as to enable him to move in life with calmness and without frustration and heart-burning. Thus equipped and enlightened he may attain a stage where he becomes oblivious to love or hate, joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain and greed or miserliness.

The internal turmoil subsides and serenity prevails. He starts showing love, compassion and forgiveness and, helping the needy. Otherwise, whatever he does without learning this lesson, LIFE will pull him back to the chartered course as a horse is by the rider through the use of rein. God does not desire one more lifespan to be wasted. In the end the geometrical truth, therefore, is that the course of events can neither be changed nor influenced either way even if the horoscope is correct, the astrologer is good and the prediction is true. A person is helpless either to extend the joy or avert the pain. He has to bear with it. Astrology cannot override the Karmas of a person. He must reap what he has sown. However, the only advantage of astrology is the awareness of the course of LIFE and to try to follow it with a Buddha-like smile on the face and in place of pursuing the mirage devote himself to the evolution of the soul.

**(G. K. Gurtu, whose ancestors were the residents of T a n k y a p o r a , Srinagar, belongs to that group of migrants which settled in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow (UP) around 1780. Presently he is living at Faridabad and pursues creative writing.*

The true science of astrology is mathematics of one’s own actions, not the mathematics of brainless stars. Karma governs the stars and one’s destiny, but Karma is governed by one’s will power.

to reap the harvest of his/her good or bad Karma in his/her previous life and, secondly, to endeavour to learn what LIFE is. That is why Dr. T. Lobsang Rampa in his book “Twilight” said that a person “comes not merely in the sign but in the quadrant of the sign which will afford him the best opportunity for learning in that life that which he has to learn in that life.” The quicker he/she learns the earlier he/she breaks the cycle of births and deaths and achieves salvation by merging with the Godhead which is his/her ultimate goal. Osho opines that each

sons he had learned or unlearned or refused to learn during his previous life and which he is required to learn during his present life so that he can evolve further, and cannot be altered by recourse to Puja and Tirthyatra, or by wearing precious-stone, rings, Rudraksha, amulets, charms etc. These may cause a little slowing down of the process or even by-pass slightly the eventual course of events and thus provide a psychological relief to a person of weak and wavering mind but it is of a little consequence on a large canvas. Actually, the

Press Brief issued on the occasion of Press Conference addressed jointly by Dr Ajay Chrungoo, Prof Hari Om , Sh. O.N.T risal and Sh.Kuldeep Raina on Feb.2nd, 2011 at Jammu.

WE have keenly observed the functioning of the interlocutors appointed during the recent ‘Quit Kashmir’ unrest fomented by the separatist formations in Jammu and Kashmir. The apprehensions that the appointment of the new interlocutors has in fact been a decision taken in continuity to push forward the so called agreement between India and Pakistan, now recognized as ‘Musharraf Plan’, have only grown since the interlocutors have started functioning. We don’t feel hopeful that they have been appointed to retrieve the situation in the state, combat effectively and resolutely the pernicious separatist movement and undo the damage done to the

national interests.

Our hope that the ‘Quit Kashmir’ campaign would have made Government of India wiser to recognize the regressive content of the separatist outlook has been belied. We continue to witness the government of India’s flirtations with various separatist formations in the state as also the respectability being conferred upon them.

For years Government of India has pursued a course of trying to contain or curtail communalism and separatism in Jammu and Kashmir by pampering and promoting variants of communalism and separatism rather than investing in secular nation building. This approach has proved to be a

process of gradual self-annihilation. This policy perspective has made all patriotic people in the State, particularly Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists as gunia pigs to be sacrificed.

We urge Government of India to realize that retrieval

Media Interaction

of situation in the State does not lie in cohabiting and traversing the path of separatism and pandering to communal forces. The real retrieval lies in the delegitimation of all variants of separatism in the State as also exposing their regressive content. The conflict resolution models adopted in the state have been, in fact, a

construct which has only complimented those forces who see Jammu and Kashmir as a separate Muslim sphere.

We call upon the Government of India to unambiguously reject the ‘Musharraf Plan’ for Jammu and Kashmir without delay or dithering. This has become imperative because Pakistani leadership has claimed umpteen times in the recent past that the ‘Musharraf Plan’ had almost become the basis of an agreement between India and Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir which was just a few notches away from a formal endorsement.

We strongly emphasize the need of the Government of

India to come clean on the issue that has caused alarm across the country. We urge the Government of India to immediately dispel the impression that it is on the side of those forces which are seeking the retraction of India from the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

We demand that government of India must stop calling the problem in Kashmir as a ‘Political’ one. This has only undermined the national efforts over the years to defeat separatism in Kashmir. We are of the considered view that the problem in Kashmir is neither constitutional nor political and economic. It is basically problem of uncontested communalism.

The Preceptor of 'Yoga' in Pakistan -Shahbaz Khan

By Sanjay Godbole

SOME readers may feel surprised, if a Statement is made that the 'Yoga' is popular in Pakistan and that the curriculum there Covers teaching of various Yogic postures (Yogasanas). It is a fact all the same. Gujrat is a small town in the Punjab province of Pakistan. A couple - Riyaz Khan and Rehana avoid not have imagined that Rehana would bear a son who would be the first Yoga propagator of Pakistan. The name of this preceptor of Yoga of Pakistan is Shahbaz Ali Khan. At present Shahbaz Khan is active as a full time Yoga Instructor in Pakistan. Since very childhood, Shahbaz Ali adored marfia! arts. He Practised 'Judo' since the year 1988. Shahbaz Khan, who has to his credit Black Belt- eight -dan vvon the National Championship Competition for martial arts. Not only that but he bagged a Bronze Medal at the 'Asian Martial Arts competition' held in India and since then, he was popularly addressed as 'Young Master Khan'. He thereafter, got an assignment as a full time trainer for the police



Commandoes at the town of Gujrat (in Punjab - Pakistan). Then, very soon he founded the "Pakistan" martial arts Federation". He was totally dedicated to the work of infus-

ing interest for the various martial arts, such as Kungfu, Chinese boxing, Karate, Nanchaku & Heichi, in the minds of the Youth. He also started a quarterly publication, titled 'Shahbaz Fighter Magazine, in Pakistan, for the propagation of martial arts. Shahbaz Khan, though educated in Arts faculty and in the science of Computer Designing, decided to devote himself for the spread of martial arts.

Once, it so happened that Shahbaz Khan, was required to go to Malaysia, on account of some work -and had to stay there for a period of three long years. in Malaysia, he was acquainted with one Tarique Wasim- an expert in Yogic sciences and was fascinated towards Yoga. He practised Pranayama and other major Yogic poses, in Malaysia. Due to his diligence in various Sports activities, it was easier for Mr Khan to have mastery over Yoga skills within a short span of time. He returned to Pakistan in the year 2003 and resolved to popularize 'Yoga' and started teaching Yoga to those desirous to do so. Initially, he started his Yoga teaching classes at 'Gujrat' his native place. Many at that time, started Yoga practice under his guidance. Shahbaz Khan, made an in-depth study of the science of Yoga through the principles, stipulated by I various Yoga authorities all over the world. Wich growing popularity and importance of Yoga in Pakistan. Mr Khan set out the following curricula for 'Yoga' for the people of Pakistan.

'Ruhani' Yoga :- In this Yoga' chiefly, 'Pranayama' [Breath Control] is taught. 'Olympic' Yoga :- In this Yoga System, necessary training is given to sportspersons to remain fit by practising twenty Yogic Asanas (postures).

'Clinical' Yoga:- In this

System, Yogic poses are effectively used with a view to cure and control abdominal disorders, pain in joints and neck etc.

'Fitness' Yoga :- This System is centered around reducing obesity and increasing height

Beauty Yoga :- This System helps attaining 'feel good and look cute' stage, to rejuvenate and to iron out wrinkles and creases.

Tei - chung Yoga - This yogic practice is traditionally from China, and Consists of meditation and exercises as per Chinese system.



Shahbaz Khan

Shahbaz Khan has now shifted from his native place Gujrat and has settled at 'Lahore'. 'Becon house school system' the world famous educational institute from England runs a school at Lahore and Shahbaz Khan has been imparting the training for the art of Yogic Sciences to about three hundred students for the last three years. His daily routine Starts by six in the morning. Being a Yoga preceptor himself, he has to practise Yoga every day. He then teaches his students various Yogic Postures such as Padmasana, Sarwanganasana,

Mayurasana, Bhujangasana, Kurmasana, Matsyasana etc'. He says Yoga is gaining popularity in Pakistan. There is a definite craze, in Pakistan,, for Indian movies. Many Pakistani Young women are following the foot prints of many Indian actresses and are practising Yoga for health improvement. Shahbaz Khan further says that Yoga is being treated as a preventive therapy against many diseases in Pakistan. Mr. Khan further adds that he has definitely been benefited by Yoga, and has a flexible body and has an improved breathing. The general immunity increases and both physical and mental health is maintained. In the eleventh Century, a treatise on Yoga, titled 'Amrit Kunda' was translated in the Arabic language. This gave the people in the middle east, the apt Information of the Indian Yoga system. Now Mr. Shahbaz Khan has compiled vast information about Yogic postures.

In response to the huge popularity for Yoga in Pakistan, The Geo T.V. Channel had invited Shahbaz Khan for his presentations. He has also participated in the T.V. Show by Nadia Khan. Print media such as Daily Pakistan, Nava-e-waqt, Jazba have been all praise for the skills of Shahbaz Khan in Yogic sciences. Shahbaz Khan is all set out to See that a Programme on Yogasanas could soon be a regular feature on Pakistan Television.

Yoga is a practical science and one has only to practise and experience it to believe it. Yoga is a treasure given by ancient India to the world. The various aspects of Yoga have been given full exposition in old and ancient scriptures like Upanishadas. The body kept in full Peontrol by practising Yoga is emancipated from the ili effects of senility. Pranayama is the control! of breathing

process. This is the first Asana



in Hath Yoga. (Ha means the Sun and 'Th' means the Moon). The Sun and the Moon in turn control! breathing. Shahbaz Khan has an intense desire to come and stay in India for further advanced studies in Yogic sciences. Shahbaz Khan has worked as a preeceptor of Yoga against all odds and endeavoured to spread Yoga in a place like Pakistan where the prevailing circumstances are not so conducive for the same. The work of Shahbaz Khan is really commendable in the field of Yoga, which he believes is highly effective for both physical and mental health. Shahbaz Khan has future designs to fan out his network in places other than Lahore for his noble mission.

**(The author is a museologist/archeologist based at Pune)*

RETURN POLICY A TRAGEDY IN WAITING-PK

Brief of the Press Statement issued by Dr Ajay Chungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir on 1-3-2011 in the prelude to the visit of Prime Minister Of India, Sh Manmohan Singh to Jammu.

Panun Kashmir urges upon the Prime Minister of India to review the entire structure of the policy of Government of India on the issue of return and rehabilitation of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus. This policy in the state has been primarily used as an instrument of blackmail and hostaging the displaced Kashmiri Hindus to a political order which serves Muslim communal and separatist imperatives in the state.

We want the Prime Minister of India to realize that his employment package for the displaced Kashmiri Hindus is being used to exploit the destitution of Kashmiri Hindus to return to valley in conditions which are far worse than 1990 when they were forcibly pushed out.

Panun Kashmir is of the strong opinion that Prime Minister should take due notice of the fact that the organs of state government and the society in Kashmir valley have been demonstrating a brazen communal and separatist bias in recent times. The forces which brought

about the exodus of Kashmiri Hindus have become far more numerous, vocal, are roaming free, and are calling the political shots. In this situation the return policy of Kashmir Hindus is only a declaration of a tragedy in waiting.

The so called voluntary undertakings by the Kashmiri Hindus to return are basically smoke screens created by the state government in cohorts with the communal establishment of the valley to hide the real motivations behind the process. These undertakings are in fact no more than ploys of hostaging of Kashmiri Hindus to create a secular mirage. They are no more than attempts to give attrition a legal face. State Government has actually involved itself more in creating a team of bounty hunters which they can flaunt as leaders of Kashmiri Hindus and use them as collaborators in their designs rather than addressing the issue of return in a framework which is proper.

We urge the Prime Minister to take notice of the fact that the return policy

has reduced the issue of internal displacement into an issue of employment. There is a grave danger of refolement of the displaced persons in this approach. We also call upon government of India to realize that Sangrampora, Wandhahama, Nadimarg and Chattisinghpura massacres were a result of a genocidal machinery operating in Kashmir valley. This machinery continues to operate even now and has grown stronger over the years.

We appeal to Prime Minister of India to intervene and ensure that the employment package for displaced Kashmiri Hindus is implemented in Jammu by temporarily shifting all the newly created posts from valley to Jammu till normalcy is restored there. The government of India should take note of the fact that the state government has already declared not to bear the burden of its share in the employment package and conveyed in no uncertain terms that the same was against the constitution of the state.

What can reflect the bias and the exclusivist attitude which has plagued the policy of the state government than this? Since Prime Minister has himself expressed his concern about the deteriorating situation in Kashmir, it becomes imperative for the Government of India to pay heed to the imminent dangers of its policy on the return of Kashmiri Hindus. We forewarn the Prime minister that in a type of situation that exists in Kashmir valley the soft targets particularly Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs have become more vulnerable. To ignore this reality may prove to be an act of criminal negligence and a crime against humanity. Government of India should correct its approach and not indulge in symbolism which is vicious and self-defeating. It is the return of normalcy that will ensure return of displaced Kashmiri Hindus to valley as well as restoration of its secular texture. Forced return will neither ensure return nor restoration of normalcy.



Prof. M.L. Koul

Indian Philosophy-A synoptic View-II

A way of thinking which enables one rationally to understand the reality experienced by self-filled personalities, and thereby to lead one to realisation of truth. In this light, philosophy is seen as art of life and not a theory about the universe".

Despite such views and evaluations of Indian philosophy, it can be safely put that Indians have woven philosophical systems that are thoroughly coherent, compact and systematic. They have devised certain physical and mental constructs and also devised concomitant tools to test and verify their validity. If the constructs whether physical or mental are coherently built step by step with a view to erect the edifice, it is not fair to say that Indian philosophy is lacking in logic. The Buddhist philosophy in its broad contours is highly logical. It has set up certain categories which it elucidates and establishes by attempting to furnish proofs with a view to prove their validity. Sankhya philosophy sets up two categories of Purusa and Prakriti and elucidates and explains them by furnishing and marshalling sound proofs.

The inner logic underpinning the Sankhya system leads it to the standpoint of pure dualism even if the predominance of Purusa as the ultimate reality is maintained.

The Vaisheshika system in its essentials is realistic pluralism and has given a scientific analysis of the 'catalogue of categories' that it has drawn to establish its fabric. Nyaya as a system is known as tarakasastra or science of logic. It gives a logical discussion and elucidation of the problems of perception, inference, comparison and causation. All the systems of Indian philosophy by and large have a spirit of logic running through them and that is why they are not perpetually teetering on the verge of collapse. Each system appears to be a monolith with least visible cracks in it.

It is not out of place to put that the dominance of over-intellectualism and reason in philosophy was challenged by and was not acceptable to the thinkers who in philosophical parlance are called existentialists. Reason, according to them, puts fetters on the understanding of an existing and living individual, who in the classical philosophy of the west, was lost in corrosive and uprooting universalism and homogenising abstractions and generalisations. Most of the existentialists began as Hegelians but finally ended by denouncing Hegel and his philo-

sophical postulates. Fichte, Joseph Schelling and Hegel despite differences in their systems objectified thought as reality and equated it with being.

Existentialists protested against any attempt to objectify thought and made a willing, striving, suffering and above all existing individual the focal point of their philosophy. The upanishadic seers had put emphasis on and at the same time signalled the importance of self-knowledge (Aatmanam Vidhihi as the supreme wisdom and the same thread of thought is found oft-recurring almost in every sphere of Indian philosophy and religious thought. The entire line of Indian thinking though distanced by mighty time-spaces is in quest, has raised and discussed all vital issues of human existence and human condition. The individual as such is not ignored; instead is made deeply conscious of his essential and inevitable destiny. The Indian existentialism generates from a consideration of life vis-a-vis its ultimate destiny. It also asserts its essential standpoint by not accepting the divorce and dichotomy between 'theory and practice,' doctrine and life, truth and its practical realisation. With the emphatic assertion of the supremacy of human mind or self, the Indian thinking raises a protest against votaries of reason, who altogether overlook the fact that

human mind has the potential of soaring to lofty heights of consciousness if and when it is properly initiated and put to the rigour of discipline where reason ceases to have any importance and actually proves a fetter or restraint. In fact, heightening of human consciousness after crossing beyond the trammels and limitations of body and the world is the leit motif of Indian philosophy. Reality as such is not only to be explained and expounded theoretically but it is to be realised and appropriated by heightening the level of consciousness to the point where it has a full and intense feeling of identity with the reality as the only ultimate truth.

The fact has to be recognised that Indian philosophy has its peculiar manner of handling and dilating upon the essential problems of human existence and world. It is unfair to evaluate it by the tools of Fichte, Kant and Hegel tradition or Erdman, Uberweg academic tradition. The reality is that Indian thinking has raised the question of 'Atman' according to its own angle of vision. 'In the words of Max Muller', puts Hiriyaana, 'philosophy was recommended in India not for the sake of knowledge, but for the highest purpose that man can strive in this life'. Darshan while discarding the key-hole vision of man presents an uplifted vision of

him. It does not only rivet man's attention on the perceptible world outside him but also acquaints him with and develops in him an awareness of his own mental and spiritual nature by transcending the methods of physics. Darshan, to the Indian mind, is not only a matter of weaving a web of theories and structuring systems, but, more than most, it is essentially a spirit or method of fathoming and experientially realising the inmost depths of one's own being.

Indian philosophy is not all spiritual. It embraces a broad but chequered history of materialism within its ambit. No evaluation of Indian thinking can afford ignore Lokayat system in 'a catalogue of the philosophic forces of India'. Lokayat as a system of thinking simply affirms that all is matter. It in direct contrast to spiritualism denies the primacy of spirit over matter. Lokayat is bold and fearless in total rejection of Vedic authority and belief in theism and attaches the greatest importance to the world of senses which was the greatest casualty at the hands of idealists and spiritualists. The principal character of Lokayat system was 'practical, rather than metaphysical', teaching utilitarianism and crude materialism in an outspoken way. Being atheists in their approach and premises,

Lokayat thinkers have been contemptuously rejected, but as thinkers, they invested their thinking to

denounce theories invested with spiritual aura and grandeur. Lokayat, infine, has raised questions and framed opinions of real import and value. It understands the world from a different angle of vision and furrows a new path by raising new issues and putting them on the pedestal of common sense realism. The statement that 'philosophy in India is essentially spiritual' is belied by Lokayat.

Rigveda-as the first written record of mankind is the repertoire of philosophical ideas. It is not a book, but a compilation of books. It records and provides an insight into that hoary past of India of which scanty notices are available. The Rigvedic seers reflect a thinking that in its essentials centres round "religion, myth and mystery". Most of the hymns of the Rigveda contain germs of thought, hints at guesses of truth and flashes of insights into supreme being. In the hymns questions of perennial significance are raised, but not answered. Ideas as espoused by the Rigveda are not regular and consistent, yet they reveal and reflect a mind that is vivacious, this worldly and down to earth. Observes Swami Ranga Nath Nanda, "In the Rigveda, we are already face to face with the emergence of the life of the mind, the life of thought, not merely in the field of literature, but also in the field of bold philosophical speculation".

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HOMAGE

Panun Kashmir & Kashmir Sentinel condole the sad and sudden demise of **Sh. D N Bhat**. Sh. D.N. Bhat breathed his last at his Shalimar Garden, Ext - II, Sahibabad, residence on 6th, April, 2011.

Sh. Bhat, was a selfless active Social worker who worked untiringly for the upliftment of the society in general and Kashmiri Pandit community in particular.

He was a guiding force and an inspiration for Panun Kashmir activists

We pay our obsequies to the departed soul and convey our deep condolences to the bereaved family.

Tribute

Panun KASHMIR & KASHMIR SENTINEL pay tribute to late **Sh. Ram Chand Munshi**, who passed away on March 4, 2011 at Jammu. Late Munshi Jee was a ardent supporter of panun Kashmir and his fatherly approach in guiding us in our struggle will be remembered for all times to come. Panun Kashmir salutes his contribution to the community in most difficult times.

Our respectful obsequies to the departed soul. We convey our deepest condolences to the bereaved family



**Sh. Ram Chand
Munshi**
2-5-1922 to 4-3-2011

Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants-XII



By Upender
Ambardar

THE indigenous uniqueness and amazing diversity of the rituals have added grandeur, magnificence and richness to the Shivratri festival. They portray diverse and distinct phases within the dynamics of historical and cultural continuity of our existence, observed Sh. Rattan Lal Thussu, originally hailing from the village Karihama, district Kupwara and now a resident of Pounichak, Ghou Manhasa Jammu. Recollecting the festival related haunting memories of the 'yester-years', he recalled that prior to the festival, the potter would bring a whole lot of earthen cooking utensils along with the 'Vatuk'. It was in consonance with the family belief that substitution of old cooking pots with the new one's on the festival would usher in heightened prosperity and auspiciousness for the family. As a run-up to the main festival, the processes of house cleansing, dusting, customary 'livun' and washing of garments and bedding linen were undertaken from **Phagun Krishan Paksh Pratipada** i.e. **'Hur**

The indigenous uniqueness and amazing diversity of the rituals have added grandeur, magnificence and richness to the Shivratri festival.

Oakdoh', which would continue upto **'Hur Navami'**. The **'Hur Navami'** is locally known as **'Tathji Navum'**. Any sort, of cleansing act performed after **'Tathji Navum'** was forbidden as it was regarded a sinful act.

It was also customary for all the daughters-in-law to return to their in-laws on **'Dyara dahum'** from their parental hmes after their customary bath, locally known as **'Mus Chalun'**. They would invariably bring individual cash called **'Autgut'**, salt **'Hayrchie Kanger'**, wooden footwear called **Khrav'** and separate cash known as **'Hayrchie bogh'**. The festive fervor would commence on **Phagun Krishna Paksh Duvadasham**, i.e. **'Vagur Bah'** with the reverential installing of an earthenware called **'Choud'**, two small sized earthenwares called **'Varie'** and four wide mouthed clay pots, known locally as **'Doulji'** in the **'Vatak Kuth'** amidst elaborate pooja. The **'Choud'**, symbolic representation of the Goddess Parvati was embellished with **'Vucir'**, flowers and **'mouli'**. It was an lnie with a belief that a bride should have a decorous get-up and befitting wedding finery prior to the marriage ceremony as according to the local folklore, Goddess Parvati is said to be the divine daughter of Kashmir. Out of the four installed **'Douljis'**, three rep-

resented non-vegetarian **'Bhairavs'** and the remaining one was said to symbolize the vegetarian one. Accordingly, the ritualistic offerings to the non-vegetarian **'Douljis'** were cooked dishes of fish and meat, whileas uncooked raddish and milk were the designated offerings to the remaining vegetarian **'Douljis'**.

It was also revealed that back side wall of the **'Vatak Kuth'** in front of the Vatak utensils was given a lime coating over the previously done mud smearing. Afterwards, markings with Sindoor were made on this wall, which bore close resemblance to the act of **'Divtae Moon'** of the marriage ceremony. On the evening of the main festival of **'Hayrchie Truvah'**, all the household inmates including male members and children would collectively accomplish the ritual of **'Vatak Kharun'** at the village stream. The vegetable dishes and yellow mixed cuisine of meat and turnip were the ritualistic offering to the **'Bhairav Doulji's'**. The blood of the slaughtered goat kept in an earthenware **'toke'** in the **Vatak Kuth** was an additional offering to the **'Bhairav Doulji'** amidst **pooja**. On **'Salaam'**, the folk singers **'Baand'** would invariably drop in to the accompaniment of folk tunes to add colour and gaiety to the festivities. On **'Doon Mavus'**, the family head would keep a fast and **'Vatak Parmujan'** was performed at the village stream ghat. All the embellishments like **'Vucir'**, **'Mouli'**, **'Aarie'** and used flowers were collectively wrapped up in grass. It was subsequently floated in the flowing stream after a fresh flower garland and an oil lit earthen lamp and burned dhoop were placed on it as a mark of send off.

After replenishing the Vatak utensils with fresh water, an elderly lady of the household would cut the flowing water of the stream seven times with a knife. Afterwards stretching her hands upwards, she would make circular movements seven times on the village stream bank, probably as an expression of thankfulness on the satisfactory completion of the major part of the festival. It has a striking resemblance with the ritual of **'Vigie Nachun'** performed by the ladies on the wedding and Yegnopavit functions in honour of bridegrooms. Interestingly enough, the **'Vucir'**, and **mouli** embellishments of both **Nout** and **Choud** were not untied but retained and both the utensilswere again seated in the **Vatak Kuth** at their respective positions upto **Tila Ashtami**. The said reeth of retaining the pooja utensils of Nout and Choud upto **Tila Ashtami** was followed widely in a earlier times in our households but presently only a few families have preserved this ritual. Both the utensils were replenished with fresh water everyday in the morning. It was followed with pooja, of walnut, kernels and rice flour rotis i.e. Tomla cooking etc. could follow only after it. It was idallowed to take tea or food before the observance of this ritual upto Tila Ashtami Sh. Thusu also divulged that it was forbidden to clean the rooms and kitchen by sweeping with a broom upto upto **Tila Ashtami**.

It was in accordance with a belief that house had been graced with the divine steps of the deities and celestial

'Baratis' on the Shivratri. As such it was a sinful act to desecrate and defile the divine step marks by a broom. Accordingly the dusting of the rooms and the kitchen was done with a clean cloth piece. Afterwards the gathered dustand dirt was scattered in the owner's kitchen garden, orchards and the paddy fields as it was thought to give bounteous production and yield. On the Ashtami, five earthen lamps having a few black sesame seeds were oil lit in the ktichen after cooked rice was kept in front of them. They were afterwards placed at the village stream bank and not in the rooms. The ritual of **'Jatoon Toon'** was not performed.

The distinct and divergent festival related rituals unmistakably have the resonance of finest traditions of our indigenous belief system, stated Sh. Avtar Krishan Ganjoo, a resident of the village Soibug, Budgam, who continues to stay there. As per his family, reeth, the decorative embellishments like **'Vucir'** and **Mouli** etc are tied to the **Vatak** utensils not in the **Vatak Kuth** but at the village stream bank. The ritualistic offerings to the **Bhairav Doul** are the usual meat preparations. The Resh Doul is not a part of the pooja utensils. The ritual of Thuk Thuk is not performed.

The Shivratri customs rooted in ancient edifice aid to consolidate and strengthen our religious beliefs. They need to be preserved for posterity and should not be relegated to corners of memory, articulated Sh. Vesh Nath Bhat, hailing from the village Magam, Budgam and presently putting up at Gandhi Nagar, Jammu.

Recollecting the festival of yore, he disclosed that house was readied to welcome the divine guests from **'Hur Oakdoh'** onwards, It would signal the start of tasks of cleaning and 'livun' of the house, which would continue upto first three day's. The subsequent day's of **'Hur Chorun'** and **'Hur Panchum'** were set aside for washing of clothes. After **Hur Ashtami**, washing of clothes, sweeping of romos and washing of hair by the womenfolk was disallowed. As per the family custom, on **Hur Ashtami**, the side walls of the main door of the house were afresh smeared with a mix of clay, cowdung and water, which was subsequently whitewashed with lime. Latteron distinctive motifs of creeping plants with leaves and flowers were drawn on it. The said ritual similar to **'Krool Kharun'** act of wedding ceremony was accomplished before sunset. On **Vagur Bah**, the earthen utensil designated as **'Vagur'** and two small sized vessels called **'Varie'** were reverentially installed in the kitchen and not in the **Vatak Kuth**. The ritualistic dish was cooked fish. The **Vatuk** comprised two Nouts or Gagers', two doulji and two Saniewari, apart from a soniepatul and dhoopjoor. They were filled up with water at the village stream. Their entry into the house was welcomed by **'Aaluth'** performed by the youngest daughter-in-law, who had donned new clothes and worn a new **'Athhoar'**. It was also required to cover the head and right shoulder with a new towel or a new cloth piece during the performance of **'Aaluth'**. The panthenon of meat dishes were the ritualistic offerings to the **Bhairav Doul**

amidst **pooja**. The **Vatak parmujan** was performed not at the home but unusually at the village stream only after inidnight after all the house inmates had slept as no one could step-out of the house afterwards. On the morning of the **'Salaam'**, the elderly lady of the house would utter the word **'Poshte'** in front of the mud hearth known locally as **'Dhaan'** after her entry in the kitchen room. Before cooking meals, it was obligatory on her part to prepare **'Moughil Chai'**, also known as **'Kahwa'**, which was laced with saffron, crushed almonds, elachi and dalchin. It was known as **'Mubarak Chai'**, which was required to be taken by all the family members including children at the first instant. The **Doon Mavus pooja** was performed in the **Vatak Kuth** and not at the stream bank.

On Tila Ashtami, 15 to 20 oil lit earthen lamps were kept in all the rooms, **'Brandh'**, courtyard wall, courtyard and the stream bank, care being taken to face them towards east. The Shivratri rituals multilayered with insightful meanings represent a majestic confluence of telling influences, affirmed Sh. Radha Krishan Nazar a resident of the village Sallar, district Anantnag, who continues to live at his native village. He disclosed that rite of livun was completed before Suptami and on the night of **Hur Ashtami** they would engage them-

The distinct and divergent festival related rituals unmistakably have the resonance of finest traditions of our indigenous belief system

selves with nightlong Jagrun and congregational prayers at the village temple. The **Vatak** utensils brought by the potteress earlier were stored outside the house in the store room, locally known as **'Kuich'**. They were ushered inside the house amidst the ceremonial **'Aaluth'** only in the morning of **Vagir Bah** and not before that. The **Vatuk** comprised one Nout, five Varie, five Doulji, one Saipatul, a big sized clay, lamp, on 'gudva', one Thali and one 'Khoas'. The delicious vegetarian recipes of Dal-nadru, hakh and cheese were the ritualistic offerings to both the Bhairav and Resh Doulji. The **Vatuk parmujan** was performed at the streamghat not on Amavasya but on **Phagun Shukla Paksh Pratipadha** i.e. **Oakdoh**. The ritual of the knock at the door **'Thuk Thuk'** was observed.

The walnuts were distributed in the neighbourhood n the same evening. Any inordinate delay in the distribution of **'naveed'** was abhorred and looked with the disgust. On the day of **Salaam**, it was customary for all the family members to remain stationed at home to ensure wholesale hospitality and welcome to the guests and well-wishers, who would drop-in to offer greetings.

**(The author is an ace of socio-cultural researcher)*

—Continued

By Dr. Ram Chander Sharma

AFTER the Timur massacre of Delhi in 1358, the massacre of Mirpur a bustling trade centre and historic walled city of Jammu and Kashmir now in Pak Occupied Kashmir on 25th of Nov. 1947 was the worst massacre of Indian history. As the offer of accession by Maharaja was accepted by Govt of India on 26th of Oct. 1947 after India and Pakistan gained independence, the ill fated Hindu and Sikh minorities living Muslim majority western areas of Jammu region and in Kashmir valley were waiting their Dooms day. The decision of accession of J&K with India and its completed merger with India as its integral part was celebrated like "Diwali" in Mirpur with lighting of candles and bursting of crackers. But, the recently declassified British Government documents reveal that the United Kingdom had decided that the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir or part of it must go to Pakistan for strategic reasons of importance, of Jhelum bridge, irrigation/hydroelectric potentials of Mangla dam in Mirpur for the economic needs of Pakistan and the need of an air base in western J&K close to Russia and China. The creation of Pakistan was itself for the strategic reasons to counter the growing military influence of Soviet Union after World War II. Due to its proximity with China and Russia, presence of warm water sea port of Karachi and the interests of western oil companies in central Asia

made Pakistan important.

Soon after the independence, Pakistan conceived a military plan to attack Jammu and Kashmir. Code named "Gulmarg" it was placed under the close guidance of British military officers. Pashtun tribes Lashkars from Dir and Waziristan areas were roped in under the direct command of Col. Akbar Lone of Pak army code named Gen. Tariq and soon armed attacks and looting started in early Sept. in Poonch and Kotli area, about 400 looters entered Owen on 2nd and 3rd Sept, followed by Pak regular army and ex army men. The town of Bhimber fell at the same time when Indian troops were air lifted of Srinagar on 27th of Oct. 1947. The population of the town swelled from 3000 to 5000 with Hindu migrants from the adjoining areas. All assembled in a small tehsil building - women and children were taken hostage while the males were put to sword. Soon, other areas fell one after another and the focus of attention and sending the Indian reinforcement was valley centric as Pt. Nehru completely gave the command of troops movement to Sheikh Mohd Abdulla side lining Sardar Patel.

The population of Mirpur swelled from 10000 to 25000 with Hindus and Sikhs migrating from nearby areas and Jhelum. A garrison of Maharaja Forces were stationed in the town. People made the fortified defences on the roof tops and on the ground by digging trenches and groups of youths were assigned the job of vigilance

Mirpur massacre of 1947

round the clock with primitive weapons. Many advances of the enemy were repulsed till the town fell on 25th Nov 1947. Pakistan army started using modern weapons and artillery to break the walls of town. There were no supply as the town was already cut off by the fall of Bhimber in October itself; the only hope was the air dropping of supplies of food and ammunition by air till the reinforcements of Indian army reach to push away the enemy. Frantic messages were sent to Jammu over the wireless by Maharaja Forces to Jammu but in vain. Many of the forceful attacks of the enemy were repulsed. A major attack was carried out by the enemy on 23rd of Nov 1947 from the main eastern gate and was repulsed by the death squads of Mirpuri youths in hand to hand fight. In a bad luck the only wireless equipment with the state forces broke down and the fresh stronger attack by the enemy forces on 24th morning frightened the state forces who left the battle scene with the information to the civil population to move to safer places. The ensuing fierce fighting through out the next night put the enemy at bay till morning when they broke the western gate of the city next morning by using heavy artillery. The blood thirsty Pak army and tribal marauder entered the city around 8 a.m. in the morning. Under chaos and confu-

sion people ran around terrified and the city was set on fire by the invaders. Soon poison was distributed to the women to end their lives and not to fall into the hands of enemy. Many who didn't get the poison were done to deaths with swords by their fathers and bothers. The dance of death continued till afternoon and at the end of day 18000 people were slaughtered in most barbaric way of the human history by Pak army and tribals. Five thousand people most of them women and children were taken hostages and taken to Alibeg Gurudawara Sahib which was converted to a concentration camp. Only 2000 people could reach Janger on foot and then escorted by Indian army to Jammu refugee camp. The hapless women and young girls abducted went thorough worst sex orgies of rape and violence. The whole of Mirpur was latter dugout to loot the wealth worth billions of Rupees beside gold and silver.

The other towns of Jammu province as Rajouri fell on 10th of Nov. where the population swell from 6000 to 11000 with the influx of refugees from the adjoining villages. Most of population was done to death and less than 100 could escape the jaw of death.

PoK Refugees the heroic Pohwari tribe who fought the foreign invaders from the ancient times are now living in abject poverty in camps

and are told to be repatriated as soon as India takes back PoK areas which are the integral part of India through a resolution of Indian Parliament of 1994. Unlike the refugees of Indian Punjab and Bengal whose cases of compensation and land allotment were settled amicably by India and Pakistan, the PoK Refugees still are labelled as DPs of J&K and are not given the benefits of UN Refugee Status of 1951 or other benefits extended to Tibetan Refugees or migrants from Kashmir valley after 1989. The sacrifices of PoK Refugees of Muzaffarabad kept the enemy engaged for four days till the Indian army was air dropped in Srinagar e sacrifices of people of Mirpur delayed the enemy for a month till the besieged Poonch was freed and a vital link of Poonch to Jammu and western Punjab was saved from falling into the hands of Pakistan.

On this day Mirpur Balidan Divas is observed by the PoK Refugees in Delhi Jammu, Sunderbani, Poonch, Udhampur and other parts of India where the community is settled. It is still not too late for India to tell the world the other side story of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India and forward the case of genocide to UN to punish the perpetrators, settle all the demands and build a war memorial for the Martyrs of Mirpur.

—(Source: Internet)

(FROM PAGE 2)

89. Sh. Radha Krishen Bhat S/o Late Sh. Amar Chand Bhat originally resident of Nowgam Kuthar Kmr; presently residing at Mohalla Wazira Talab Tillo Bohri, Jammu. 1/4/2010
90. Sh. Jagar Nath Saraf of Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 32, Lane 1/B, Invitation Janj Ghar Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 1/4/2010
91. Sh. Saroop Nath Bhat S/o Late Pt. Govind Bhat of Fatehpura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Sharika Mandir M.H. Road, Udhampur. 1/4/2010
92. Sh. Saroop Nath Bhat S/o Late Pt. Govind Bhat of Fatehpura Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at Sharika Mandir M.H. Road, Udhampur. 1/4/2010
93. Sh. Avtar Krishen Kitchloo S/o Late Sh M.N. Kitchloo of Batapora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of Dandiyaal Balak Nagar Udhampur. 2/4/2010
94. Dr. Munshi Koul S/o Sh. Niranjana Nath Koul originally resident of Sangrampora Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 508/B, Sec-49, Sainik Colony Faridabad Haryana. 3/4/2010
95. Sh. Triloki Nath Bhat R/o Hawal Pulwama, Kmr; presently resident of Lane-2, Block-B, Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 3/4/2010
96. Smt. Prana Bhan W/o Sh. Kanhya Lal Bhan of Panchalthan Chittergul Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 537, Nagrota Camp Jammu. 3/4/2010
97. Smt. Sarla Ji Pandita W/o Sh. C.L. Pandita of Kargama Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Purkhoo Camp Phase-4th, Block-C, T.R.T. No: 8 Jammu. 3/4/2010
98. Smt. Purnima Handoo W/o Sh. Ashok Ji Handoo R/o Karan Nagar, Sgr; presently resident of 168-B, Sec-22, Noida. 3/4/2010
99. Smt. Arandati Koul W/o Sh. Madsudhan Koul originally resident of Karfali Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 108, Wazir Bagh Surya Vihar Tomal Bohri

- Jammu. 3/4/2010
100. Sh. Bhushan Lal Kitroo S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Kitroo originally resident of Naidyar Rainawari Sgr; presently residing at Mumbai. 3/4/2010
101. Smt. Kanta Koul (Adalti) W/o Sh. T.N. Koul (Adalti) of Kanli Bagh Baramulla, Kmr; presently residing Sector-50, Noida. 3/4/2010
102. Smt. Shama Koul W/o Late Sh. Omkar Nath Koul of Simoo Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at 14-Shankar Vihar Mandir Khoowali Gali Trikuta Nagar Ext. IP, Jammu. 4/4/2010

CONTINUATION

103. Mr. Makhan Lal Matoo S/o Late Sh. Amar Nath Matoo originally resident of Bagh Jogilankar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Flat No: 10, Maharani Bagh New Delhi. 4/4/2010
104. Smt. Kamla Devi W/o Sh. Narayan Jee Sidha originally resident of 177, Jawahar Nagar Sgr; presently resident of 242, Sec-1, Lane No: 4, Durga Nagar Jammu. 4/4/2010
105. Sh. Triloki Nath Bagatee S/o Late Prakash Ram Bagatee R/o Tekipora Lolab Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 5/4/2010
106. Sh. J.N. Lahori originally resident of Battapora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of 3/12, Surya Vihar Patta Bohri Jammu. 5/4/2010
107. Smt. Gourishori Koul W/o Late Sh. Dwarka Nath Koul originally resident of Sehwar Alikadal Sgr; presently resident of Tumkur Karnataka. 5/4/2010
108. Sh. Maharaj Krishan Koul S/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand Koul R/o Achabal Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of GRP Udhampur. 5/4/2010
109. Smt. Jaya Mattu W/o Sh. Jantinder Nath Matto R/o 270-A Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 7/4/2010

110. Smt. Lachkuji Kou W/o Late Sh. Shambhu Nath Koul originally resident of Verinag Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 67-B, Karan Nagar, Bikaner Rajasthan. 8/4/2010
111. Sh. Mohan Lal Razdan S/o Sh. Bal Ji Razdan R/o 783, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 8/4/2010
112. Er. Sunil Koul S/o Sh. Avtar Krishen Koul originally resident of Gund Chakpora/ Baghat Kanipora Sgr; presently residing at Leeds (UK). H.No: 11, Vikas Nagar Hospital Road Gangyal, Jammu. 8/4/2010
113. Sh. Kanth Ram Pandita S/o Late Pt. Sham Lal Pandita originally resident of Malmoh Pattan Baramulla Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 8, Lane-2 Bharat Nagar Talab Tillo, Jammu. 8/4/2010
114. Sh. Bhushan Lal Durani S/o Late Sh. Baghwan Dass Durani of heshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of M-30, TRT Qtr. Buta Nagar Muthi Jammu. 9/4/2010
115. Sh. Girdhari Lal Wakhloo S/o Late Pt. Nand Lal Wakhloo of Fatehkadal Sgr; presently residing at Kashmir Apparts. Pitampura New Delhi. 9/4/2010
116. Smt. Lalita Koul W/o Late Sh. Sansar Chand Koul; presently resident of Baderwah. 10/4/2010
117. Smt. Shobawati Pandita W/o Late Sh. Bal Ji Pandita R/o Batapora Sopore Kmr; presently residing at Narayanagad Haryana. 10/4/2010
118. Smt. Prem Rani Bhan W/o Sh. Prem Nath Bhan originally resident of Kanyakadal Parshayar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 679, Pocket-E, Mayur Vihar, Phase-II, Delhi. 11/4/2010
119. Smt. Sham Rani Pandita W/o Sh. Sham Lal Pandita R/o Vessu Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at KVS Qtrs. Near Kendra Vidhayala No: 1, Swam Theatre Gole Market Gandhi Nagar, Jammu. 12/4/2010
120. Smt. Rajdulari Kothedar (Kou) W/o Sh. Jagan Nath Koul (Kothidar) R/o Sathu Barbarashah Sgr; presently residing at 52-C, Hardev Nagar Delhi. 13/4/2010

- Dec.8: An LeT terrorist was killed and another managed his escape in the Sopore encounter while the Army Captain injured in the encounter succumbed to his injuries. Omar Abdullah said that due notice has been taken of Sham Lal's Azadi statement and the action will be taken after examination of the speech. Centre admitted that track-II talks were on with Pakistan on many issues including Kashmir but these talks are not official in nature.
- Dec.9: A terrorist hideout was busted near LoC in Uri and huge quantity of ammunition was recovered. Arms and ammunition were recovered from a terrorist hideout in Gulabgarh, Reasi. P Chidambaram said that contours of political solution to Kashmir will be found soon while Geelani termed the statement jugglery of words. Interlocutors are to pay a four day visit to Jammu region from Dec. 17. Ram Jethmalani opposes talks with separatists. China said that it will solve the stapled visa issue and it will not affect the bilateral relations.
- Dec.10: A cop was injured while the holed up terrorist managed his escape in an encounter in Ganderbal. In an unprecedented development, a lecturer of Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar was arrested for setting controversial questions regarding recent unrest in valley in an English paper at undergraduate level. Inquallibi and his four associates were sent to JIC as police remand was extended for six days.
- Dec.11: A plot to attack IMA was foiled as a Divisional Commander of HM from Doda, Javed Qureshi and his associate were held in Dehradun. A boy was killed and his brother injured as they fiddled with an explosive device at Pera, Mendhar. Two Kashmiri youth were arrested at Kanpur for a bomb hoax call but were released as there was no criminal record of the duo. An OGW was arrested in Kishtwar. The arrested lecturer was remanded to police custody. Army Chief said that cease-fire violations were not serious. Congress High Command served notice to Sham Lal for his Azadi remarks. Germany opined that terrorism is not a means to solve political problems and it is unacceptable.
- Dec.12: LeT commander Salmans's associate and maternal uncle was arrested while the former was on run. Doda police is to leave for Dehradun to seek Qureshi's custody as about two dozen OGWs in Doda go underground apprehending their arrest.
- Dec.13: A large quantity of explosives and ammunition was recovered in Mahore. Doda police left for Dehradun to take custody of Javed Qureshi and his associate Tanveer Ahamed. For the first time since its launch, LoC cross bus on Poonch-Rawalakot route left empty. There are reports that the terrorists' number is swelling on launching pads and the infiltration may go up in foggy nights. Omar Abdullah said that legal course should be followed on Guru while MHA said that it will take time on Guru's file as nation paid tributes to the Martyrs of the Parliament attack on the 9th anniversary. CM said that panchayat poll boycott call will have no effect.
- Dec.14: Nine people including two CRPF Jawans were injured in two grenade attacks in Pulwama district. Police claimed that Masart Alam admitted taking Rs 40 lakh from Geelani through different channels to fuel unrest as Pak uses new channels to fund terrorists. JKP took the custody of the terrorists arrested in Utranchal. Army Chief General V K Singh said that Pakistan Army stands exposed as it claimed one of the suicide bomber Zulfikar Ahamed as an ISI agent who was on a suicide mission in India, and was killed in New Delhi. Special teams have been framed to trace about 31 terrorists belonging to Indian Mujahideen (IM) and Jam-i-yyathul Ansarul Muslimen (JIAM) who are either in India, Pakistan or Middle East.
- Dec.15: At least two dozen Shia mourners were injured and over hundred others detained as they tried to take out traditional procession despite curfew in the area. The number of terrorists of J&K arrested out side the state rose to five as two more terrorists were arrested in Kangra, HP. Amidst controversy over the Stapled Visa, Dr Karan Singh refused a Chinese award as he didn't turn up at a function where Chinese PM honoured nine other personalities including CPIM leader Sita Ram Yachury. Centre enhances subsidy to Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in J&K at par with North-East states.
- Dec.16: A large quantity of arms and ammunition was recovered in Rajouri and Poonch districts. Curfew was imposed in parts of Srinagar to prevent Moharram procession. Qureshi and his associate were shifted to Doda for interrogation as SOG team leaves for HP to take the custody of the terrorists arrested in Kangra. Singh-Wen meet discussed key concerns but reportedly failed to make any breakthrough on the issue of Stapled Visa, terror and UNSC seat. Mirwaiz Farooq said that there will be no solution to J&K issue within the frame work of the constitution and there is need for India, Pakistan and Kashmiri leadership for negotiated settlement.
- Dec.17: Terrorists lobbed a hand grenade on a CRPF patrol in Pulwama but the grenade failed to explode. A JCO was found dead in his camp at Kakpora, Pulwama. An arms haul was recovered on the disclosure of Qureshi in Marmat, Doda. An OGW of HM was arrested in Gulabgarh. Padgaonkar said that CBMs will facilitate dialogue and added that his remarks on Omar govt. and Self Rule have been fabricated. Omar Abdullah said that they do not condone torture but distanced himself from Wikileaks expose.
- Dec.18: A powerful IED and explosives were recovered in Budhal, Rajouri. Two HM terrorists were reported to have removed arms and ammunition from the hideouts of Qureshi known to them, before the security forces could recover the same. Most of the delegations in Poonch described accession final and opposed Azadi and sought concil on the pattern of Ladakh. Polic remand of the terrorists arrested in Kangra was extended for six more days. BJYM is to launch Ekta Yatra from Kolkata to be concluded in Kashmir on the Republic Day.
- Dec.19: Two terror modules were busted in Anantnag and Pulwama districts and nine people arrested. Police discovered that the terrorists used blue tooth to bypass ban on SMSs. Five more terrorists from Doda are reportedly hiding in HP and terror attacks have not been ruled out. Interlocutors faced queries on the neglect of the twin districts of Poonch and Rajouri and they briefed CM on their visit to the districts. MHA confirmed that each of the interlocutors will be paid Rs 1.5 lakh monthly remuneration besides other facilities. Sonia Gandhi underscored need to reach to the youth in J&K and added that the doors for dialogue with the extremists were open. China is reportedly making ground to claim 1600 KM border area and understanding has been reached on the Stapled Visa issue.
- Dec.20: Police recovered another consignment of arms and ammunition including a looted SLR on the disclosures of Qureshi. Curfew was imposed in Sumbal area after the sectarian violence. Interlocutors met NN Vohra and Muftis as BJP fumed on delayed invitation and NPP protested for keeping them waiting despite being given time. GoC 16 Corps Lt Gen J P Nehra said that terrorists are running to HP as troops have mounted pressure. Asking Pakistan to dismantle terror syndicate, PM described the relations with the country tense.
- Dec.21: One infiltrator was killed and two-three others injured as an infiltration bid of about six terrorists was foiled in Rajouri. Pakistan violated airspace in RS Pura. Describing Fayaz a threat to the society, a Gaziabad court awarded 10 years RI to the terrorist, a resident of Srinagar and wanted in several blast cases in Kashmir as well. Curfew continues in Sumbal. Interlocutors got details of district wise funds to study discrimination.
- Dec.22: Another infiltration bid was foiled in Mendhar while BSF formally protested Airspace violation. An OGW was detained under PSA. Interlocutors held an open meet at Langate; the meet was arranged by the local MLA Engineer Abdul Rashid. An SPO Abdul Rashid of Doda claimed that he was instrumental in the killing of nine terrorists and was injured in an operation but was terminated instead of being rewarded for the services.
- Dec.23: A Pak terrorist was killed while four others were arrested in Kashmir valley. Curfew continued in Sumbal and other places. Pak ultras beat up a cop in Kot Bhalwal jail. A complaint was filed against Geelani and Arundati Roy. Four LeT terrorists have reportedly sneaked into Mumbai. Interlocutors opined that serious efforts are needed to reduce trust deficit and violence must end to start dialogue with militants. Less allocation of funds and intra region bias remained main issues as the Task Force visited Rajouri, Poonch, Udhampur and Kathua districts. Doda police rubbished claims of Abdul Rashid and said that he was terminated for his unwanted behaviour. BJP called for an end to regional discrimination and called for total integration of J&K as Advani said that there will be no compromise on national integration.
- Dec.24: Four people including a security force personnel were injured in a grenade attack in Sopore. Task Force takes cognizance of the developmental needs. Describing article 370 responsible for the unemployment in the state, BJP said that it won't allow autonomy, self-rule or Azadi in J&K. Yasin Malik flayed BJP for its stand on J&K and reminded it of its stand when in power. CM of Utranchal said that the activities of China are on rise in the neighbourhood.
- Dec.25: A terrorist was killed in Kupwara. A huge arms haul including AKs were recovered as police cracked on the hide-outs of Qureshi in Doda. Two BSF Jawans were killed as mines exploded near LoC in Balakote sector. Mufti Mohd Sayeed advised BJP not to wreck Vajpayee's initiative on J&K.
- Dec. 26: Forces continued recoveries in Doda as huge cache was recovered today also. Curfew continues in parts of Bandipore district.
- Dec.27: An HM terrorist was killed in Gandoh, Doda. Qureshi reportedly admitted 51 killings and links with 25 OGWs. Pakistan again violated cease-fire as an infiltration bid was foiled in KG sector. An arms haul was recovered in Rajouri. Police said that 20 women are active as OGWs in Sopore. State government said that the children and spouse of ultras who have married in Pakistan and will return will be treated as Pak citizens.
- Dec.28: Security forces averted a tragedy as they detected and defused an IED on Palmar-Patimal road in Kishtwar. Police took custody of terrorists arrested in Kangra, HP. Panun Kashmir organized a rally as KPs celebrate Homeland Day. AICWC member Satyabrata Chaturvedi asked for removal of regional discrimination.
- Dec.29: Police arrested a terrorist and recovered arms from his possession in Baramulla. Pak again violated cease-fire as infiltration bid was foiled in Samba. HR activist, separatists are playing a major role in developing nexus between terrorists and naxalites on the behest of Pakistan.
- Dec.30: An LeT terrorist Sajad Khan of Batmaloo, Srinagar mobilized stone-pelters from Rajouri through mobile and paid handsome money through hawala transactions and was reportedly preparing youth for coming summer. C-in-C Northern Command Lt. Gen. B S Jaswal described AFSPA must for effective performance of forces in J&K.
- Dec.31: A top HM terrorist surrendered in Doda. An infiltration bid was foiled in Balakote as terrorists tried to infiltrate under the cover of Pakistani firing. While the govt. has made plans for rehabilitation of terrorists in PoK and Pak, many terrorist victims of Jammu region reportedly await to get justice.
- Jan. 1: Two TA jawans were killed by terrorists in Gool and Moosa group is believed responsible for the killings. Two Kashmiri terrorists Shoukat Ahmed and Mehrajuddin, hailing from Bandipur, were arrested in MP. A Pak guide was arrested in Poonch. BSF lodged protest with Rangers over cease-fire violations. J&K is reportedly not ready to return 60 Para-military companies keeping in view the situation. Lt. Gen. K T Parnaik took over the command of Northern command.
- Jan. 2: Massive hunt has been launched for Moosa as the killed TA Jawans turn out to be the victims of their resource who played as double agents. After resuming its services in December, Railway is to increase frequency of its services in the valley. Name of half a dozen women harbours and about 30 OGWs of Doda have surfaced during the interrogation of Qureshi. Mufti Mohd Sayeed said that resolution of Kashmir cannot be put to cold-storage risking the future of the people of the region. Senior Hurriyat leader Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat said that leaders like Molvi Farooq, A G Lone were not killed by Army or security personnel but our own people.
- Jan. 3: An infiltration bid was foiled in KG sector. DGP described five districts- Jammu, Kathua,

(Contd. on Page 19)

- (From Page 18)
- Samba, Reasi and udhampur, free of militancy. Reacting to Prof. Bhat's revelations, DGP said that he didn't say something new as it was known to all and added that Mirwaiz and his killer are buried in same graveyard. A Delhi court convicted five JeM terrorists for waging war against the country.
- Jan. 4: SHO Batmaloo and his PSO were shot at by terrorists in Batmaloo. Describing summer unrest unfortunate and regrettable, P Chidambaram said that the visit of the Parliamentary Delegation and interlocutors improved the situation. Describing the UN a failed body, Hurriyat chairman Mirwaiz Umar Farooq asked for time bound dialogue between India, Pakistan and people of J&K under international monitoring.
- Jan. 5: A cop was injured in a mine explosion in Mendhar while an Army Jawan went missing near LoC in Rajouri. A youth was killed in an ambush in Kupwara. Geelani ruled out any unity move. Farooq Abdullah said that Mirwaiz Umar and Prf. A G Bhat spoke the truth and should come forward for talks. Reacting to the BJPs plans to hoist the National Flag at Lal Chowk Srinagar on the Republic Day, Omar Abdullah said that BJP wants to burn Kashmir by hoisting the Tri Colour. BJP leader Arun Jaitley rubbished Omar's remarks.
- Jan. 6: An OGW was arrested in Baramullah. Security has been beefed up to foil Geelani's march to Sopore to protest alleged massacre of civilians on the day in 1993. BJP leader Rajnath Singh wrote to the President on the tri-colour hoisting issue. CM asked Separatists to come forward for dialogue but termed PDP part of problem while PDP said that the people are looking to the patry as the alternative. A Delhi court awarded life term to five JeM terrorists while DP sought time to probe Geelani-Roy case.
- Jan. 7: An Over Ground women worker Yasmeena was arrestd in Doda on Qureshi's revelations. Arms and ammunition were recovered in Rajouri. A Delhi court deferred order on a Kashmiri terrorist. Terming displacement of Pandits from valley "one of the darkest chapters" in the history, Farooq Abdullah asked for the forgiveness. Umar Farooq didn't talk politics in his Friday sermons.
- Jan. 8: A consignment of ammuniton including an IED fitted with LPG cylinder was seized in Mendhar. KBA chief Mian Qayoom was remanded to three days custody in a case filed by Grota Police. President Pratibha Patil said that if aggression is thrust upon India, Indian Army will give a befitting reply to keep the country's flag flying.
- Jan. 9: Several people are absconding in Doda as name of two more women surfaced in Qureshi's interrogation. Chinese troops again entered in Ladakh and stopped construction work while Farooq Abdullah called for strict vigil along the Chinese border. Yet another FIR was registerd against KBA chief and this time by Janipura police.
- Jan. 10: Police arrested three persons and recovered arms and ammunition that were to be supplied to the terrorists in Uri, Baramulla. A Jawan was found dead in Ladakh. A Delhi Court convicted Jafar Umar Khan who had links with HM and other terrorist outfits to 14 year jail term for raising terror funds. Farooq Abdullah said that talks could solve Kashmir and accused Pakistan of taking no action against 26/11 terror accused. Accusing the Centre of pushing the youth to wall and forcing them to take to arms, A S Geelani asked youth not to take gun again and use other peaceful means to carry forward the freedom struggle.
- Jan. 11: Two OGW were held in Ramban. A CRPF jawan committed suicide in his camp at Sopore. Farooq Abdullah assured full security to the Sikhs in the valley.
- Jan 12: Four youth, Two Kashmiri and two Bengali, were arrested for their suspected terror links and an amount of Rs 1.5 Lakh was recovered from their possession while the kingpin of the racket was still at large. Army today recovered ready-to-use IEDs and Pak made medicines from Kandi, Kotranka in Rajouri. Another consignment was recovered in Sabjan, Poonch. Interlocutors said that there are positive changes in J&K. Hundreds of youth turned up for Police jobs from the localities in Srinagar that witnessed stone-pelting and protests in the recent past. BJP's 'Rashtriya Ekta Yatra' takes off from Kolkata.

- Jan. 13: A major infiltration bid was was foiled in Kerni, Poonch. An IED was detected and defused at Mankote on Jammu-Poonch road. Three OGWs were arrested in Ganderbal district. While CM J&K asked BJP to shun Flag hoisting plans, BJYM said that no power can prevent them from hoisting tri-colour at Lal Chowk, Srinagar. The NIA charge sheeted 30 SIMI activists from nine states for sedition and waging war against the state.
- Jan 14: Home Secretary G K Pillai announced 25% troopps cut in J&K and unilateral six months entry permits to PoK people. While CM, PDP and Hurriyat hailed the announcement, Army Chief said that there was no need for troop reduction. Pak plan to stall Kishan Ganga project thwarted.
- Jan.15: Security agencies have traced the links of fake currency being pumped to J&K and other places to Malda in West Bengal as Pak Army is reported to have installed machines to print notes resembling to the Indian Currency. HC restrained Col from submitting final report in 17 deaths in the valley last year. GOC-in-C Northern Command said that time is not ripe for troop reduction and AFSPA is must in J&K. Six HUIJ ultras accused of plotting to kidnap Tendulkar and Ganguly in 2002 were awarded life term. Terror alert sounded in Metropolis.
- Jan. 16: An HM commander was arrested in Lal Chowk, Srinagar. High alert has been sounded in the Valley amidst reports that the terrorists may try to disrupt Republic Day function. Unified Hqrs discussed security scenario, BJP's Ekta Yatra, AFSPA, troop cut, summer unrest and gave nod to formation of 'Friends of People' committees. BJYM Yatra evokes huge response as it reached Lucknow.
- Jan. 17: A student named Irshad Ahamed Bhat was arrested for instigating violence by opening a page KALKHARAB- short-tempered. Interlocutors are to write to CEC on delimitation as they meet JU top brass, BJP and NPP leaders. Mehbooba Mufti announced launch of campaign against state government from January 19 on issues of resolution of Kashmir, troop-cut, revocation of AFSPA, release of prisoners and electricity. IG CRPF Jammu sector said that no directions have been received on troop reduction and added that 40% of the force is deployed in the state.
- Jan. 18: Police arrested dismissed Cop Devinder Kumar alias DK for his alleged links with the terrorist Qureshi. Interlocutors met delegations in Udhampur and called on Governor and DY Chief Minister. A Kashmiri Vijay Sazawal has been appointed to the US nuclear expert panel. LJP president Ram Vilas Paswan accused BJP of vitiating atmosphere in J&K.
- Jan. 19: A womarn terrorist Kulsooma Begum and a cop Satish Kumar alias Doctor were arrested for their links with Qureshi. Another air space violation from Pakistan was reported in Niki Tawi area. Kashmiri Pandits observed holocaust Day. Omar Abdullah met Sonia Gandhi and Home Minister to discuss AFSPA and Ekta Yatra and asked BJP not to precipitate situation in the valley. BJP said that they don't need certificate from Omar Abdullah. The Interlocutors today said that solution to the state should be found as a single unit and there should be no bifurcation or trifurcation and the special status should continue. They also advised BJP to reconsider its plans of Tri-colour hoisting and hoped that the Army would be on the same page with MHA on the troop reduction issue.
- Jan. 20: Five terrorists from Rajouri are reported to have shown their willingness to return from PoK in response to the rehabilitation policy. Umar Farooq talked to the interlocutors on phone but reportedly refused to meet them. S M Krishna described Pakistan as the epicenter of terrorism. BJP vowed to go ahead with the Yatra as government decided not to allow it while L K Advani described Yatra a challenge to the separatists and not to the government.
- Jan 21: the parents of 68 terrorists in Rajouri-Poonch are reported to have applied for the return of terrorists while the response from Doda belt is awaited. An infiltrator was killed while two others managed their escape as BSF foiled an infiltration bid in Pargwal sector. Interlocutors said that majority of the people they met were not concerned with the UN resolution and division of the state and added that people's environment can address the vexed issue. A K Antony ruled out any more troop reduction.

- Jan 22: Another woman terrorist Ruksana was arrested as soon as she was about to accept Rs 50,000 terror fund from a BDO; her associate Farooq Ahamed was also arrested. The UN Rapporteur on situation of Human Rights Defenders Margret Sekaggaya called for addressing the people's issued and repeal of AFSPA and PSA. With out naming BJP, Dr Man Mohan Singh said that the solemn occasion of the Republic Day should not be used for scoring political points as the Yatra entered HP.
- Jan.23: Terrorists fired upn a police post and an Army patrol in Mendhar. A woman OGW was arrested in Ramban. Geelani's aide G M Bhat has been arrested and Rs 21 lakh hawala money was recovered from his possession. JKLF chief goes in hiding before his plans of Lal Chowk Chalo. BJP deplored PM and expressed its commitment to the Yatra while Punjab refused to stop the Yatra.
- Jan. 24: A cordon has been thrown after the terrorists managed their escape after firing in Sopore. A woman hawala operator Nighat Sidiquee carrying Rs three lakh for the terrorists was arrested in Srinagar. 13 mines exploded in Poonch. Security has been beefed up as sepatrists go into hiding. BJP top leaders – Sushama Swaraj, Arun Jaitley and Anant Kumar- were ill-treated and confined to the Airport before being deported to Madhopur.
- Jan. 25: Yatra was stopped at Lakhanpur and top brass of BJP arrested while the activists of BJP and BJYM were ill-treated across the state. In their Republic Day messages, Governor asked for strong and stable J&K while Omar Abdullah asked sepatrists to be part of the dialogue. S M Krishna renewed his invitation to his Pakistani counterpart S M Qureshi for talks.
- Jan. 26: India celebrated Republic Day but foiled BJYM's efforts to unfurl the tri-colour at Lal Chowk though scores of their activists had managed to reach Srinagar and were arrested as soon as they appeared waiving the National Flag. BJP vowed to take the issue to the parliament and even to the court; the party activists attacked the vehicle of A R Rather. Dismissing Pakistan's apprehension s that India was not willing to discuss all the issues, India said that it was ready for step to step approach.
- Jan. 27: Three boys were saved from joining terrorism in Kulgam district. Four wireless sets and grenades were recovered in Marmat, Doda. A BSF vehicle was targeted by Pak Rangers in Samba sector. Army Chief termed BJP's Yatra political wrangling and said that presently there was no question of troop reduction. Farooq Abdullah said that J L Nehru would have solved the Kashmir issue had he not died in May 1964.
- Jan. 28: BJP accused the state government of torturing its woman activist Heleema, who unsuccessfully contested Assembly elections from Uri in 2008, but the govt. termed Halema's story concocted. Police claimed to have recovered Rs six crore worth foreign currency from the offices of the trust backed by the17th Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorje and is investigating his Chinese links in an effort by China to control monasteries from Ladakh to Arunachal Pradesh, SC said that the Haj subsidy was not unconstitutional.
- Jan. 29: Army Chief said that long term vision is needed to solve Kashmir issue and troop reduction was not option as of now. G N Azad said that there is no proposal for the rotational C M.
- Jan. 30: Task Forces constituted to review developmental needs of Jammu and Ladakh region are to submit their interim reports by mid-February but the submission of final report is to take time and the implementation will take place during the 12th five-year plan. G N Azad said that RSS stands exposed for promoting terrorism and the investigation agencies have even arrested the activists of the organization in connection with Malegaon, Hyderabad, and Samjota Express explosions. Package for central government employees in the valley has been extended till December 31, 2011.
- Jan. 31: The J&K HC has asked the state government to submit its report within two weeks about the killings during the summer unrest. P Chidambaram is to visit the state from February 3 to review the situation. Justice Sageer Ahamed, who headed the Committee to look into Centre-State relations and was criticized for the presentation of the report without taking into cognizance the suggestions of the most of the members, passed away. L K Advani said that BJP is examining legal options on the Tiranga Yatra.

Engagement with Pakistan amounts to capitulation

By S M Pandit

JAMMU, April 10: India-Pak Engagement: Squandering the Advantage India-Pak engagement at the government as well as track-2 level came under sharp criticism at a seminar “India-Pak Engagement: Squandering the Advantage” organized by Panun Kashmir and presided over by the prolific writer Prof. Hari Om. The panelists were unanimous in launching scathing attack on the recent initiative as they were of the opinion that India squanders the advantages and any engagement with Pakistan is destined to fail as long as Pakistan treats India as enemy No. one. The speakers alleged that a section of people across the spectrum in politics and power corridors and amongst the intelligentsia are working in tandem to compromise the national interests and engagement with Pakistan or separatists is the reflection of the same mentality.

Initiating the proceedings Sh Man Mohan Khajuria, Former DG J&K Police and prominent thinker, described creation of Pakistan as artificial that is nourished on hate-India campaign and said that no engagement is fruitful unless the trust deficit is addressed. He described creation of Pakistan as a tragedy in the history and added that since its inception it has followed the policy of deceit and denial. Sh Khajuria said that despite well wishes from our side Pakistan responded with attack on J&K and aggression continues. Accusing Pakistan of breaking promises and agreements, Sh Khajuria said, “Pakistan has respected only two agreements- Indus Water Treaty and Cease-fire. Indus Water Treaty is heavily loaded in favour of Pakistan and Cease-fire suits it as it helped it to shift forces to other areas but continues with infiltration and launching pads.”

Ex. DGP said that a ray of hope was ignited when Manmohan Singh and Yousf Raza Geelani met at the side lines of SAARC Summit at Thimpu in last April and identified ‘Trust-deficit’ as the core obstacle in successful pursuance of Indo-Pak peace process but regretted that India again blinked when Indian Foreign Minister S M Krishna announced yet again in Thimpu in Feb. 2011 that ‘The very fact that the two Foreign Secretaries met is certainly an indication that solid foundation has been laid for getting the two countries on sustained engagement’ without addressing the issue of trust-deficit as there has been no movement on demolishing terror infrastructure or export of terrorism. Referring to the oft repeated assertion of India about strengthening Pakistan, Sh Khajuria said, “India should make it clear that it wants to strengthen Pakistan that is secular, democratic and friendly and not that Pakistan which is enemy as that will be suicidal.”

Enlisting advantages of India, he said that India is a huge country with largest Army and economically better than Pakistan. He regretted that despite advantage, India gave away territory and more than 90000 forces back to Pakistan without achieving anything and only thing is that the ALC was changed to LoC. Warning against any compromise, he said that the people at the helm of affairs are

just trustees and have no authority to gift away even an inch of land and should be guided by the unanimous parliament’s resolution on PoK. Making a clarion call to the masses, he said that we should not become party to any plot by the act of omission and should serve as sentinels to safeguard the interests of nation.

Sh O N Trisal, President ASKPSC, in his brief speech enumerated advantages that India surrendered since Independence, accused present govt. of internationalizing the closed chapter of Kashmir by its attitude and appealed the general masses to come forward to protect the sovereignty of the country as the political leadership is not in a mood to preserve the same. Sh Trisal rued accepting ceasefire when our forces were defeating aggression and taking the issue to the UN and gifting away Haji Peer. Launching scathing attack on Manmohan Singh govt., the octogenarian Pandit leader said that Kashmir was a closed issue but the attitude of the present government opened the issue and referred to PM’s statement and Sharmal-ul-Sheikh terming Pakistan victim of terrorism. He appealed the nationalist forces to rise and fight as they fought

engagement with Pakistan. He said that in both types of engagements, at the government level or the track-2, we don’t know what we have to achieve and are defensive while Pakistan is committed to its agenda and dictates the terms. “The story of Indo-Pak talks is a story of losing track in parallel tracks of dialogue. It is now a matter of record as to how both the GoI as well as Indian side of parallel diplomacy have never been able to seize the initiative or set any agenda during such talks. India has always been defensive or seems to be reacting to Pakistan or Pakistanis are doing or saying,” he rued. He alleged that a section of intellectuals is arguing on behalf of Pakistan.

Terming Pakistan a failed state, Sh Sengupta said that Pakistan is a danger for the world peace and what we experienced in 1990 in Kashmir, America experienced in 2001 and even friends like China are not safe as activities in Skiang have definite Pak connections. He said that India has to assert itself and say in unequivocal terms to Pakistan that hostile and fundamentalist Pakistan is unacceptable to India and Pakistan has to change its character. “We must talk of the text

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British imperialism and force the GoI to change its policy vis-à-vis Kashmir and added that the leadership is not in fighting mood and people should save Indian sovereignty and Kashmir must remain an integral part of India.

Captain S K Tiku in his speech, loaded with wit and humor but based on ground realities, expressed his surprise on the obsession of India for Pakistan which is a theological state, the creation of hate India campaign and treats India as enemy No. one. Recalling his participation in war, Captain Tiku said that he got an Urdu Primer from the territory that was won by India but gifted back through Tashkand Agreement. He said that in the Primer the Urdu alphabet KEEF stands for KAFIR (infidel) and symbolized by the picture of a Hindu and ZOY for ZALIM (cruel) symbolized by a Sardar and added that such is the foundation of their education and wondered what image Pak PM would have drawn when he met Manmohan Singh as Geelani is post-independence born. Sh Tiku questioned the logic of candle light at Wagah border mostly by refugees from Pakistan and attributed it to the slavish mentality syndrome. He appealed people to be the ambassadors and educate people about the real picture of Pakistan whose command is slowly moving to the rabidly communal forces.

Prof. Dipanker Sengupta, Prof. of Economics at the University of Jammu and an expert on International political economy and Industrial organization, was of the opinion that India has always been defensive and reacting to Pakistani actions. India should assert itself and set the agenda for any

books, put forward agenda for federalization of Pakistan as we cannot deal with the authority that does not have the authority as the centre of power lies with Army. If we plan and strategize our talks, we can create context for talks,” he said.

Dr Ajay Churungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir, in his address, described engagement with Pakistan as capitulation and added that what is happening is not an aberration but deliberate attempt by a section in power corridor, political class and civil society as they lack vision about Indian nation and termed happenings in Kashmir as an element of bigger process of disintegration. He said that a normal state should have taken a definite course but as regards Pakistan, it looks that India is capitulating. He said that some happenings in our immediate neighborhood and across the globe should have made us happy but what we witness amounts to surrender. “Terrorism in Sri Lanka has declined; there is less hostility across Bangladesh; statistics of last four years suggest that there is less jihadi violence in India; jihadi trajectory has turned towards Pakistan and the Arab world is in disarray. But we are following a policy that amounts to surrender,” he said. He regretted the stand taken by Indian PM at Sharmul-ul-Sheikh that was articulation of Pakistani stand and described his oft repeated stand about rendering borders irrelevant or Vajpayee’s statement about neighbors cannot be changed having major implications and not mere diplomatic posturing. Churungoo said that when we have no

commitment to defend the borders and if we cannot think of changing anti-India character of Pakistan it means that we lack vision about sovereignty of the nation. He termed it oxymoron to defend the sovereignty by sharing sovereignty making a reference to the Musharraf formula that envisaged shared sovereignty over J&K. “Govt. of India seems to have embarked on a mission of crafting a retreat from J&K and that is what guides it while dealing with Pakistan. In a situation where Pakistan is in internal disarray and Anglo-American block is busy in Middle-East to salvage its relations in the region, Government of India embarking on dialogue with Pakistan on Pakistan’s terms can be explained only as self-laceration. It seems that protecting Pakistan and bailing out separatists is the policy objective which GoI is pursuing. Such a situation happens when the leadership is deeply alienated from the national perspective,” regretted Dr Churungoo. He said that there is a deliberate attempt to ignore Ladakhi Bodhs, Kashmiri Hindus, Jammuites and those Muslims who believe in India and it is not Congress specific but extends from a section of BJP to Congress as they think we can win Muslim votes by giving away Kashmir. The Pandit leader said that Anglo-imperialist tendencies. Chinese imperialist ambitions and Pakistani ambitions are working in tandem and that is why Obama described India as Chinese sphere of influence. He appealed people to sensitize themselves to the internal insults to the national unity and prepare for protracted struggle to defeat the designs of freaking up the country.

Prof. Hari Om, a prolific writer and political thinker, in his presidential address described Pakistan an unnatural formation at the brink of disintegration, pointed to the policy vis-à-vis Pakistan that amounts to the negation of India as a state but asserted that India is a strong nation and will defeat any conspiracy to dent the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation. He said that what is happening in Kashmir and in relation to engagement with Pakistan is clear indication that a section is influencing that does not take India as a nation but conglomerate of Nations. Questioning the wisdom of engagement with Pakistan and its timing, Prof. Hari Om Said, “Prime Minister of India has to explain why he overlooked the national sentiment that is against engagement with Pakistan whose single-point agenda is to fulfil the unfinished agenda of partition and that is annexation of J&K and dismember India.” He regretted that instead of defending and promoting national interests in J&K, the central government is furthering the agenda of separatists and Pakistan. He ended his speech on apposite note and said that Indian nation is very strong and you cannot defeat it. “What we witnessed in last four days during Hazare’s campaign and a nation that is not ready to lose even a cricket match is a testimony that Indian nation is strong and cannot be defeated,” he asserted.

The Proceedings were moderated by Sh Shailendra Aima, Vice Chairman PK, and vote of thanks was proposed by PK General Secretary Sh Kuldeep Raina.