



Happy Republic Day

Let Truth Prevail

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RETURN POLICY

Don't touch them for the time being



Dr. Ajay Churungoo

ON December 5, 2010, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Omar Abdullah, formally issued the recruitment orders for the displaced Kashmiri Hindu youth, selected as per the Prime Minister's Package for relief and rehabilitation of Kashmiri Migrants. On the occasion the Chief Minister, Omar Abdullah, while addressing the selected candidates said, "You have suffered a lot. You went through a difficult period.... Your new generation is unaware of the cultural heritage and secular amity Kashmir has been abode for ages.... So far we have only heard slogans in your favour and in favour of your return to Kashmir.... Creation of economic security by way of providing jobs in government sector to young educated Kashmiri Pandits was a milestone in restoring their confidence and return to valley...." The self-patting was quite conspicuous in his address. But more conspicuous was the perception which trivialized the whole issue of forced exodus of

Kashmiri Hindus as merely an issue of economic deprivation and insecurity. As if Kashmiri Hindus had left valley because of unemployment. Omar's speech, delivered on the occasion, reflected either a dangerous naivety or a single minded ruthlessness to put innocent lives to risk to score a political point.

Exploiting Destitution

While seeking to make others believe that internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus were merely awaiting economic

their expulsion from Kashmir valley. With almost an undeclared ban on their recruitment, during more than two decades of their exile, the cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus from State administration has become a glaring component of their religious cleansing from the valley. This is the second stint of National Conference government after the democratic process was initiated in the State in 1996. In the previous stint National Conference government succeeded

package and the then National Conference Chief Minister brazenly cited the dearth of funds for recruitment of Kashmiri Hindus. Since 1990 when the exodus of Kashmiri Hindus took place the successive State governments have refused to bear any financial burden of relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Kashmir. All the funds for the purpose, including the salaries of the displaced Hindus working in the State services, are being borne by the Central

employment in the State government. It is in fact an admission of the state of siege and marginalization to which the displaced Hindus have been subjected to over the years in exile. Does the new recruitment drive mark the end of this siege? After a resolute dithering the State government has eventually agreed to provide around 1800 government jobs to 'Kashmiri Migrants' out of a total of 3000 jobs whose financial burden will be borne exclusively by the Central government. And these jobs constitute only half of the total of 6000 jobs as enunciated in the Prime Minister's employment package which was endorsed by the state government. As per the Prime Minister's package, the financial burden of rest of 3000 jobs was supposed to have been borne by the State government. Even after publicly accepting the Prime Minister's Package for the 'Kashmiri Migrants' the state government has already refused to fulfill its part of the employment package and declared such recruitments as against the provisions of the State Constitution.

Understanding the plan

The State government actually has intervened to cut the Prime Minister's employment Package to half and then moved to fulfill only the half of the

(Contd. on Page 6)



A middle aged Kashmiri Pandit displaced woman selling vegetables at Nagrota Camp, Jammu.

security in the form of government jobs, Omar Abdullah, inadvertently accepted the stark reality of enforced destitution to which the displaced Kashmiri Hindus have been subjected to during their exile. More than two thirds of Kashmiri Hindu employees in State government services have retired since

in getting a massive package from the Central Government of one lakh government jobs for Kashmir valley. According to some experts the employment package eventually touched almost 1.5 lakh of jobs for which only Kashmiri Muslims were recruited. Kashmiri Hindus were kept out of this

Government.

Omar describes the stand of the successive governments in the State so far on return of Kashmiri Pandits as not more than a slogan. He tries to impress that these governments lacked the commitment to provide economic security to the displaced youth from Valley in the form of

1. Sh. Janki Nath Wali S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Wali R/o Badiyar Payeen Sgr; presently residing at 1/4 Vikas Nagar Sarwal Jammu. 23/1/2010
3. Sh. Chuni Lal Raina R/o Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 405, Suryavanshi Nagar, Lower Roop Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 23/1/2010
3. Smt. Sonabatni Koul W/o Late Sh. P.N. Koul of B-3/530 Uppar Shiv Nagar Subash Nagar, Jammu. 23/1/2010
4. Smt. Roopawati Bhat W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Bhat of Katrasoo Kulgam Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 373, JMC Shanti Nagar Top, Jammu. 23/1/2010
5. Smt. Lalita Jotshi W/o Late Sh. P.N. Zutshi (Advocate) resident of Kailash Kunj Gill Colony, Sharampur (UP). 23/1/2010
6. Sh. Bhushan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Tara Chand Bhat of Kaloosa Bandipora Kmr; presently resident of D-16, Upper Shiv Nagar, Jammu, Lane-2. 24/1/2010
7. Sh. Dawarika Nath Mattoo resident of Sathu Bala Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 83, Lane-28/6 Roop Nagar Enclave Jammu. 24/1/2010
8. Sh. Badri Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Neel Kanth of Pahroo Nowgam Chadoor Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 978, Lane-14, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 24/1/2010
9. Smt. Kamlawati Mattoo W/o Sh. Radha Krishen Mattoo and resident of H.No: 210, Sec-2, Gangyal Garden Jammu, erstwhile resident of Kanikoot Chadoora Budgam Kmr. 24/1/2010
10. Sh. Hirday Nath Razdan S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Razdan R/o Plot No: 14, Block-4, Sector-31, Faridabad previously resident of village Frastpora Pulwama, Kmr. 24/1/2010
11. Sh. Nath Jee Pandita S/o Late Sh. Tota Ram Pandita originally resident of Gotangoo Kupwara Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 216, Phae-1st, Purkhoo Camp Jammu. 24/1/2010
12. Smt. Ratni Pandita W/o Sh. Pran Nath Pandita R/o Wadipora Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Patoli Brahmana, Akhnoor Road, Jammu. 24/1/2010
13. Smt. Bharti Wangoo W/o Sh. Rakesh Kumar Wangoo resident of Gurgoan Haryana, erstwhile resident of Badyar Payeen Sgr. 26/1/2010
14. Smt. Sheela Bhat W/o Sh. Bansi Lal Bhat R/o Villagam Handwara Kmr; presently resident of Swami Anand Ashram Purkhoo, Phase-1st Dumana Jammu. 26/1/2010
15. Sh. Raj Kumar Pandita S/o Sh. Makhan Lal Pandita (Kaw) of Handwara Kmr; presently residing at Bohri Jammu. 26/1/2010
16. Smt. Soomawati Raina W/o Late Sh. Lassa Koul Raina of Pattipora Chattabal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 722, Sector-3, Bagwati Nagar, Canal Road Jammu. 26/1/2010
17. Smt. Suneeta Bhat W/o Sh. Dileep Kumar Bhat of Konmouh Sgr; presently resident of Room No: 105, Muthi Camp Jammu. 26/1/2010
18. Sh. Som Nath Mam S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Mam of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Roop Nagar Enclave, Block-B, Lane No: 2, Jammu. 27/1/2010
19. Sh. Shadi Lal Bakshi S/o Sh. Jawahar Lal Bakshi of Wachi Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 6/B, Lane-2, Hazuri Bagh Jammu. 27/1/2010
20. Sh. Prem Nath Khosa S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Khosa of Sheshyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Laxmipuram Chinore, Sector-B-1, Bantalab Road, Jammu. 27/1/2010
21. Smt. Shoabawati W/o Late Dr. Damodhar Sadhoo of Zaindar Mohala Sgr; presently residing at 54-A, Patoli Mangotrian Jammu. 27/1/2010
22. Smt. Naney Pandita W/o Sh. Ashok Kumar Pandita of Pajan Vessu Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 150, Amit Nagar Muthi, Jammu. 27/1/2010
23. Smt. Gunwati Koul W/o Late Sh. Prasad Koul resident of Khah Bazar Anantnag Kmr; presently R/o 470 Sector-2, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 28/1/2010
24. Sh. Maharaj Krishen Bhan S/o Late Sh. Prem Nath Bhan R/o D-326 Lower Shiv Nagar, Jammu and originally resident of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr. 28/1/2010
25. Smt. Krishna Koul Jalali W/o Late Sh. T.N. Jalali resident of H.No: 119, Lane-2, Indira Vihar Old Janipur, Jammu. 28/1/2010
26. Sh. Ashok Khushu S/o Sh. O.N. Khushu of 1-Sukalipora S.R. Ganj Kmr; presently resident of L-333, Sarita Vihar New Delhi. 28/1/2010
27. Smt. Rani Jee (Nee-Chuni Jee) W/o Sh. P.N. Raina resident of H.No: 38, Subash Nagar Ext-IIInd Jammu, formerly resident of Chinkral Mohalla Sgr. 28/1/2010
28. Sh. Dawarika Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Koul of Kharikha Sopore Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 6, Ajeet Colony Camp Gole Gujral Jammu. 29/1/2010
29. Sh. Opendar Krishen Raina S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Raina originally resident of Ganpttiyar Sgr; presently resident of C-2, Plot-36, Shalimar Garden Sahibabad (UP). 29/1/2010
30. Smt. Uma Bhat W/o Late Sh. Dawarika Nath Bhat of Namthal Chadoora Budgam Kmr; presently residing at L-370-A, Pratap Vihar Gaziabad. 29/1/2010
31. Sh. Piaray Lal Braroo originally resident of 2/1 Malayar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 54, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 30/1/2010
32. Sh. Jia Lal Pandita S/o Late Sh. Maheshwar Nath Pandita of Tral Kmr; presently resident of 81/7A Manorama Vihar Bohri Jammu. 30/1/2010
33. Sh. Poshkar Nath Trisal S/o Late Sh. Aftab Ram Trisal of Chinkral Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 21, Dharmkunj Appt. Rohni Delhi. 30/1/2010
34. Smt. Sarla Bakshi W/o Sh. S.K. Bakshi resident of H.No: 15, Lane-8, Karan Nagar, Jammu. 31/1/2010
35. Sh. Jaggar Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Gulab Ram Bhat of Chakura Pulwama Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 468-A, Rehari Chuni Jammu. 31/1/2010
36. Sh. Yoginder Mohan Raina S/o Late Sh. Niranjn Nath Raina originally resident of Drabiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 579, Lane-38, Upper Shiv Nagar Jammu. 31/1/2010
37. Smt. Shyam Rani Raina W/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Raina of Old Post Office, Reshi Mohalla, Khardoori Habbakdal Sgr; presently residing at Sai Baba Mandir Lane, Tirath Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 31/1/2010
38. Sh. Arjan Nath Chaku of D-8, Kashmiri Appt. Pitampura Delhi. 31/1/2010
39. Sh. Arjan Nath Fotedar S/o Sh. Prem Nath Fotedar originally resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of 201-Tawi Appt. Sidhra, Jammu. 31/1/2010
40. Smt. Kanta Jee Raina W/o Late Sh. Pushkar Nath Raina R/o 11-C Pocket-C, Phase-IIInd, Mayur Vihar Delhi-91. 31/1/2010
41. Mrs. Nirmala Kaul W/o Mr. N.N. Koul originally resident of A-12, Indira Nagar, B.B. Cant Sgr. presently residing at G-155, Sec-25, Noda (UP). 1/2/2010
42. Smt. Janki Koul W/o Late Sh. Janki Nath Koul of Veer Nowbug Bijbehara Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Purkhoo Camp Phase-IIIrd, Jammu. 2/2/2010
43. Sh. Jawahar Lal Tutoo S/o Late Sh. Vishnath Tutoo R/o Shashiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Leeli Niwas, Akalpora Ponichak, Jammu. 2/2/2010
44. Smt. Somavati Raina W/o Late Sh. J.N. Raina, R/o Khardoori Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Vashi Navi Mumbai. 2/2/2010
45. Sh. Rajinder Hakeem S/o Late Sh. Gopi Krishen Hakeem of Safakadal Sgr; presently resident of Lane-6, Greater Kailash Fauvanra Chowk, Jammu. 3/2/2010
46. Sh. Tej Krishen Pandita S/o Sh. Prem Nath Pandita R/o Noorpora Tral Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 9, Sharda Lane, Laxmipuram, Sector-1 Chinor Bantalab Jammu. 3/2/2010
47. Sh. Gopi Nath Bhan S/o Late Sh. Sona Joo Bhan of Meedeura Tral Kmr; presently resident of Dhar Road Udhampur. 3/2/2010
48. Smt. Sonabatni Razdan W/o Late Sh. N.N. Razdan originally resident of Gundi-Ahalmar Nai Sarak Kmr; presently resident of Sector B-2, Laxmipura Chinore Jammu. 3/2/2010
49. Smt. Shyam Rani Kachroo W/o Sh. Sham Lal Kachroo erstwhile resident of Venakara Baramulla Kmr; presently residing at Qtr. No: 66, Muthi Camp Jammu. 3/2/2010
50. Sh. Jawahar Lal Kalla S/o Sh. Nand Lal Kalla of Ganpatyar Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 161, Lane-3D, Sec-1, Durga Nagar, Jammu. 4/2/2010
51. Sh. Dileep Kharoo S/o Late Sh. Radha Krishen Kharoo originally resident of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of Qtr. No: 58-E, Subash Nagar, Jammu. 5/2/2010
52. Sh. Kashi Nath Tickoo S/o Late Sh. Shiv Jee Tickoo originally resident of Bijbehara presently resident of Pashupati Mandir CComplex Sarwal Jammu. 5/2/2010
53. Sh. Makhan Lal Nehru originally resident of Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Mumbai. 5/2/2010
54. Smt. Yogeshwari Hanjoora of Malyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of New Delhi. 5/2/2010
55. Sh. Arjan Nath Bhat S/o Late Sh. Govind Joo Bhat originally resident of village Aaribal Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of Flat No: 747-B, East of Loni Road, Shahdara Delhi. 6/2/2010
56. Smt. Jai Kishori Bhat W/o Late Sh. Vasudev Bhat of Chandrihama Pattan Kmr; presently residing at Najabgarh New Delhi. 6/2/2010
57. Smt. Mughlani Devi W/o Late Sh. Shyam Lal Raina of village Ludhoo, Pulwama (Kmr); presently resident of H.No: 31, Kotru Kunj Kmal Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 7/2/2010
58. Smt. Phoola Handoo W/o Sh. Raj Nath Handoo resident of 24-A, Shastri Nagar, Jammu. 7/2/2010
59. Smt. Sheela Koul W/o Sh. P.N. Koul originally resident of Babapora Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Rangpuri village Mahipalpur New Delhi. 7/2/2010
60. Smt. Rajwanti Bindroo W/o Late Sh. Isher Dass Bindroo R/o Sarai Bala Amirakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 384, Panchi Nagar Rehari Colony Jammu. 7/2/2010
61. Sh. Brij Mohan Khar S/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Khar of 184-Karfali Mohalla Sgr; presently residing at Vihar Kuteer, 26, Pleasant Valley Rajpur Road Dehradoun. 8/2/2010
62. Sh. Ved Lal Kaul resident of Kaloosa Bandipora Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 58, Lane-3, Saraswati Vihar Barnai Jammu. 8/2/2010
63. Smt. Mohan Ranai W/o Late Sh. Jagar Nath Pandita of Umanagri Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Sec-2, Laxmipuram Chinore Bantalab Jammu. 8/2/2010
64. Smt. Sheela Daftari W/o Dr. R.L. Daftari presently putting up at C-1/802, Brahma Majestic NIBM Road Kondwa Pune. 8/2/2010
65. Sh. Chuni Lal Mattoo S/o Late Sh. N.N. Mattoo of 39, Bagh Jogi Lankar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of 247/B, Lane No: 10, Kabeer Nagar Talab Tillo Jammu. 9/2/2010
66. Sh. Niranjn Nath Koul S/o Meheshwar Nath Koul R/o 185, Qasim Nagar Behind Exhibition Ground Jammu. 11/2/2010
67. Dr. Dawarika Nath Raina of Late Sh. Jia Lal Raina originally resident of Bijbehara Anantnag Kmr; presently resident of Bharat Nagar, Pipe Factory TCP Udhampur. 11/2/2010
68. Sh. Niranjn Nath Jutshi S/o Late Sh. Gopi Nath Zutshi R/o Mattan Anantnag, Kmr; presently resident of Neel Sheel Vihar Dokh Paloura, Jammu. 12/2/2010
69. Smt. Mohini Mattoo W/o Late Sh. Shambu Nath Mattoo of Nai Sarak Kral Khud Sgr; preently residing at H.No: 1470, Sec-8, Faridabad Haryana. 12/2/2010
70. Sh. N.N. Krandu S/o Late Sh. Bal Jee Krandu of Kralyar Rainawari Sgr; presently resident of A-4/97 Cottage Enclage, Pachim Vihar New Delhi. 13/2/2010
71. Smt. Shanta Ji W/o Sh. Jagar Nath Kalla R/o Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 43, Shanti Nagar Top Sherkhania Jammu. 13/2/2010
72. Sh. Gopi Nath Razdan originally resident of Zaindar Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of Buta Nagar Paloura, Jammu. 13/2/2010
73. Smt. Gunawati Dhar W/o Late Pt. Sri Kanth Dhar of Zainapora Shopian Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 147/998, Jawahar Nagar, Talab Tillo Jammu. 13/2/2010
74. Smt. Janki Dhar W/o Late Sh. Shamboo Nath Dhar of Thajwara Anantnag Kmr. 13/2/2010
75. Sh. Som Nath Kokiloo S/o Sh. Vishnath Kokiloo of Bana Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 47-Mohinder Nagar Canal Road, Jammu. 14/2/2010
76. Vidyawati Sher W/o Late Sh. O.N. Sher formerly resident of Martand Anangnag, Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 195, Paloura, Jammu. 14/2/2010
77. Smt. Mohni Raina W/o Late Sh. Makhan Lal Raina of Chinkral Mohalla Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of H.No: 5, Lane-5, Anand Nagar, Bohri Jammu. 15/2/2010
78. Smt. Arandati Sathoo W/o Late Pt. Prem Nath Sathoo originally resident of Batapora Shopian (Kmr) presently residing at H.No: 10/37 Sec-III, Rajinder Nagar, Sahibabad (UP). 15/2/2010
79. Smt. Meenawati Koul W/o Late Sh. R.K. Koul resident of Yogmaya Apart. Flat No: 15, RZ-41-A, Kishan Garh Kunj New Delhi. 15/2/2010
80. Sh. Janki Nath Dhar S/o Late Pt. K.N. Dhar of Chakura Pulwama Kmr; presently resident of H.No: 177, Sec-1, Vinayak Nagar, Muthi Jammu. 16/2/2010
81. Sh. Prem Nath Pandita S/o Late Sh. Ram Chand Pandita erstwhile resident of Kalusa Bandipora (Kmr) presently resident of H.No: 42, Lane No: 3, Laxmi Nagar Sec-2, Muthi Jammu. 16/2/2010
82. Smt. Kalpana Kalla W/o Sh. Kamal Netre Kalla formerly resident of Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of New Delhi. 16/2/2010
83. Sh. Mohan Lal Bhat S/o Late Sh. Madhav Joo Bhat originally resident of Chandpora Harwan Sgr; presently residing at H.No: 170/171, Sec-4, Pamposh Colony Janipur Jammu. 18/2/2010
84. Sh. Laxmi Nath Bhan S/o Late Sh. Gash Ram Bhan 11/3 Sec-1, K.B. Nagar Bantalab Jammu. 18/2/2010
85. Smt. Arandati Raina W/o Late Sh. Ganga Dhar Raina of Purshiyar Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Laxmipuram, Sec-B-2, Chinore Jammu. 19/2/2010
86. Smt. Mohini Dulloo W/o Sh. Kashi Nath Dulloo originally resident of Breekujan Habbakadal Sgr; presently residing at Flat No: 86-G, Pocket-F, GTB, Enclave, Dilshad Garden Delhi. 19/2/2010
87. Sh. Girdhari Lal Peer resident of 268, Tange Wali Gali Kachi Chowni Jammu. 19/2/2010
88. Sh. Dawarika Nath Sahib S/o Late Sh. Damodhar Nath Sahib of Shallakadal, Habbakadal Sgr; presently resident of 115-Surksha Vihar, Paloura Tope, Jammu. 20/2/2010
89. Dr. Veer Krishen Koul S/o Late Sh. Prithvi Nath Koul originally resident of Chingund Verinag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 10, Lane-5, Anand Nagar Bohri Jammu. 20/2/2010
90. Smt. Himlal Jigri Bhat W/o Sh. Lamboodhar Nath Bhat of Utersoo Anantnag (Kmr); presently residing at H.No: 127, Lane-3, Dream City, Muthi Jammu. 20/2/2010
91. Sh. Triloki Nath Koul S/o Late Sh. Kailash of Khah Bazar Anantnag Kmr; presently residing at H.No: 52, Lane-5, Buta Nagar Paloura Jammu. 21/2/2010
92. Sh. Surinder Kumar Zutshi S/o Late Sh. Manohar Lal Zutshi of Baderwah at present residing at 2/12, Pamposh Colony Janipur, Jammu. 21/2/2010

EDITORIAL

Introspection or Political Positioning

IN subversive political cultures the political class excels in competitive deception. Mortal adversaries can live comfortably as friends for years and friends can do a volte face in no time and turn into enemies. The politics practised in such a culture has circles within the circles and each political move carries a counter manoeuvres in its bosom. To make political assessments in this environment is extremely difficult. Prof Abdul Gani Bhat's expositions in a seminar conducted by the separatist formation Hurriyat Conference (M) should be read and understood with circumspection and drawing of definite conclusions immediately should be avoided. Another seminar conducted under the aegis of JKLF deserves a similar treatment.

On January 3, 2011 Prof Abdul Gani Bhat said "No police was involved. It was our own people who killed them. Time had come to speak the truth about the killers of Mirwaiz Mohammad Farooq... and Abdul Gani Lone... and Abdul Ahad Wani... What is the need to identify them ... They were targeted by our own people. Story is long and we have to tell the truth. The Kashmiri politicians had started the separatist movement with killing our own intellectuals. Was Prof Wani a martyr of brilliance or martyr of rivalry, we must ask ourselves today? On one hand he (Sayed Ali Shah Geelani) refuses to talk to India and on the other he takes pleasure in meeting with the Indian parliamentarians. These dichotomies and contradictions have to go. When we initiated talks with New Delhi we were labeled as Kafirs (non-believers) and when you talk there is no problem..." By absolving Indian Security forces from the blame of killing the Separatist leaders, Prof Bhat has played sweet music to the ears of Indian establishment. To read this statement as also the utterances of other 'moderate' separatist leaders during the seminar conducted by JKLF as some sort of rethinking on the separatist ideology is premature and also out of place.

Abdul Gani Bhat said almost the same things in the POK Assembly a few years back. There also, he chose not to specifically name the persons and organizations involved in targeting separatist leaders of the ilk of Mirwaiz Farooq or Abdul Gani Lone and separatist ideologues like Abdul

Ahad Wani and Dr Guru. He did mention the name of Ali Shah Geelani in his latest expositions but only in the context of his political differences with him. Sajjad Lone had named the agency involved in the assassination of his father in the surcharged atmosphere of the funeral rites of Abdul Gani Lone. Not long after his brother Bilal Lone joined with Ali Shah Geelani to upstage his brother. Mirwaiz Omar Farooq in fact chose to work under the tutelage of the same forces that killed his father. After seeing the killer of his father in the company of Mirwaiz Omar Farooq, Sajjad Lone was distraught with him till recently. During the three months of "Quit Kashmir" movement, which was led solely by the radical Ali Shah Geelani, these so called moderate separatist leaders were in the forefront of the most virulent anti India campaign.

There is a web of interlocking rivalries and alliances which we see in political environment of Kashmir more than anywhere else. However one thing which is glaringly common amongst these 'moderates' is that they all support the 'third option' solutions. But here also we should not make a mistake of concluding that their differences with Ali Shah Geelani types are irreconcilable. Ali Shah Geelani has many times in the past publicly stated that if 'third option' is what people of Kashmir want then he may not oppose it.

The seminars during which the so called separatist leadership chose to at least distance from Geelani line on Kashmir had themes as: United Nations Resolutions - A legal base to Kashmir dispute; and Role of Intellectuals in freedom struggle. The themes reflect an urge of the political class to widen the scope of the options available to the separatists. More important however is the importance which the intellectual class is being conferred. This class has had the best of all worlds. It has been the best beneficiary of the largesse which comes to Kashmir from India, Pakistan and the West. And it is this class which is the bulwark of subversive machinations in the state. This class has been very active these days to forge a unity between the separatist factions. Gani Bhat appealed in his speech, "Let intellectuals come up with suggestions about what the leadership shall do. Let them be critical of our actions..." The increas-

ing importance of the intellectual leadership of Kashmir means the decision making mechanisms amongst separatists would shift more out of organizational hierarchies. It means the political leadership will have fewer roles to play in devising separatist thrusts. This intellectual class which covers bureaucrats, retired and working, academicians in universities and colleges, has worked always from within to foment alienation in the social milieu. In the coming days subversive manoeuvres of this clan will assume a new stridency.

Many say that the fulminations of the 'moderate separatist' leadership are an admission of a colossal failure which perhaps is forcing them to distance from radical Islamist line. More than that it seems to be an attempt to position themselves in case the interlocutors come up with propositions which may offer new opportunities for the 'third option' protagonist's. Is this segment of leadership of Kashmir privy to the course which the interlocutors may set up for the political solution which Government of India has committed itself to in the nearest future. Interlocutors have already hinted to announce the broader contours of a political solution in a two months' time. This makes sense. The building of a public stance against Ali Shah Geelani can be an attempt to create public space within India. A large segment of Indian Liberal opinion has always held 'third option' solutions to be better option for Indian interests.

Crucial question is that of security which this segment of separatist leadership has been putting forward for not speaking the truth and opposing Geelani publicly. What has changed at the security front which makes the 'moderate Hurriyat' to dare Geelani and the radical regimes? Geelani still controls the cadres. He still is the most influential leader for the terrorist regimes which are not as yet a non-factor. Has Pakistani establishment chosen to sidetrack Geelani for the time being so that the stalled Musharraf proposals are given a new lease of life as well as momentum? Is the 'moderate leadership' confident that Indian state may strengthen their personal securities? Or is it that Government of India, Pakistani establishment and the 'moderate Hurriyat' are gradually moving forward to a common minimum

agreement? Moderate Hurriyat cannot discount the security factor unless they are doubly sure. And for that some understanding with Geelani is critical. In the good cop bad cop game, has Geelani consented to play a bad cop?

Geelani knows his strategic value in the situation more than his ideological value. He knows it very well that he was released before the Second Round Table Conference to raise the radical pitch so that the self-rule proposals, which some say have been crafted by the Government of India, become palatable to the delegates of the Conference. Is a similar game being enacted again? Geelani is reported to have sent instructions to his cadres to play it cool and not react to the public insinuations against him, direct or indirect, for the time being.

There is one more dimension which needs a close assessment as well as monitoring. For some time the differences between the Al-Qaeda and Taliban have found public expression. Al-Qaeda has criticized Taliban for pursuing a nationalist line which they think is dangerous for the pan-Islamist mission which they are spearheading. The divide between the Baraelvis and Wahabi-Deobandi formations has also deepened in Pakistan. Are we witnessing a brewing conflict between the local Islamists and pan-Islamists in Kashmir valley? The divide has always been there. During 'Intifada' it got deepened with Geelani trying to stamp his authority on Jama Masjid in Srinagar, the bastion of Mirwaiz Omar Farooq as well as Hazratbal Shrine which NC and JKLF see as the spiritual center of their creed.

The attempt to create the impression that Geelani's position has weakened after the dissipation of 'Quit Kashmir' movement and that is why he has been publicly dared is not well founded. Geelani calls shots because he controls the Islamic establishment in Kashmir. His adversaries are organizationally very weak to challenge his authority. We have already seen how the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir begged for his cooperation not long ago and despite the fulminations against him by the patriarch of NC. We are not witnessing unfolding of healthy introspection but only a deft game of political positioning.

PLEBISCITE

Geelani is playing 'fraud' with Kashmiri youth



By J N Raina

THERE is no dearth of fusspots in Kashmir. Wrinkled with age, Syed Ali Geelani, leading a hard-line faction of the Hurriyat Conference, has been treating India as a banana republic.

In an attempt to tyrannize the security forces and to befool people, Geelani continues to harp on the 'right of self-determination' for the people of Kashmir. The slogan is outdated. Regretfully, pliable Indian leadership has been just listening to his diatribe with rapt attention.

While Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has been unveiling one fresh initiative after another to address 'unrest' in Kashmir, our Home Minister P Chidambaram has suggested that 'current unrest' is 'spontaneous'. Indians are flabbergasted about these overtures, coming from the highest echelons of the administration. This is in spite of the fact that hawkish Geelani is claiming to be a 'force' behind the prevailing 'unrest'. The over three-month-long violent agitation has claimed more than 100 lives so far. Mostly teenaged youth have been sacrificed. The Centre just winks at these gruesome incidents, which have brought economic ruin to the valley people. Stone-throwing youth have lost their career. Geelani has been provoking them to hold stone-throwing demonstra-

tions, resulting in retaliation by the security forces and subsequent killings. Geelani is playing fraud with Kashmiri youth.

Multitudinous oceans will not wash off his blood-stained hands. He is solely responsible for the current unrest—thanks to his self-confession. Protest rallies are held in response to his call. Let there be no misunderstanding, he has himself staked claim to the 'leadership of the current agitation'. The nation was aghast to hear a live conversation on a TV channel between two Hurriyat activists recently. They were planning how to get people killed in street violence. One of them told the interrogators that the Hurriyat has been funding and orchestrating stone-throwing. They were heard discussing on phone that 'at least 15 people should get martyred' in a procession that day. It is mind-boggling.

Speaking the language of a 'bluff master', the extremist leader in a recent interview has directed India to withdraw army from Jammu and Kashmir, agree to a plebiscite and allow peace to return in the 'besieged' valley.

"If India agrees, then we will get Pakistan to withdraw its security forces from Azad Kashmir (PoK), Gilgit and Baltistan. The referendum should be for every citizen of the united Jammu and Kashmir. This is the basic demand of the people We will accept whatever the majority decides", he has said.

Geelani should know that according to the 1948 Security Council resolution on Kashmir, Pakistan is an 'aggressor'. It was asked to withdraw its invading forces (tribal raiders) from the occu-

pied part of Jammu and Kashmir, before referendum could be held. Pakistan did not comply. It has been illegally occupying PoK. The entire undivided state, including Gilgit and Baltistan, is legally and constitutionally part of India. Geelani should understand that enough of water has flowed down the Jhelum since then. The fundamentalist Muslims have changed the state's unique demographic character. Kashmiri Hindus, who constituted over 15 per cent of the state's population in 1947, have been driven out. Kashmiri Muslim youth have vague impression about Hindu Pandit community. They are being told tales that once upon a time Kashmiri 'batas' (Pandits) used to live in the valley. It is disgusting. Secularism does not mean recognizing the interests of Muslims alone. Over 50 per cent of the state's population live outside the beleaguered valley.

Be as it may, one fails to understand what kind of autonomy Manmohan Singh has to offer. Jammu and Kashmir already enjoys autonomy under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, guaranteeing special status to the state. It has a separate flag and a separate constitution. Even otherwise, India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once remarked in Parliament: "Article 370 is transitional, in other words, a temporary provision....it is not a permanent part of the constitution. It is part so long as it remains."

Even talk of greater autonomy is irksome to Geelani and others of his ilk. Barring the ruling National Conference, all political outfits and separatists have rejected



the Prime Minister's proposal to 'discuss autonomy' within the Indian Constitution. Geelani has rejected peace offer and employment package, saying Kashmiri youth are not on the streets for jobs, but are fighting for their rights.

Plebiscite is a dead issue. Even a former Secretary General of the UN has made it clear that plebiscite is outdated. Then Kashmir leader Sheikh Abdullah and his close associate Mirza Afzal Baig had termed plebiscite as obsolete, after the 1971 war, leading to the creation of Bangladesh. The "Plebiscite Front" was dissolved following the historic accord between the Sheikh and then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in early 1975. Geelani had no locus standi. His personality would dwarf under the towering presence of Sheikh Abdullah.

There has been a paradigm change in the situation. Even if Pakistan agrees to withdraw its forces from PoK, which is a dim reality, plebiscite cannot be held. Geelani, the flag man of Pakistan, is misleading and provoking innocent youth. They are being drugged at the behest of ISI to indulge in stone-

throwing. The situation which obtained in 1947-48 cannot be retrieved. Those harbouring such wishful ideas are living in a fool's paradise.

If Kashmir is allowed to secede, it will lead to the disintegration of not only India, but Pakistan as well, making room for neo-colonial powers to control the subcontinent. Pakistan is already on the US radar. The US forces are prying in that country. There is no dearth of elements, either in India or Pakistan, who will not hesitate from paving way for imperialism.

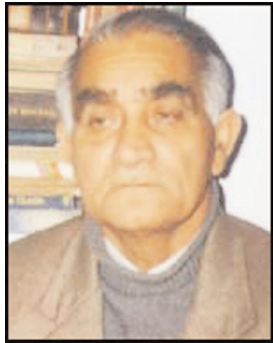
Geelani admits 'independence' is no solution. He was discarded by former Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf for being too rigid. Geelani is for Kashmir's total merger with Pakistan. He is even against 'soft borders'. "No internal autonomy. Not even Musharraf's four-point formula will work", he says.

The mandarins in New Delhi should understand that Pakistan has embarked upon a new phase of action plan to grab Kashmir. This is besides continuing infiltration from LoC. The Centre lacks strategy to deal with the grave situation created by Pakistan

through its surrogates in the valley. The Centre has to change its tactics and restore peace. If the prevailing turmoil continues, there can be repercussions in other regions of Jammu and Ladakh. According to Ajit Doval, a former Director of the IB, "Such a wide spread, well coordinated, determined action with precision, timing and uniform action cannot be spontaneous. It is part of Pakistan's covert and subversive offensive."

Pakistan has failed to achieve its desired goal of annexing Kashmir by engineering proxy war. It lies buried under the debris of terrorism. Geelani and PoK-based Hizbul Mujahideen chief, Syed Salahuddin are being roped in by Pakistan to create mayhem in Kashmir. The latter has been directing Kashmiri youth to throng streets in thousand as 'azadi is round the corner'. Pakistan should remember that it is on a wrong path. Geelani does not represent the entire mass of people. People like him were exiled by Sheikh Abdullah. Kashmiris have already decided to stay with India.

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



By Dr. M K Teng

Kashmir: The Hindu Claim

THE so-called composite dialogue between India and Pakistan, aimed to find a settlement on the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, has so far revolved round two main presumptions: first, that the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir is a Muslim problem confined to the valley of Kashmir and secondly, a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir must be acceptable to the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. A feeling has been allowed to grow in this country and abroad that the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir was never so intractable that an agreement could not have been reached between India and Pakistan and the sufferings to which Muslims in Kashmir are subjected to, mitigated. The presumption that the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir is in its essence a Muslim problem has its basis in the ideological commitments of the Muslim struggle for Pakistan, the All India Muslim League spear-headed. The Muslim League claimed Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the Muslim majority composition of its population. In Pakistan, at various levels of public debate on Jammu and Kashmir, the issue is not where Jammu and Kashmir belongs to. The issue is how to bring the unification of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan. People of Pakistan do not entertain any doubt about the legitimacy of their territorial claim on Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the Muslim majority composition of its population. They insist upon a settlement on Jammu and Kashmir, which is acceptable to them as well as to the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir. The claim, that Pakistan has made, that the unification of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan was an essential condition for

the completion of the partition of India is a primary misnomer. That it was never contested by the Indian political class, led in the long run to its growing into a gospel of faith amongst the Muslims in Pakistan and everywhere else, Jammu and Kashmir and the rest of India being no exception. Partition was confined to the British India and the princely States including Jammu and Kashmir were excluded from the purview of the partition. More importantly, the composition of the population of the States, Jammu and Kashmir being no exception, was never recognized as a concomitant condition for the founding of the Muslim homeland of Pakistan. In fact, the severest of the opposition to the recognition of the composition of population as a factor in the determination of their future affiliations, came from Muslim League leaders—the founding fathers of Pakistan, and the British who supported the Muslim League in its struggle to divide India.

The Indian political class has allowed another misnomer to become a part of the Kashmir dispute and that is: the Valley of Kashmir makes the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmir Valley is only a small part of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Jammu and Kashmir State, as it emerged from the British Indian empire after the British quit India in 1947, constituted of (a) the province of Kashmir (b) the province of Jammu (c) the frontier division of Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh along with the Dardic Dependencies of, Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, Punial, Ishkoman, Darel and Koh Gizir. The province of Jammu was larger than the province of Kashmir in area and population. The frontier division of Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh was larger than the two provinces of Kashmir and Jammu put together, though it was sparsely populated.

After the Truce Agreement and the Cease-Fire which ended the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir in 1949, more than forty percent

of the territories of the State remained under the occupation of Pakistan. The fighting in Jammu and Kashmir began with the invasion of the State by Pakistan in October 1947. The occupied territories included the district of Muzaffarabad and a part of the district of Baramullah in the Kashmir province, the district of Mirpur, and a part of the district of Poonch in the Jammu province and the frontier region of Gilgit, Agency and the region of Baltistan and the Dardic dependencies. The rest of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which lies on the Indian side of the cease-fire Line, now called the Line of Control, constitutes of the province of Kashmir, the province of Jammu and the frontier division of Ladakh. It is not fairly well known that the province of Jammu is larger than the province of Kashmir in area and population.

In Pakistan there is no confusion about the territorial content of the dispute. The Government of Pakistan and the people of Pakistan have never accepted the reduction of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir to the dispute over the Valley of Kashmir. It will be of interest to note that in 1947, when Pakistan invaded the State, the invading army swept into the Jammu province and Kashmir province simultaneously, breaking through the borders of the state with Pakistan. On 1 November, five days after the airborne troops of the Indian army landed in Srinagar, airborne troops of the armed forces of Pakistan landed on the airstrip in Gilgit opened for them by the Gilgit Scouts, the force raised by the British from among the local Muslim population to garrison the Gilgit Agency. The Gilgit Scouts joined the invading army of Pakistan and lost no time to press eastwards into Baltistan. The Muslim troops of the State army and their Muslim officers posted at Bunji in Baltistan, mutinied and joined the invading hoards. Remnants of the

State army, joined by the Buddhist population of Ladakh, held the invading forces at bay till the Indian troops marched up the Zojilla pass to relieve them.

Just as the Jammu and Kashmir State cannot be identified with the Valley of Kashmir, the people of the State cannot be identified with the people of the Kashmir Valley, who are predominantly Muslim. The dispute over Jammu and Kashmir is a Muslim problem. But it is more a problem of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Buddhists, who are living in the State and who form more than forty percent of the population of the State on the Indian side of the Line of Control. The reduction of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir to a dispute over the Valley of Kashmir, which is predominantly Muslim, is deceptively simple and viciously aimed to project the Muslim content of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. The dispute over Jammu and Kashmir has a Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist content as well, which is more significant than its Muslim content. The Hindus and the Sikhs constitute a dominant majority of the population of Jammu province, while the Buddhists form a majority of the population of Ladakh. The Muslims form a majority of the population of only the province of Kashmir. No settlement on the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir can be reached, so long the dispute is treated as a Muslim problem confined to the Valley. The right to life and freedom of the Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists and their aspirations are as factual to a peace-settlement on Jammu and Kashmir as the right to life and freedom of the Muslims and their aspirations are.

The Hindus and Sikhs played a decisive role in shaping the peoples' struggle in the State, for the freedom of India. Ideologically committed to the unity of India, the Hindus and the Sikhs in the State fought shoulder to shoulder with the Indian people for the liberation of India from the British rule. The Hindus

and Sikhs in the State joined the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab in the aftermath of the Rowlatt agitation. A year after, they joined the Muslims in the Khilafat Movement which took Jammu and Kashmir by storm. The Hindus and Sikhs joined the civil-disobedience movement which followed the Salt Satyagrah in 1930.

The Hindus and the Sikhs put themselves in the forefront of the States Peoples Movement. It may not be out of place to mention, that the first plenary session of the All India States Peoples Conference held in Kathiawad in 1926, was presided over by Shankar Lal Koul, a Hindu of Kashmir. Shankar Lal Koul, along with Lala Muluk Raj Saraf of Jammu, represented Jammu and Kashmir State in the plenary session of the All India States Peoples Conference. In his presidential address Shankar Lal Koul called for liberation of the peoples of the States from the princely rule as well as the British Paramountcy.

Inside the state, the Hindus and the Sikhs initiated the effort to forge a secular peoples' movement for constitutional reform. Of the twelve signatories to the National Demand, which provided the basis of a movement for constitutional reform in the State, five were Kashmiri Hindus, one represented the Sikhs and six were Muslims. The National Demand formed the basic structure of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference which led the national movement in the State till 1947. The National Conference committed itself to the Indian unity and the Indian freedom from the British Colonial rule and joined the All India States Peoples' Conference, due to the indefatigable efforts of its Hindu and Sikh leaders. During the crucial years, after the Second World War, when the British prepared to quit India, the Secretary General of the All India States Peoples' Conference, Dwarka Nath Kachru, a Kashmiri Hindu, initiated

a vigorous movement to integrate the States peoples Movement with the National Movement led by the Indian National Congress and forge a common front of the peoples of the British India and the princely States against the British and the Muslim League. Kachru spared no efforts for the inclusion of the princely States in the future constitutional reforms in India, which proved to be decisive in the integration of the States with India, when the British quit India and left the princely States in a state of disarray.

When Pakistan invaded the State in 1947, the Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists along with the Kashmiri-speaking Muslims, who formed the main support base of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, formed the core of the resistance the invading army met with. However the Muslim officers and ranks in the State army, about 45 percent of its strength, mutinied, massacred their Hindu officers and comrades-in-arms in cold blood and joined the invading columns as they poured into the State across its borders with Pakistan. The Hindu and Sikh officers and other ranks of the State army, joined by the Hindus, Sikh and Buddhists, fought to the last man, to keep the invading army at bay, till the airborne Indian troops reached Srinagar. In Gilgit, the Gilgit Scouts mutinied on 1 November 1947, imprisoned the Governor of Gilgit, Ghansara Singh, killed the Hindu and Sikh military and police officials and opened up the air-strip which was built by the British for the airborne troops of Pakistan to land in Gilgit. The fall of Gilgit was followed by the mutiny of the Muslim officers and men of the State army regiment posted at Bunji in Baltistan, who joined the invading armies in their advance into Baltistan and Ladakh.

In the territories of the State, which were overrun by the invading hordes, more than thirty-eight thousand Hindus and Sikhs were massacred. Thousands

(Contd. on Page 12)

Don't touch them for the time being

(From Page 1)

remaining and that too when it has no financial implication for the State government. By linking the package to return and delinking it from all factors which led to the cleansing of Hindus from Valley, it is actually using the Prime minister's package as a tool of political blackmail. It is revealing in itself that the jobs are being provided to the aspiring candidates amongst the internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus only if they agree to return to the Kashmir valley and to ensure that a written undertaking is provided to the state government by them to stay put in the Valley under all circumstances come what may. To seek such an undertaking is not only highly discriminatory but in fact a coercive measure which tantamounts to hostageing Kashmiri Hindus to conditions which are far more vicious than they were in 1990s when they had to run away. Denial of genocide and refoiling of the victims is glaring in the entire process.

For government of India treating internal displacement as a peripheral low priority economic issue has served the purpose of continuing with its compromise with the communal identity politics in the state. Religious cleansing in Kashmir valley otherwise marked the demise of the nation building model it chose for the state of Jammu and Kashmir. National conference has not even treated it as an issue at all. That explains why it kept the displaced Kashmiri Hindus out of the employment packages for which it has got massive financial support from the Central Government from time to time. In fact the entire political class in Kashmir valley, which includes National conference as well as PDP, has chosen to treat the problem of internal displacement of Kashmiri Hindus as a problem of Government of India. This political class either chose to consider the problem as an artificial one and not more than a ploy by the Indian State to undermine its aspirations. In fact this class viewed the perpetuation of the destitution amongst Kashmiri Hindus as a political necessity to manage their opposition. Destitution has

kept a segment of displaced community available to collaborate both with the Muslim establishment in the Valley as well as the Central Government always eager to craft a compromise with the same establishment.

Predicament or connivance

To be fair to Omar Abdullah, he had a healthier and consistent position on the issue of forced displacement of Hindus in Kashmir valley till he assumed the reigns of the state as its Chief Minister. In one of the last current affairs programs on Kashmir of the Star Channel, when 24x7 channels had yet to take off, He made a bold confession when Harendra Baweja asked him as to why NC government had failed to make Pandits return, "Hum Kya Karey... hum ek ko vapas ley jatey

extent that he had to bend on his knees to sue for peace from Ali Shah Geelani. His party is fast losing ground in its strongholds. It was unimaginable even at the peak of unrest in 1989-90 for non-NC formations to lock the doors of Secretariat and dare the NC to hold a rally in its bastion Srinagar. Collaboration of the administration and the organs of the society with communal separatist politics was nakedly evident during the three months of unrest in Kashmir valley. The violence has again started surfacing in the State in a big way. There is no dearth of support to radical, communal and Jihadi forces. Only the other day massive demonstrations were held in Tral township in South Kashmir in protest against the arrest of the

chology have observed, "Group processes can dominate the psychology... embedded in a group, trained in submission to authority, and further indoctrinated in ideology, people give up individual decision making to the group and its leaders. The 'We' acquires the substantial power than 'I'. With the boundaries of self weakened, there will be an emotional contagion, the spread of feeling among group members, and shared reaction to events. The members' perceptions of reality will be shaped by their belief systems and by the support they receive from each other in interpreting events. Deviation from the group becomes increasingly unlikely." The group sensitivity in Kashmir gets hurt when Kashmiri Pandits talk about their expulsion;

One of the major tragedies that we have had to go through was the ethnic cleansing that took place in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. I think it was one of the darkest chapters in the history of the state that will always remain and for which even for years if we ask God for forgiveness I wonder if it will ever come." Immediately after this statement his brother Mustafa Kamal responded by saying, "In no way it was ethnic cleansing of a particular community. It was the Army and other Central Agencies that were in the forefront of hatching conspiracies aimed at creating a situation that would cause exodus of Kashmiri Hindus and enable them to butcher the Kashmiri Muslims following the outbreak of armed rebellion in 1990." In another state-

created for the internally displaced community to Jammu before it is too late.

In 1990 there have been numerous instances when enlightened Kashmiri Muslims escorted many of their Kashmiri Pandit friends or neighbors to safety in Jammu. Many more through timely information and advice forewarned the Kashmiri Pandits who were close to them to escape to safety. This time as well many Kashmiri Muslims have warned their Kashmiri Pandits about what is behind the return plan. They have advised them to be circumspect and suspicious about the whole process.

For the time being don't touch them.

A Kashmiri Pandit working in a government department in the border area of North Kashmir revealed an interesting experience to his kin in Jammu. One day he was asked by his colleagues to leave the office premises immediately as they apprehended danger to his life. This happened a day after Ali Shah Geelani, the separatist patriarch, was heckled by Kashmiri Hindus in New Delhi. He enquired from his Muslim colleagues and well-wishers about the reasons for their concern. He was told that a meeting was going on in the nearby mosque where the heckling against Geelani is being debated and they apprehended trouble. His Muslim well-wishers lifted him in their vehicle and dropped him at his rented accommodation in a nearby Sikh village. He remained perturbed for the whole day. In the evening another of his Muslim friends came to his place and happily informed him that the danger was over. He asked him, "How?" His friend told him that Geelani Sahib had issued instructions to them not to hurt any Kashmiri Hindu for the time being. "Kansi batas suet lagi zav na athu philhaal. Natu gatsi amutch kwaker pati... for the time being don't touch any Kashmiri Pandit. Otherwise we would lose a winning game." Many Kashmiri Muslim friends and well-wishers of Kashmiri Pandits have informed them to beware of the return plan.

*(The author heads Panun Kashmir)



The burnt and damaged houses belonging to Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir.

hain aur vo dus ko mar daltey hain.... What can we do... when we take even one back to the Valley they kill ten of them." The memory of Sangrampora and Wandhama backlash massacres of Kashmiri Hindus living in the valley were perhaps fresh in his mind then. Omar openly disagreed with the return policy of PDP for Kashmiri Hindus. In a seminar organized by Observer Research Foundation he was candid enough to accept the insecurity prevailing in Kashmir valley as the most important impediment to the return of the displaced Kashmiris. He was very forth right in saying, "When we ourselves as leaders of Kashmir are insecure how can we take them back to insecurity."

What has changed in Kashmir for the better that has made Omar to change his approach particularly about the issue of return of Kashmiri Hindus? His personal insecurity, political and otherwise, has increased to the

sister of the District Commander of Hizbul Mujahidin. Lashkar-i-Toiba, Jash-i-Mohammad terrorist regimes are making their appearance now and then. In his journey to become the legitimate owner of the NC legacy Omar is changing fast unfortunately not towards an egalitarian direction. It is clear that he has not been able to change the party. Instead the party is changing him fast.

In a political environment which is essentially totalitarian and guided by ideology normal healthy individuals start changing in case they want to survive. Psychological studies have revealed that otherwise normal, good in behavior and sensitive citizens of Germany chose to be either bystanders or collaborators during the Jewish Holocaust. The same thing is being observed amongst the behavior of so many Jews living in Israel with regard to what is happening with Palestinians. Many experts on group psy-

when they say Kashmir has been overwhelmed by a regressive, exclusivist, communal sentiment; when they say forces which brought about their expulsion from the Valley have become stronger and more numerous; when they say there is no freedom struggle going on in Kashmir but only a violent campaign to destroy all freedoms which a modern people should have and when they refuse to endorse the solutions which emanate from various strands of separatism. And the group response and requirement to this is to deny what happened to them and support any policy measure or effort which delegitimizes the internal displacement. The policy on return of Kashmiri Hindus pursued by the state government is guided by this group sensitivity.

Apology or Politics

In a rare defiance to this group sentiment the Patron of National Conference, Dr Farooq Abdullah stated in New Delhi recently that, "

ment Mr. Kamal has blamed Mufti Mohammad Sayed and Jag Mohan for engineering the exodus. It seems that the policy of the NC led State government is more governed by the perceptions of Mustafa Kamal than the patron of NC, Dr Farooq Abdullah. If it would not have been so the NC leadership would have realized that those who brought about ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus are roaming free, are far more numerous and are calling shots in Kashmir. NC would not have overlooked the fact that violent insurgencies are more dangerous for the common man when they are losing control and soft targets are most vulnerable in this situation. And NC government, in case it agrees with their Patron, and also in case the Patron has offered his apologies to the beleaguered community from heart and not for merely public consumption, would move decisively and agree to temporarily shift all the new jobs

Return of displaced Hindus to Kashmir the only problem



Prof. Hari Om

NEW DELHI has wasted enough of its time in Kashmir and achieved nothing whatsoever. Kashmir continues to simmer and pose a grave challenge to the national unity and the very idea of India. In fact, the situation has now reached a stage where even those constitutionally bound to defend and promote further the nation's paramount interests in the Valley have started tinkering with and breaking provisions stipulated in the constitution and defending the secessionists, saying we are a democratic nation and everyone has the right to express his/her opinion even if that lampoons the Indian State. Even Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram doesn't mind the Kashmiri separatists advocating their seditious views. He had on December 9 said: "Contours of a political solution to the Kashmir problem are likely to emerge in the next few months...space must be allowed for peaceful protests (read protests by separatists)...The first and second report of the panel of interlocutors involved confidence building measures and now they have been told to focus on finding contours of political solution... Kashmir is a political issue for which a political solution must be found..." His only refrain was that they should preach sedition in a "peaceful" manner.

In other words, the situation has climaxed to the point where it has become extremely difficult to distinguish between the secessionists/fanatics and men at the helm. The reason: They are advancing almost identical arguments and questioning the very presence of New Delhi in the Valley. It is hardly necessary to differentiate here between those demanding complete independ-

ence and those a step short of it. Suffice it to say that the ultimate objective is the same: Another communal partition of India. Suffice it to say that there is no fundamental difference between those who describe Jammu & Kashmir as a "disputed" territory and those who say on the floor of the assembly that the "state has only acceded and not merged with India."

Why has New Delhi failed in Kashmir? It has failed because it has all along recognized and patronized wrong persons and ignored and despised the nationalist constituency in the Valley. It has at no point of time during all these 63 years of the state's accession strove to diagnose what ails Kashmir and the Kashmir's polity. The need of the time in October 1947 was to sideline the secessionists and communalists, but it acted otherwise. It put all of its eggs in the secessionists' and communalists' basket. And thereafter, it never looked back; it never introspected; it never took into consideration the grave evils that followed. The situation remains the same even today even after grave provocation. No action against the secessionists and unstinted support and full freedom to persons at the helm in the state to undermine Indian sovereignty, jeopardize national unity and undermine territorial integrity of India is the hallmark of the New Delhi's policy towards Kashmir.

What is happening these days? New Delhi is sending lawmakers to Kashmir to talk to those who are responsible for all the Indian troubles in Kashmir. It appears New Delhi wants them to don the mantle of knights. New Delhi is also not preventing the Delhi-based foreign diplomats from going to Kashmir in order to talk to the secessionists and their supporters in and outside the establishment. No wonder then that the emboldened and glorified secessionists are issuing more and more provocative and convoluted statements. Certain "civil society" activists, whose credentials are highly doubtful and who are masquerading as representatives of the Indian civil society, are visiting Kashmir at

regular intervals and holding debates on Kashmir outside the Valley. They are not only issuing insidious and provocative statements, but are also glorifying the Kashmiri separatists and their savagery. As a matter of fact, they are instigating the people of Kashmir against the government and the Indian State.

As for New Delhi, it has given them a free run of time and the result is that they are

Ever since then, Kashmir has been witnessing a hate-campaign against the non-believers; ever since then, Kashmir has been witnessing the process of religious cleansing; ever since then, the Valley has been witnessing persecution of the minorities. In fact, the fanatics in Kashmir have already accomplished what they wanted to accomplish and what they wanted to accomplish was to convert Kashmir into an

the minority communities, including Kashmiri Hindus and Jammu Dogras, vacated the Valley. Ever since then, the displaced minorities have been languishing in the refugee camps in Jammu and elsewhere in the country. They want to go back to their land of Vitasta (Jhelum), but they have failed. They have failed because New Delhi has abandoned them in its desperate bid to keep the fanatics in Kashmir in good humour. They are no factor in the New Delhi's scheme of things. And, the result has been that the minorities continue to suffer untold miseries in their own motherland, notwithstanding the fact that their watchword and battle cry was, and continue to be, India.

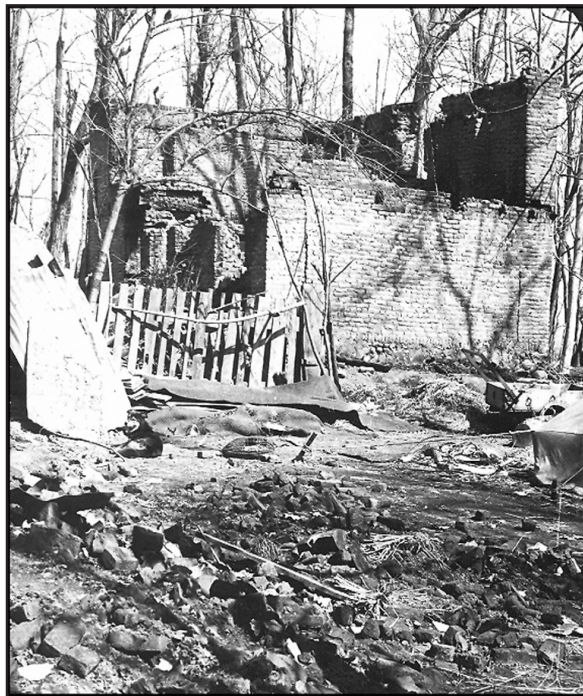
These are the people who need to be looked after and conciliated. These are the people who need a special attention and special treatment because their human rights have been violated ruthlessly; because they have been deprived of their right to live in Kashmir; because they have been suffering not only politically but also psychologically; because their very identity and personality is under grave threat; because most of them have been living in an environment that adversely impacts privacy; because their religious sentiments stand outraged as a result of the official patronage to those who vandalize their religious symbols and desecrate their temples and shrines in Kashmir; and because the fertility rate among them has sharply declined and mortality rate considerably enhanced.

It is disgusting that New Delhi and the so-called human rights activists, conflict-managers and think-tanks care only for those fleecing and bleeding the Indian nation and dismiss the persecuted minorities as no factor in the Kashmir's situation. They talk about the "alienation" of those ruling the state, exploiting Jammu and Ladakh and those responsible for the

forced exodus of the minorities in Kashmir. Their heart bleeds only for the persecutors and not for the persecuted; their heart bleeds for the merchants of death and destruction and not for those who have been suffering for their commitment to the Indian nation, Indian sovereignty, Indian culture and Indian civilization. Their heart bleeds for those in Kashmir who have vitiated the whole atmosphere and given a particular type of religious orientation to the polity in the state and not for those who want to return to Kashmir to defend the national cause in the fundamentalist, regressive and intolerant Kashmir.

Here lies the basic problem. New Delhi needs to revise its Kashmir policy based on the realities as they exist in Kashmir and one of the realities is that problem in Kashmir is fundamentally communal. The bottom-line of the secessionists and fanatics in Kashmir is secession. This needs to be tackled forthwith using all means. The other problem is the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced minorities in Kashmir. The displaced minorities want the right to live in Kashmir and this right has to be conceded. They are original inhabitants of Kashmir. They represent the 5000-year-old Indian civilization. New Delhi has to see to it that they not only returned to Kashmir but also enjoy all the civil, political, social and economic rights there as are available to the rest of the Indians under the Indian Constitution. New Delhi should remember the fight in Kashmir is between those who stand for Indian nationhood and those opposed to it. The displaced minorities belong to the first category and, hence, they need to be protected, rehabilitated, empowered and patronized. In fact, they need to be given a dispensation of their choice.

**(The author is a well known writer and a political commentator)*



A burnt Kashmiri Pandit house at village Dhanav in South Kashmir. The arson took place way back in Feb. 1986.

openly stoking the fire of hatred and creating schism in the society. New Delhi is simply ducking issues that need to be dealt with resolutely and with amoebic rapidity. New Delhi is, in short, in a state of dilemma because it itself is unclear and ambivalent.

Enough is enough. New Delhi cannot go on like this any longer. It has got to deal with the situation as it prevails in Kashmir. It has to abandon the policy that only recognizes those who are absolutely disloyal and who are "green in tooth and claw."

What exactly ails Kashmir? Who deserve New Delhi's attention? Who need to be conciliated and won over? Who are the actual sufferers? Whose human rights have been violated in Kashmir? Worst form of communalism and fanaticism ails Kashmir. Intolerant and regressive ideology has been reigning supreme in the Valley ever since 1947.

hundred per cent a non-believer region.

The fanatics in Kashmir wanted the minorities to quit the Valley and they achieved their objective with utmost. They have purged Kashmir of all the non-Muslim minorities. The process started in 1947 itself. New Delhi should have intervened then and nipped the evil in the bud, but it didn't do that. Instead, it sided with the secessionists and fanatics, who always dubbed the minorities as fifth columnists or Indian agents. The result was the emergence of a situation that made the minorities quit their homes and hearths. The process of religious cleansing reached its zenith in early 1990, when all, barring a handful of members belonging to



By M.M. Khajooria

UNFAMILIAR voices were being heard from familiar personages in Kashmir separatist front. Skeletons were tumbling out of closets kept securely locked till the other day. Forbidden words bordering on blasphemy were being spoken. There is an air of expectancy. What does it portend?

A significant segment of "over ground" separatists in Kashmir have come a long way- from strikes to seminars. The tactical shift from "Muzafarabad Chalo" to intellectual acrobats was equally phenomenal.

Recent seminars, one on "United Nations Resolutions-A legal Base to Kashmir Dispute" organized by Hurriyat (M) and the other titled 'Role of Intellectuals in Freedom Struggle' under the auspices of JKLF in Srinagar were conspicuous by the presence of leaders of both the Hurriyat (M) and JKLF and a smattering of Kashmiri intellectuals mostly advocating what had come to be known as the "Third Option". What motivated or propelled this shift is the moot question?

Deceit, falsehood and subterfuge have largely been the hallmarks of the separatist politics from day one. The attempts to mask their real identity - tools in the hands of Pakistan establishment or willing victims of their machinations -and masquerade as the "freedom fighters" were indeed pathetic. The sham

played out for the last about six decades fooled no one. Certainly not the people of Kashmir. The vastitudes of history and the experiences of prolonged political struggle characterised by great commitment and sacrifices on the one hand and treachery on the other had imbued them with an uncanny almost telepathic power to smell such dirty tricks. But they let the secessionist leaders live in the world of make believe practicing the dictum - "SAMAJH TU HAR EK RAAZ KO MAGAR FARAIB KHAAY JA".. May be the common man could no more put up with the charade. The irrelevance of these outfits highlighted during the Geelani led Stone pelting misadventure sent the warning signals. Was the fear of open public expression of



Late Abdul Gani Lone

total lack of faith discernable during June-August turmoil, behind the show "some guts" or tactical, exposure of few "secrets" as part of damage control exercise? Take for instance Senior Hurriyat leader, Professor Abdul Gani Bhats' call to the intellectuals on the need to speak truth. "We should speak out who killed Abdul Ahad Wani, fathers of Mir Waiz Umar and Bilal Gani Lone", he demanded. The fact, however was that he had already spoken about this in the POK Assembly couple of

Is Pak- Kashmir Separatists' axis coming un struck?

years back. And who in Kashmir did not know the identity of the assassins of Mir Waiz Farooq? The "disclosure" by DGP Kuldeep Khoda that both late Mir Waiz Moulvi Farooq and his assassin were buried in the same grave Yard ironically called Mazar Ul Shahuda merely affixed the official seal on what was common knowledge. This unacceptable insult to the memory of Mir Waiz Moulvi Farooq was in fact greatly resented by his close followers who, it was given out were restrained "to prevent further blood shed and harm to the person of the succeeding Mir Waiz, his son Umar Farooq". Otherwise how could the assassin of the Mir Waiz be declared a martyr and buried in the same Mazar Ul Shuda? As regards Abdul Gani Lone, his son Sajjad Lone had publically named the foreign agency behind the crime on the date of his assassination itself. Yasin Malik now goes public and declares that. "He (Prof. Abdul Ahad Wani) demanded Independence for Kashmir and that is why he was killed." Why does not he talk about the murder of Dr. Guru? The list of people who committed the blunder of trusting Pak ISI as a genuine ally in the "struggle for independence" and became victims of Pakistan's insatiable lust for territorial gains in Kashmir is unfortunately too long to be recounted here. But what exactly motivated the Hurriyat (M) till yesterday in cosy relationship with Pakistan establishment and the JKLF who despite ISI treachery maintained cool relations with the agency to go public on these now? Has the realisation that Pakistan was using them as mere tools in furtherance of her agenda of territorial aggrandisement finally dawned upon them? Do these initiatives and disclosures indicate quest for a new political strategy? We may have to wait for some more developments to unfold

to find answers to these vital questions.

'United Nations Resolutions-A legal Base to Kashmir Dispute' was the subject of the seminar held in the Hurriyat's Rajbagh headquarters. There, however was not even a passing reference either to the origin, history and dimensions of "the dispute" or to the exact connotation and implications of the UN resolutions. The Mir Waiz vaguely spoke of "our strong case" and launched a tirade against UNO calling it "a failed Institution", which for decades was projected as the repository of justice. Again, whom is he trying to fool? Do these secessionist leaders seriously believe that they can black out history and lead blindfolded a generation groomed in an era of information explosion and global politico-economic regime?

Now about the "dispute" which arose out of tribal invasion of 1947, planned, organised and led by regular Pakistan army officers, the fact is fully documented even in the accounts published by Pakistani and other participants in the aggression including the commander of the invasion force Col. Akbar Khan code named Gen. Tariq. In the latter stage of "the campaign", the involvement of a brigade of its army was conceded by Pakistan government. Remember the aggression was launched against state of Jammu & Kashmir which had become completely independent after the lapse of British Suzerainty on the 14th of August, 1947. Maharajah Hari Singh was clearly inclined to stay independent and in this decision he had the support of Muslim Conference leadership including the then Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah the grand uncle of Umar Farooq. How Pakistan leadership forced the Muslim conference to reverse its decision to support the Maharajah and his vision of an independent Kashmir was history.

Indian army entered Kashmir legally and

constitutionally and only after the Ruler of the State formally approached India for accession. The instrument of Accession was signed and sealed. Therefore, those looking for the army of occupation would be well advised to cast their glance across the LOC and Gilgit Baltistan where the army of occupation was actually entrenched. Talking of occupation, I am reminded of the proceedings of a 2005 seminar in New Delhi in which representatives from both sides of the LOC and Jammu &



Late Mirwaiz Moulvi Faoq

Kashmir Diaspora participated. While dictating a draft resolution as chairman of the drafting committee I used term Pakistan Administered J&K. This provoked strong protest from delegates hailing from the area who insisted that it be termed as Pakistan Occupied Jammu & Kashmir because that is what it was. One of the youth leaders was so incensed that he pulled up his shirt. I was horrified to see deep and knotted marks of lashes on his back. Isn't this enough to convince you that we are condemned to live in the territory under occupation? he demanded. I wonder how the parties and leaders demanding Independent Jammu & Kashmir can remain completely so insensitive and unconcerned about the oppression and persecution that have become the fate of our fellow citizens living in bondage in POK.

The Indian army landed at Srinagar make shift air base when the raiders were knocking at the doors of

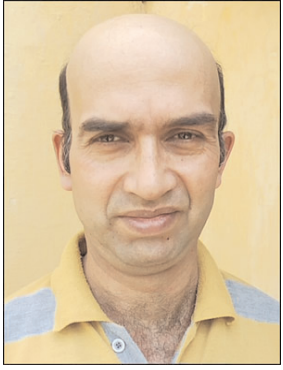
Srinagar, the winter capitol of the state and immediately got down to the task of evicting the invaders, a job they did with commendable speed and success thanks to the active support of Kashmiri people. The Kashmiri Muslims rose to the occasion and made history by putting into practice their secular beliefs rooted in their religion, culture and tradition. Considering that all around the state the country was burning and murder, rape and mayhem were the order of the day, the performance was super human. This was in sharp contrast to the horrors of murder, loot and rape perpetuated by the tribal / Pak invaders -the un Islamic "Jehadi cult" versus the Sofi Islam steeped in indigenous Rishi tradition. The shameful barbarous deeds of the invaders were still fresh in the memory of people. Those in doubt can check with the surviving members of that generation, many of whom were still around.

At the point of time when the raiders were on the run and "In order that the objective of expelling invader from Indian territory and prevent him from launching fresh attacks should be quickly achieved, Indian troops would have to enter Pakistan territory; only thus could the invader be denied the use of bases and cut off from the sources of supplies and reinforcements in Pakistan", India filed a complaint in the United Nations against aggressor Pakistan "The Indian complaint further pointed out that "Since the aid which the invaders are receiving from Pakistan is an act of aggression against India, the Government of India are entitled under international law, to send their armed forces across Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders./ However, as such action might involve armed conflict with Pakistan,

(Contd. on Page 12)



Mazar-ul-Shahuda, Srinagar



By Dileep Kumar Kaul

WE have the habit of taking public space for granted as if it has continuously been there. Yet public space is always the expression of the intentions of some person or institution. Purposes are given to a place by a person or institution and it is put forward as a place that has symbolic meaning. Many instruments are used to sustain that symbolic meaning. If we take a keen look at public space around us we can see that it is a site social and political contestation and many other conflicting discourses.

We can take Jammu Railway station as a typ-



Maharaja Ranbir Singh

ical public space. When we enter the station, climb up the stairs and reach the gate leading towards platform no.1, on the right hand side wall we see a picture is painted. It is the picture of Hazratbal shrine which contains an inlet showing the sacred hair of the Prophet of Islam. It caught my attention when I was leaving Jammu some months back. What was this picture trying to say?

When I reached platform 1, on the left side there was a glow sign (not glowing at all), telling something about the Vaishno Devi Shrine. In my previous

visit I had seen a glow sign installed by a Hindi Newspaper highlighting its success in the city of temples that is Jammu. But the picture of Hazratbal in a primary public place of Jammu had to say more than this.

During election times, political parties try to define public places through their posters. The number of posters gives an impression who has got more power. Getting control of public places is so important that the activists of political parties clash over the fact that other political parties paste their posters in their area. Controlling public places like this acquired a new dimension in Kashmir when terrorism began in 1990. It was made mandatory for all shopkeepers to get their sign boards painted in green and white and no language but Urdu was to be used. This was to create an impression of an Islamic country. In the process it was forgotten that Urdu is an Indian language that developed and flourished in India. But it was put forward as a muslim language and green colour was defined as muslim colour. It is this mindset that is at work at Jammu railway station.

Jammu is famous for vaishno devi shrine to which pilgrims come from all over the world. It has religious, social, cultural and economic significance and the finances generated are certainly more than the Hazratbal shrine. But on Jammu Railway Station the painting of Hazratbal shrine is not only to put the burden of secularism on Jammu, it is to overmask the cultural identity of Jammu. The dominance of Kashmir is being forced here. Just paint the Vaishno Devi Shrine anywhere in Srinagar and see what happens. This painting suggests that Hazratbal is everything even in Jammu. The cultural identity of Jammu is being kept at bay. It is dissolved in this painting of Hazratbal shrine. This fact is to be kept in mind that the existence of this



The majestic Raghunath Mandir in heart of Jammu.

painting on Jammu Railway station is important because it is among the most important public spaces in Jammu. Many people may have noticed it but hardly anything has been done about it. This is a good example showing how attempts to define public places are made by those in power

Building a mosque at that place meant appeasement of the forces which were responsible for the destruction. Public spaces are often filled with symbols of appeasement of destructive forces in many countries.

In fact, politics does not take into considera-

Jammu is famous for Vaishno Devi Shrine to which pilgrims come from all over the world. It has religious, social, cultural and economic significance and the finances generated are certainly more than the Hazratbal shrine.

and how people take these attempts for granted. Even in USA Obama government tried to define public places. It was proposed that a mosque would be built at the ground zero of 9/11. The twin towers that were razed to ground defined USA as a place. Those towers defined USA as a superpower, as an economic giant and that is how American citizens visualized their place. They resisted the attempts to put at that place a symbol that represented the forces which razed the symbol of American power to ground. Voices were raised against the mosque and it could not be built at ground zero. Americans do not take their public places for granted. They kept the right to define their places with themselves.

tion any place as a whole. A convenient aspect is highlighted, emphasized and re-emphasized keeping other aspects in the background. Just remember the terrorist attack on Raghunath Mandir, Jammu. Political parties as usual defined the temple as a religious place and the attack on it naturally was explained as an attack on religious sentiments of Jammu. It was conveniently forgotten that Raghunath Mandir was a place of Sanskrit Learning and most probably still lodges a library of ancient manuscripts. Raghunath Mandir has been an important seat of the intellectual culture of Jammu. But this point cannot be the basis of politics. This temple makes us remember Dogra Kings like

Maharaja Ranbir Singh who had great respect for intellectuals and scholars and did a lot to preserve ancient manuscripts. All the Dogra kings held Kashmiri Pandit Sanskrit scholars in highest esteem. This point is very important from the point of view of expansion of Jammu as a place and will establish its cultural link with Kashmir which separatists are trying to sever. If these points are highlighted it will give new definition to Jammu as a place and it will not remain as a place of soldiers and warriors only which it, of course has been but that is not the only part of the culture of Jammu as a place. The politics in Jammu also suffers from victim mentality. The main thrust point is that Jammu has been ignored and all the attention has been given to Kashmir. Here again Jammu is defined as a subordinate place and within this discourse Kashmir is being constantly strengthened and Jammu weakened. The identity of Jammu as a whole, Jammu as a place is nowhere. Kashmiri Muslims have been able to project Kashmir as a place all over the world. They have tried to distort traditional Kashmiri icons to fit into the mould of dominance of Islam. Jammu has not been able to emphasize that it has been a cultural

resistance against this onslaught in its own way. It has done so not only through sword but intellect as well.

Public place is defined through the type of symbols you fill it with. Public place in Kashmir is defined by protests. Protests have become the identifying factor of Kashmir as a place and the likes of Arundhati Roy side with Geelani like people. These people do not treat Kashmir as a place but take it as a political entity as is inherent in Indian constitution also. This also shows what manipulating of public spaces can do! For many months the public space in Kashmir was filled with protests and deaths, blames on security forces and GOI. It was sustained for months altogether and Kashmir got a different meaning as a place. This is an interesting example of how carefully social structures of violence are created and used and how so called intellectuals like Arundhati Roy are a party to this structural violence which deprives other people of J&K of their rights in the state. Such machinations can be resisted only by visualizing our places of belonging in their wholeness and exhibiting that wholeness in our public places through whatever means possible.

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

The tragedy of being a Kashmiri Pandit

By Amit Bamzai

EVEN now I remember the day vividly it was an hot and sultry April afternoon, the ringing school bell indicated that it was time to pack your bags and leave towards the amniotic

CONCERN

safety of a heaven called Home. As I stepped out of the mammoth black gate of my school 'Army school Damana' I saw an old lady sitting on a log of wood on the other side of the road. Her face was all smeared with wrinkles, her dainty hands placed firmly under her chin and a pair of deep set blue eyes looking aimlessly nowhere.

I went to her and asked her in my not so fluent Kashmiri why she was sitting all alone in such hot summer afternoon? To which she politely replied that she was waiting for her grandson who studied in 3rd standard in my school. I asked her where she lived; "Purkhoo camp" was her answer almost as an afterthought. For next half hour that old lady showed me a picture of KP migration to which I was never exposed. Being born and brought up in Jammu I was spared of a gruesome atrocity inflicted on Kashmiri pundits called the migration of 89-90. But talking to her for next half an hour brought me face to face with the bitter picture of our exodus. Her voice had a deep but perpetual undercurrent of pain as she mentioned the sleepless nights she along with her family spent in hot and humid conditions of migrant camps, of which they had no before hand experience. Her eyes

welled up with emotion while she told me about the loss of her husband to sun stroke who couldn't survive the cruel and unforgiving summer of Jammu and Kashmir's winter capital. She said that she dies a thousand deaths every day to see her post graduate son leave for a non descript carpet factory in bari brahmna where he works as an accountant. She lamented that with the kind of education his son has had it is such a shame that he has to do such a meager job to earn a square meal for his family. I clearly remember that she took a pause, probably lost in deep thought or perhaps she got stuck in a nostalgic moment. After a few moments she looked into my eyes as if to stare down directly into my soul and said "son do you know what the greatest tragedy with our community is? I replied with a stoic "no". she said that the greatest tragedy to have happened to us wasn't the religious cleansing of pundits before migration nor was the exodus of pundits from Kashmir but the greatest tragedy to have happened to us is that we are born kashmiri Pandits in this 'riyasat'. The government doesn't care for us because we are not a compact and significant vote bank, the common Kashmiri Muslim whom we trusted blindly before the migration stabbed us slyly on our back, our children who are both suitably talented and well educated don't find jobs here because of their surnames. The locals of Jammu could never and still can't accept us one amongst them because to them we are 'Kashmiri'. It is hard to imagine a condition worse than this; all this

while I kept looking at her withered face and kept imagining the pain and anguish she carried in her frail body. How hard it was to step into her shoes and to see the world from her eyes, how difficult it was to imagine her family clinging to each other in a corner of their one room hutment to save themselves from rain water dripping from their leaky roof. To reproduce her emotions on a piece of paper, the helplessness in her eyes, the pain behind her quivering lips is impossible. Just when I was about to leave I saw a

going through such heavy turmoil we have not only survived but also excelled in our respective fields, which is a great achievement in itself. However whenever I read or hear kashmiri pundits assembling at jantar mantar or India Gate striving to bring murderers of Priyadarshini Mattoo to justice or whenever a Nadimarg or Wandhama massacre happens and the consequent callous approach of the government towards us, her words start ringing in my head "son! Our greatest tragedy is that we are



A 1922 photograph of a Kashmir Pandit marriage.

cute little boy running towards us with a notebook in his hand, he stopped at the old lady and said "jigri look madam gave me a good in my notebook". I saw that four letter word written in red ink in the notebook, it brought an instant smile on the face of that old lady, a weak but genuine smile. She lifted the notebook and kissed it. I couldn't help but smile at the ironic but beautiful ending to our conversation. Sometimes I feel if ever a research is conducted on Kashmiri Pandits the scientists would find a lot of rubber in our composition. Even after

born Kashmiri Pandits". Few days back I received an e mail from a friend of mine, it was titled "result of inter-caste marriage, funny". I clicked open that mail it went something like this "The only problem with inter caste marriage is that then there was a picture of a donkey and a zebra with a progeny of theirs. It had black and white strips on its legs which are the very characteristic of zebras but its torso and the rest of the upper body was muddy brown as that of donkeys.

And the message above the picture continued like this

.....it's always the kids that suffer. Frankly it didn't make me laugh but surely sent me into a contemplative mode. In Last 2 years I saw 2 of my dearest cousins get married into Bengali community both of them are blessed with a caring, affectionate and sensitive spouse. However after reading this mail I thought but what about their kids? What would be their identity? I have always taken pride in being a Kashmiri pandit, I love my language, my culture, the rituals (in spite of the fact that I am not very ritualistic). But what would my nephews be, which culture would they follow, what would be their mother tongue? Such and many more similar questions make me shudder. This recent trend of inter-caste marriages has inflicted great wounds on us causing both genetic dilution and general loss of cultural values. History suggests that all great civilizations came to an end at some point of time, even the culturally rich and visionary Aryans didn't survive through test of time. Their annihilation gave rise to many small but consequential communities, may be our community is also walking down the same lane towards its end. I not being unnecessarily worried but the signs are too obvious and are written in bold letters on the wall. Any community derives its identity from its geographic distinction, a common belief system, a mother tongue and a religion to bind the community together. Kashmiri pandits lost their homeland in 1989-90 when they were driven out of the valley in herds. Now Kps are scattered in jammu, Delhi, Pune,

Bangalore and other parts of the world as refugees they have accepted their present land as their abode (temporary or permanent I don't know) so they have lost their geographic distinction. As far as belief system is concerned our values are dying a sudden and tragic death, our rituals and festivals find no place in the lives on the generation next, and to them these things sound both illogical and obsolete.

As far as mother tongue is concerned kashmiri speaking is growingly becoming unpopular amongst children, teenagers and young adults. Today when a child is born in a kashmiri household the entire focus of the family is to teach the child to speak fluent English. Doubtlessly this would help the young one to get through school will land him/her in a decent job the globalised Indian market. But in this race to grow big and bigger every day we keep forgetting that it is impossible to grow upwards if you are not firmly attached to your roots. Strangely parents who keep moaning every now and then, about loss of our cultural values never encourage their children to speak kashmiri or teach them the significance of our cultural values. When I look at these parameters the only conclusion that I can come up with is that our community is heading towards a never ending bottomless abyss.

I am well aware of the fact that I am ending this article with a lot of questions but to find the answers let us all look deep inside ourselves and act now because for us this is a fight for our survival.

By Varad Varenia

IT was 2025 hrs and the "special" train was about to leave the station. And the conversation picked up as soon as the train left the station. Mr. A had been stalking Mr. B for long. I guess he felt some connect. Or maybe the fairer complexion of Mr. B just made him curious.

Mr. A: Are you from Kashmir?

Mr. B: Yes. I am a Kashmiri Pandit. (He could feel the pride of being one)

Mr. A: Where are you from Kashmir?

Mr. B: Anantnag
This definitely irritated Mr. A. No-one says Anantnag now.

Kashmir – A Train Conversation

He was bound to react.

Mr. A: Okay Islamabad
Anantnag is town in South Kashmir. The area was land of springs, hence "Anant"- "Infinite" and "Nag" - "Springs". The name was changed to Islamabad by Moghuls after the name of a Moghul General Islam Khan. But most Kashmiris preferred Anantnag, after it was changed back to its original name by the Dogra rulers.

Mr. B (very firmly): No, Anantnag

Mr. A maybe got irritated but he didn't press the topic any

further. But, he wanted to probe more.

Mr. B: Where are you from?

Mr. A: I am from Lal Chowk, Srinagar and do business at Connaught Place, Delhi.

Mr. A: How old are you?

Mr. B: I am 23 years old.

He had lied. He was born post the exodus of the Pandits from the valley.

Mr. A: So you were a toddler in 1990?

Mr. B: Yes

Mr. A: Are you willing to return to the valley?

Mr. B: Yes, but present conditions aren't suitable.

Mr. A: But, you are settled in Jammu (It meant, YOU HAVE MOVED ON!)

Mr. B (very firmly): Kashmir is in our heart. In every heartbeat, there is Kashmir. We can never ever forget Kashmir.

Mr. B ignored him after this question. Maybe he didn't want to converse with some-one who was living in self denial. But he kept on thinking did Mr. A forget that Mr. B. and his kind had left Kashmir even though they were settled. And they had left is for the seventh time and have come back each time in the past. Was Mr. A igno-

rant of the fact that many KMs are moving out for better future, and many are buying properties in Jammu and "settling" there.

Every time I have a conversation on Kashmir, I get extremely emotional. My mind is full of questions.

When will I return to my home? But bigger question is, will my return be without any fear of attack on my existence. At the same time felt for him - my fellow Kashmiri. I felt for his self denial of many issues. Will he ever accept the truth?

For these questions, I don't have answers.

But one thing I know for sure, I will RETURN!

Making Sense of What is Happening in Jammu and Kashmir

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Dec 26: Addressing the theme "Making sense of what is happening in Kashmir", Panun Kashmir organized a seminar on 26 Dec, 2010, at India International Centre in New Delhi. The Seminar was attended by a cross section of intellectuals and office bearers of various organizations. In the chilling cold

Hindus initiated by the State government.

Among the galaxy of prominent intellectuals and community leaders who participated in the Seminar were Jagmohan the former Cabinet Minister in Government of India and Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Sh Bhim Singh the President of Panthers Party of Jammu and Kashmir, Sh Gautam Koul former Director General of ITBP, pro-

PANUN KASHMIR SEMINAR

Kashmir continues to be a part of India or not but also whether India will survive as a nation. He said the corruption scandals exploding on the face of the nation reveal only a tip of the iceberg of the crisis facing the nation. We are seeing all those persons who have a proclaimed position on damaging India gaining promi-

and fight with a unity of purpose.

Sh Gautam Kaul urged Panun Kashmir to have a thorough review of its political objectives and responses. He wanted Panun Kashmir leadership to relook on the territorial claim of its political demand and recast it to make it more pragmatic. He also talked about looking into the

understand American machinations and fight them in this region. She said a change in national strategic vision was an imperative necessity for which everybody has to work and urged Kashmiri Pandits to hold on and integrate their struggle with the efforts to change the national vision.

Sh Jagmohan said that there was a rot beset at the highest levels of the Nation state and it is because

that it was not intellectually tenable to believe that India will collapse if Kashmir separates from it.

Dr Ajay Churungoo in his concluding presidential remarks said, "We are witnessing a unique situation in the History of Nations where a Nation State is trying to negate the nation. Unless we realize it we will not be able to understand why it is only in India that all those who uphold the nation get abandoned by the



and dense fog the participants assembled at the venue and interacted in an intense and surcharged atmosphere. Chairman of Panun Kashmir Dr Ajay Churungoo presided over the proceedings which were divided into two sessions. Dr Shakti Bhan Vice-Chairperson of Panun Kashmir made the welcome address and invited the participants to delve on the topic of the Seminar. She set the tone for the deliberation by expressing deep apprehensions about the functioning of the three interlocutors appointed by government of India and also the return plan for Kashmiri

lific writer and eminent scholar Sandhya Jain, well known defense analyst and columnist Sh Maroof Raza, Smt. Nancy Koul Panun Kashmir leader and a political analyst, Captain S K Tikoo, leader of Awami League and an expert on Kashmir, Sh Lalit Ambardar a journalist etc. Sh Vijay Tikoo Vice-Chairman of Panun Kashmir conducted the proceedings.

Captain S K Tikoo spoke immediately after the inaugural speech by Dr Shakti Bhan and impressed upon everyone to take the developments taking place not only in Jammu and Kashmir but the entire country very seriously. "What is at stake is not only whether Jammu and

nence in the affairs of the country. I have no hesitation to say that overwhelming majority of Kashmiri Muslims want to stay with India but Government of India recognizes and patronizes only those who want to Break away from India. Why is it so is a question we all have to ask ourselves and answer?"

Sh Lalit Ambardar, a prominent journalist made an impassioned appeal to everybody to mobilize national opinion by writing and responding to various issues confronting the Kashmiri Hindus as well as India. He asked everybody to understand the value of contesting wrong perspectives and fighting disinformation. He urged the Kashmiri Hindus not to get disheartened

social and cultural challenges facing the Kashmiri Hindu community.

Sh Bhim Singh said there was a conspiracy to barter away national interests in Jammu and Kashmir and divide Jammu province to create a Greater Muslim Kashmir. He emphasized the need of Kashmiri Pandits and Dogras of Jammu to work together.

Sandhya Jain asked everybody not to be afraid of Jihad as much as they should be about the role of America and the west. She said that Jihad has no success story to claim for many centuries now. In fact the so called Muslim power has been losing at every front. Indian problem has been that it has not been able to

of this that we are seeing the problems of corruption and betrayal of the national interests. He opined that unless a transformation of the very national consciousness takes place the problems which the nation is experiencing from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and in Delhi cannot be solved and he urged Kashmiri Pandits to play a role in this endeavor.

Sh Maroof Raza made detailed analyses of the dithering of the Government of India on the crucial issues involving National security. He criticized the way Government of India was handling its affairs with Pakistan. However the comment which surprised everybody was when he said

State and all those who are waging war against the nation are prominently placed in the affairs of the nation. In Jammu and Kashmir we are witnessing the bizarre game of retreat of India crafted from the very core of the State. The return plan which is being thrust on Kashmiri Hindus is in fact a message to Kashmiri Hindus to compromise with the separatists and facilitate a compromise which the Government of India is crafting in Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri Pandits have to deter the State from breaking the nation. That is the task in which we all have to involve ourselves in the coming time."

Sh Kamal Wangnoo, Secretary Panun Kashmir concluded the proceeding by paying vote of thanks.

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 of women were abducted; hundreds of them committed suicide to escape capture. All Hindu and Sikh temples and shrines were burned down or destroyed to erase the last vestiges of the Hindu and Sikh culture and religion in the occupied territories. The whole Hindu and Sikh population of the territories occupied by the invading army, which escaped the holocaust took refuge in Jammu. The Buddhists in Baltistan who escaped the onslaught of the invading army took refuge in Ladakh. The assertion that Jammu and Kashmir presented a heaven of peace and brotherhood while the rest of India smoldered in communal violence is a myth.

After the Truce Agreement, negotiated by the United Nations and the consequent cease-fire in the fighting in the State in January 1949, the Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists continued to fight against the war of subversion, Pakistan waged from the occupied territories of so called 'Azad Kashmir' to foment Muslim distrust in the State. In 1953, the

Kashmiri-speaking Muslims who had supported the accession of the State to India in 1947, repudiated their commitment to the unity of India on the ground that India had denied them the right to reorganize Jammu and Kashmir into another Muslim nation in between India and Pakistan. The Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists arraigned themselves with the forces which opposed to the Muslimisation of the State and fell into a head on collision with a new Muslim separatists movement led by the All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, which was founded in 1955, to ensure the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir, envisaging a plebiscite to determine the future affiliations of the State. The Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhist formed the main resistance to the Muslim struggle for self-determination, the Plebiscite Front spearheaded till 1975, when the Indira-Abdullah Accord was concluded and the Plebiscite Front dissolved.

Kashmir: The Hindu Claim

The Jihad which Pakistan launched in Kashmir in 1990, to liberate Jammu and Kashmir from the Indian hold, mounted its first attack on the Hindus in Kashmir. The terrorist assault on the Hindus in Kashmir commenced in the fall of 1989, and by the summer of 1990, more than seven hundreds of them had been assassinated in cold blood. Most of the victims were innocent people who lived in poverty and persecution in the Muslim dominated constitutional organization of the State. Among those killed were people from all section of the Hindu Society; teachers, lawyers, political activists, media men, intellectuals, errand boys and men of small means. The massacre of the Hindus was accompanied by a widespread campaign of intimidation and threat to drive out the Hindus from the Kashmir province, burn their temples and religious shrines and homes and loot their property. By the end of the year

1990, the whole community of the Hindus in the Kashmir province was driven out of their homes and hearths. For the last two decades, during which the terrorist violence in the State has continued unabated, the Hindus have been living in exile in improvised refugee camps in Jammu and elsewhere in the country.

The interests and aspirations of the Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists, who constitute nearly half the population of Jammu and Kashmir, are central to any settlement reached between India and Pakistan. Muslim separatist forces insist upon negotiations which lead to a settlement, acceptable to the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, raises three basic questions: (a) which principles of nation building and international law, past or present, sanctify the territorial claim made by the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir to the secession of the State from India and its unification with Pakistan?;

(b) Why should India accept a Muslim-centric settlement on Jammu and Kashmir and accept negotiations which also are Muslim-centric?; (c) why should India not insist upon a Hindu-Sikh – Buddhist centric settlement of Jammu and Kashmir on account of its commitment to secularism and the right to equality of all communities irrespective of their religion? If the British foisted the Two-Nation theory on the Indian people in 1947, and divided India on the basis of separating the Muslim majority provinces of the British India to constitute the Muslim homeland of Pakistan, why should the Indian people, now six decades after British quit India, accept the Two Nation theory again to concede the second partition of India. And if the Indian political class finds itself helpless in the face of Jihad in Jammu and Kashmir being waged by Pakistan and the Muslim Jihadi forces in Jammu and Kashmir, why should the Indian government not insist upon the breaking

up of Kashmir valley to secure Hindus their territorial claims as well as the breaking of the occupied territories of Jammu the so called 'Azad Kashmir' to secure the Hindus and Sikh refugees of these areas, who are more than a million people, their territorial claims.

The Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists have as sacrosanct a right to Jammu and Kashmir, as their Muslim compatriots have. An exception to the right to equality may be acceptable in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan where the rights of the Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists to their homeland may not be recognized as sacrosanct as the rights the Islamic Republic bestows upon its Muslims subjects. India is a secular state and no government in India can consign the Hindus, Sikhs and the Buddhists to the servitude of a Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir.

**(The author heads Panun Kashmir advisory)*

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 Government of India, ever anxious to proceed according to the principles and aims of Charter of the United Nations, desire to report the situation to the Security Council under article 35 of the Charter."Thus India approached the UN in good faith to have the remaining part of its territory cleared from invaders through the intervention of the world body without running the risk of war with Pakistan which as it is, was in a mess. Peace in the region and the world continued to be objective of India foreign policy. The complaint was listed in the UNO as "the India-Pakistan question". Kashmir was not mentioned. Significantly, the issue did not figure on the Security Council's active agenda since November 1965. Incidentally, under the relevant articles the UN had only recommendatory powers. Its resolution could not be enforced. Moreover the world body had no authority whatsoever to confer any "legal rights" and that too on a third party in a "dispute" between two member states.

The implementation of UN resolution cited by the separatists day in and day out as the

Is Pak- Kashmir Separatists' axis coming un struck?

panacea of all the troubles in Jammu & Kashmir and problems between India and Pakistan had mandatory pre-conditions attached. These had to be fulfilled before the Plebiscite was conducted. A paper read by Khalid Hassan, an eminent political Pakistani analyst in the Third International Kashmir Conference in Washington deals with the package of exercise of the so called "Right of Self Determination" by the people of Jammu & Kashmir state as it existed on 14th of August, 1947."Assuming that India agrees to the full acceptance and total implementation of the UN resolutions" he said "the ball will land in Pakistan's court. Will Pakistan be prepared to pull out every single soldier now stationed on its side of line of control? Will Pakistan agree to the expulsion of the Islamic fighting groups which continued to operate freely with the permission or connivance of the official authority in Azad Kashmir? Will Pakistan agree to the holding of Plebiscite that it demands in the entire state, only 64 percent of whose population is Muslim, 33% Hindu and three percent is

Buddhist? Will Pakistan be prepared to accept that Northern areas are an integral part of former princely state of Jammu & Kashmir as it stood on 14th August of 1947?" he asked. Islamabad, he pointed out "has also failed to honour the 1999 judgment of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Supreme court that declared the Northern areas (Galgit-Baltistan) to be a part of Azad Jammu & Kashmir." "While the UN resolutions offer only two choices- India or Pakistan- will Pakistan be prepared to accept what has come to be known as the Third Option in the event that the people of the state demand independence?", he questioned "The answers to all these questions frankly are in the negative" he concluded. This was just the sample.

Media and analysts in Pakistan have argued in the same vain on different occasions and varied platforms.

The pre conditions for the proposed plebiscite were mandatory which no government in Pakistan could afford to comply with. Those who talk of solution of Kashmir tangle under the UN resolutions are

either hallucinating or trying to fool the people of Kashmir. More ever, legally speaking the Indian complaint to United Nations against Pakistan became infructuous after the signing of the Shimla Agreement of July 3, 1972 where under both India and Pakistan "resolved to :-

- "Settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means agreed upon between them".
- Respect the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir resulting from without prejudice to the recognised positions of either side.

And that" neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations".

The attention of those separatist leaders who were seeking to carve out an independent Jammu & Kashmir with aid from Pakistan is invited to the official stand of the Pakistan government of the demand for independence. The press had reported that "The Foreign Office Spokesperson, Tasnim Aslam has said that

Kashmir's legal framework is based on UN resolutions which give Kashmiris two choices either accede to India or to Pakistan. There is no third choice for them according to UN resolutions." And added "If we talk of independent Kashmir then we will be out of Kashmir's legal framework which give the Kashmir dispute an international legality". The then Pak president Musharraf also ruled out independence as an option to resolve the Kashmir issue. According to his 25 January, 2007 statement in Islamabad "he did not support the idea of independent Kashmir on the grounds that it might not be achievable as both India and Pakistan were opposed to it."

Addressing the seminar on the 'Role of Intellectuals in Freedom Struggle' JKLF leader Yasin Malik exposed his fascist mindset reducing intellectuals to bonded labour when he declared that: "The writers and intellectuals cannot be impartial. Either they are state-centric or side with people. In a direct insult to the Kashmiri intellectuals he accused that "Presently, 99 percent intellectuals work

on the 'government aid'. But all this need not be taken too seriously. How much he actually meant and how much was for "local consumption" remained to be seen. In any case Political beings have a knack and means of mending fences with the "intellectuals" many of whom reside in the media space.

Numerous reservations and misgivings not with standing, it would be a serious mistake to ignore the breach in relations between Kashmiri separatists and Pakistan establishment (read PAK ISI) and, its potential of altering political positioning and re alignment of political forces in Kashmir valley. According to Umar Farooq, the Hurriyat (M) chairman, "people of the valley are the masters of their own land". That was the constituency to which his vision and focus was actually confined. May be more than six decades old alliance between Pakistan establishment especially the ISI and a segment of Separatists in Kashmir was about to come unstuck.

**(The writer is former DGP, J & K State)*

Revisit Policy vis-a-vis Kashmiri Pandits

By S.M. Pandit

THERE have been three significant judgments or interventions by three different courts vis-à-vis Kashmiri migrants recently. The first judgment was delivered by The Delhi High Court. The judgment was delivered on a bunch of petitions filed by 24 central government employees, all Kashmiri Pandits, who were facing eviction from govt. accommodation after their retirement. In the landmark judgment, Justice Gita Mittal not only restrained the govt. from evicting these from the accommodation till alternative residence is provided in the capital but also directed the govt. to pay a cost of Rs 25000 to each of the petitioners. The court described 'the right to shelter' a fundamental right. "Petitioners may be compelled to return to the violent situation where from they were forced to flee. Forcing the petitioners to return to the area where they were persecuted violates the principles of International Law forbidding the expulsion of a refugee into an area where such person might be again subjected to persecution," the court observed. Pulling up the government, the High Court said, "Instead of facilitating

the resettlement and rehabilitation of the petitioners who are Internally Displaced Persons as per declared policy, they have arbitrarily been exposed to the additional trauma of the threat of forcible evictions and the uncertainty of seeking the adjudication by pursuing the litigation." The court further described the case a 'testimony to events which lead to unprecedented ethnic cleansing of a minority community from the Kashmir valley on account of the failure of the state to protect them and their property from violence, who as a result. Were rendered homeless.'

The second intervention came from the J&K High Court. In the given case, the court directed the Divisional Commissioner, Kashmir to protect the property of the 200 year old Bajrang Dev Baba Dharam Dass Mandir, Sathoo Barbar Shah, Srinagar. In the case, Justice Sunil Hali observed, "It transpires that the property of Bajrang Dev Baba Dharam Dass Mandir, Sathoo Barbar Shah, Srinagar is entangled in various litigations and is being encroached upon. It is necessary to pass some interim direction in order to preserve and protect the property of the Mandir. It will be

appropriate and in the public interest to ensure that the property of the Mandir is preserved and protected from encroachments and illegal transfers."

The third direction came from the Apex Court in a petition filed by All India Kashmiri Samaj and others in 2006. In the instant case, the Supreme Court sought response from the J&K government on the Rs1, 618 crore special package. "Where will the people who want to go will stay? Now their properties have been sold or auctioned. There are number of petitions pending in the High Court. How will they go?" the bench headed by Chief Justice S H Kapadia observed. In response to the enquiry, Additional Solicitor General Indra Jaising said the properties auctioned between 1990 to 1997 would be declared "illegal" and would be "restored." "All those auctions are illegal and they will be cancelled," she said.

Without any prejudice to the court verdicts, many things come to one's mind. It has now been proved beyond doubt that the minority Hindu community of

Kashmir faced persecution that resulted into their ethnic cleansing. The successive governments failed to prevent the persecution and the exodus. The administration also failed miserably to protect their properties, movable or immovable, in the valley. As a result, their properties were destroyed, occupied and encroached upon. In most of the cases, the



Justice Gita Mittal

representations by the aggrieved persons were consigned to the dustbins. It resulted in the distress sale of the property at through away prices. There are instances where the concerned authorities advised or intimidated the displaced persons to sell their properties to the people who had illegally occupied or encroached upon these properties. What is the most astonishing part of the story is the fact that the state administration itself contributed to the occupation of the migrants' properties. Not only the agricultural land, orchards and residential land of them but even the cremation grounds were acquired by the government in the name of developing public utilities without considering its long

term political implications. The owners are still to receive the compensation or were given very low rates as compared to the marked value. Though the State Government enacted a law in 1997 to prevent the distress sale and made the concerned DCs the custodians of the Migrant Property, but the situation has not changed as the concerned authorities are reluctant to act. Now as the Additional Solicitor General has informed the Apex Court that the properties auctioned between 1990&1997 are illegal and will be restored, the action in this direction will be a major CBM with positive political implications.

While the state and central governments failed to prevent the persecution and exodus, their indifferent attitude compounded the miseries of the community even in exile. The court interventions bear testimony to the fact that the Displaced persons have to knock the doors of the judiciary even for the matters that could be solved by the administration with ease. The Courts have come to the rescue of the exiled community at several times.

Unfortunately, at times the court verdicts are interpreted in a way to put the community to disadvantage.

To add to all this, the governments try to trivialize the exodus. The welfare and the rehabilitation of the exiled community in their 'Homeland' should have been the priority of the state and the central governments. The issue is being handled casually. The PM's so-called Return Package is a reflection of this approach. There is nothing in the package that guarantees the political empowerment of the community and protection from further persecution and victimisation. The conditions attached to the 'Employment Package' give an insight how the state government has turned it into a trap taking advantage of the distress of the community youth.

To conclude, it is a national shame that the rehabilitation of the people who waged war against the nation is the priority of the state. The nationalistic community cannot be forced to remain hostage to the whims of jihadi and communal forces for generations together. The Indian state and the political class should revisit policy vis-a-vis Kashmiri Pandits and take cognizance of the geo-political aspirations of the community. Rehabilitation of the Kashmiri Hindus should be national issue and flagship of the policy.

J&K's dependency on Centre alarming

By Subodh Varma

WHILE Jammu & Kashmir continues through an endless cycle of calm-confrontation-curfew, it is facing a disastrous financial situation. Recently released Reserve Bank of India data on state finances shows how highly dependent J&K is on the central government's support.

In 2009-10, J&K received Rs 13,252 crore as grants from the Centre, which constitutes nearly 60% of the state's total expenditure. In fact, for the past two decades since the separatist movement spread in the Kashmir valley, the centre has been propping up the state through similar doles. In all, J&K has received grants amounting to Rs 94,409 crore between 1989-90 and 2009-10.

For over a decade, from 1994-95 to 2005-06, the state received 10-12% of all grants disbursed by the central government to the states. In 2009-10, this proportion had dipped slightly to about 8%. This is way above J&K's share of India's population, which is a mere 1%.

Is the Centre providing similar support to the other hotspot of insurgency in India — the northeast? Not quite. According to the RBI report, in 2009-10, the eight northeastern states received grants and loans worth Rs 29,084 crore from the Centre, which was 44% of their combined total expenditure, which is significantly lower than in J&K. These figures raise two questions about J&K: one, how is this money being spent, and two, why is it not

helping in soothing the discontent that is obviously so widespread?

Spending on the social sector — schools, health, rural development, etc — in J&K is surprisingly low at about 30% of aggregate expenditure. That is the fourth lowest proportion among all states. The

Comment

all-state average is 40% and states like Chhattisgarh (54%), Maharashtra (50%) and Rajasthan (46%) do much better. What is even more surprising in the case of J&K is that it has been stagnating at this level for nearly thirty years.

As can be expected for a mountainous region wracked by insurgency, administrative

expenditure is high in J&K, working out to about 12% of all expenditure. But Himachal and Sikkim, other Himalayan states, spend only about 6% on administration. So, perhaps J&K's high administrative costs are largely due to the disturbed situation. But Tripura with 16% and Mizoram with 14% of funds spent on administration have managed to attain stability and peace. Obviously, the high expenditure on administration in J&K is not really working.

A clue to this conundrum can be found in the per capita spending by state governments. Three mountainous border states, Sikkim, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, which have had militancy problems, but have been relatively stable for a

long period, spent Rs 59 lakh, Rs 35 lakh and Rs 38 lakh per capita in 2009-10.

In J&K, the annual per capita spending by the state is far short of this, at about Rs 20 lakh. Meghalaya, Manipur and Nagaland — all states wracked by insurgency to varying degrees — have similar spending levels ranging between Rs 18 to 21 lakh per capita per annum. So, part of the answer to the question as to why pouring money into J&K is not solving the problem lies in the fact that not enough money is being spent, because the state itself is not generating enough revenue. The other part, of course, is whether money shown as spent is really reaching the people. What's your guess?

—Courtesy: TNN

By Vidhu Nandan Lal Dar

THE COSMOS:

THE cosmos is like a ball and you exist on surface. The goal is its nucleus. Hence the distance from surface will be the same at any point. So it is never too late to start. A jump inside will take you straight to the nucleus and that is what is going to be the only way out of the cycle of life and death. Use whatever method looks good to you. Practice any religion you want to but till you do not shed your ego you cannot be out of your Karmic Cycle. A tree cannot be born till the seed exists.

Observe the process of making butter. Curd cannot be made till the milk exists and similarly, butter cannot be made till the curd exists. Once the milk and the butter are separated through the process of churning (elimination) the only resemblance left of the original milk is colour, which is white. And you know that white is not a colour but a combination of all colours. In other words it is an illusion and not an actuality or reality.

The Karmic Cycle, which is nothing but this churning, is just do distract you, divert you and finally, to take you away from illusion to actuality by training your mind through the process of reward and punishment. Once you accept this and start living in actuality, this will not be required and it will stop affecting you.

It is of vital importance to us, the people of this physical world, to understand what our life is and what are we doing here. We should actually feel bored of Karmic Cycle (of taking birth and dying again and again) and try to get out of this rut. Rebirth will not be necessary if we can die fully satisfied. Realization of this will also help us in living happily here in this physical world. And by becoming happy we will be able to climb on to the first step of satisfaction and ultimately be free of the Karmic Cycle of life and death OR the bondage of Time and Space.

So think hard. How many times it happens to you when you had lost track of time and jerked back suddenly saying, 'Oh! How much time has elapsed in-between'. This could have happened while listening to music, hearing a speech or just gazing at a certain scene or a picture or a living creature or Nature when you were just lost in it. When everything else became momentarily non-existent for you. This is real happiness—the freedom from Time and Space. Actually our bondage in this physical world is of time and space. The moment we are free from these we are happy.

HAPPINESS :

THE happiness may be different for each person. We have, therefore, in order to extend or prolong this happiness, to understand first as to what this happiness is. Buddha and Mahaveer found this in meditation. Meera and Chaitanya Maha Prabhu found this in dance. A.C. Bhaktivedanta found this in music and chanting Hare Rama Hare Krishna. You may find this while playing with a child, listening to some music, walking, strolling in Nature, doing painting, gardening or in any activity or even in non-activity which makes you forget time and space. This is your moment of happiness. This is also your prayer to God. This brings you nearer to God. This is your communion with God. This is when you become forgetful of everything around you, even your own self, at least briefly. Try to stretch this moment of happiness. That is the reason why all the religions and its attendant rituals failed to deliver happiness to world since time immemorial because you cannot

supportive actors in a play. That, all cannot be made heroes. There is, however, one peculiarity in all divine dramas. All actors are given one opportunity to become hero in a particular scene. Alas! It has been found that in most of the cases when this opportunity of becoming a hero comes, we avoid it by claiming responsibility towards others or by making excuses of duties etc.

If you jump at the chance when it comes your way and catch it you make rapid progress both spiritually as well as physically. Till then you will have to wait and prepare yourself to grab it. There is no other way. Rest of the life we just go on preparing ourselves to take the plunge to become hero. There is, however, nothing to fear or be disappointed. Even if you fail once you will get another opportunity. God more interested to merge you in Him than you are. He has more of us as His objects of love. His happiness increases, as He knows this while you do not.

on the other hand, with that Entity which is holding this lifeline. Thus all the living beings are not only inter-connected with each other through this line but also with the Entity who may be called God or whatever name you deem fit to give IT. So although your control signals are being received through this line, you are also in a position to send out signals through this line. Your mine! is a two-way channel and through meditation you can activate this.

An interesting point to be mentioned here is that you always breathe unconsciously and effortlessly. The test of successful meditation is when you start breathing consciously and become aware of your breathing also. Another important point is that, if you observe closely, you will find that your breathing changes with your emotional state meaning thereby that you can change your emotional state by changing the rhythm of your breathing. This occurs when either you are awake or asleep. Your breathing

other/vise you will never achieve success. You may have a very good Guru or a guide whose method is used by a large section of meditators successfully, it may, even then, not suit you. So do not try to copy others but to find out for yourself the method that suits you best. The test for this is that you become aware of your breathing during mediation and find that the after-effect is of cheerfulness and of a feeling of being refreshed. We give below details of these two methods in a very simple and practical way for your understanding and, if you wish so, for your practice.

Under the first method, which is of control, sit comfortably and at ease. Concentrate on your breathing by counting every time you inhale. Restart from one again if you forget the count. You will, after sometime, observe that you are beginning to get a twitching and itching sensation fess-various parts of body. Try to observe this but do not indulge in any movement. Rather remain immobile as much as possible. It is not important how much-counting was done. What is more important is how much time was spent doing this counting: It is also not important when and where you are doing this, but try not to do this on your sleeping bed or at the time of going to sleep otherwise you may fall asleep shortly nullifying the whole exercise. If you have problem in sleeping or you get up in the middle of night and are unable to go to sleep again then this is the best method of going back to sleep. Just close the eyes and count and you will doze off soon.

The second method is of unrestrained release. Under this method you may sit (at ease), just stand up, simply stroll or whatever you like. (You may try all the three one by one to find out which suits you best). Then play on the music you like - preferably soft, soothing and pleasing vocal. It is of utmost importance that the sound or the words of the vocal music are absolutely clear,, audible and understandable. It must, however, never be jarring, nerve-shattering pop/rock music or song. Now listen to and concentrate on music. If you feel like singing along with music, tapping your feet, clapping with your hands, dancing or moving with the rhythm of music, then do it. Just do not restrain yourself. After sometime you will become aware of your breathing consciously and all your body movements will slowly stop. Let this happen to you automatically.

Both of these methods may suit you. It depends on your different mental conditions prevailing in different times. So if one method is successful once it does not mean that

(Contd. on Page 16)

GOD IS CALLING-IV

**MEDITATION AND
OUT-OF-THE-BODY
EXPERIENCE :**

By meditation we do not mean sitting cross-legged, closing eyes and focusing concentration on our forehead. Meditation is possible anywhere and at anytime. Just be in the present. Concentrate only on what you are doing at the moment. What had happened or what will happen are both irrelevant. To achieve this state of mind you will have to believe in the Will of God and your guiding angels. By concentration you will be able to control your mind and to distinguish between various thought-waves received or sent out by it.

Breathing is the key to concentration. This is the channel through which you receive thought-waves. The purpose behind meditation is to tune in your mind to a particular thought-wave. It is just like tuning your T.V. or Transistor Radio set first to receive clear signals and then to send out signals. You cannot be said to be in full control of your destiny nor can you enjoy your present life fully till you do not achieve this.

If you can visualize that you are alive by breathing which is your lifeline you may be able to understand that there is somebody who is holding this line. That, all the living beings are inter-connected with this line on the one hand and also connected,

changes the moment you get "exfec due to any external reason e.g. fear, joy, argument or some unpleasant news or sight during your waking hours. This also happens during sleeping hours when you suddenly wake up from deep sleep due to some dream or some other disturbance or when you are in a highly charged emotional state and suddenly stop doing whatever you were doing to discharge that state.

It is at that time that you experience heavy breathing and feel you are breathing very fast. This is not due to the fact that you are actually breathing fast and that you are aware of your breathing but because suddenly you are, instead of receiving signals, unconsciously start sending back signals of May Day, that of asking for help from your controller. This can be achieved by changing your emotional state through changing the rhythm of your breathing. And it is here the intervention of mediation is required. This is what you have to strive for to achieve through meditation. To breathe consciously so that you can ask for help from your controller consciously.

You will find there are various methods of doing this. But basically there are only two methods—one of controlling and the other of unrestrained release. Various individuals and organizations have expanded these methods. It is very important for you to find out which method is more suitable to you



By Prof. M.L. Koul

Philosophy-A synoptic view

BE it said in all fairness that philosophy in India did not begin as an independent segment of human investigation. It actually overlapped with religion which to a large extent concealed it under a covering of myths & credos but never hampered it from assuming its bold contours. As is well known, India is a land of multiple & multi-form religions that have all long sought support & succour from philosophy to buttress & fortify their essential doctrines & positions. This link between philosophy & religion, not in any way tenuous, resulted in generating new taxonomies of ideas & concepts that enriched the content of religions & also provided a nusus to the process of weaving the warp and woof of systematic thought models. The close inter-relationship between philosophy & religion in India is in no way a matter of weakness on part of Indian philosophy. In reality, the culture and civilization of India, on the whole, have the inspiration of religions behind them & religions have the inspiration & energy of philosophy behind them. To the Western mind, this **weltanschauung** appears to be an anathema & that is how scholars in the west are misled into wrong assessments about the nature of the Indian philosophy. Thinkers in the west are fed & nourished by the Green thought, which in its broad essentials was based on the pedestal of rationalism. Their absolute commitment to reason deters them from placing the Indian thought structure in the category of philosophy. Their categorization of the Indian philosophy is that of reli-

gious philosophy in letter & spirit. **Karl Potter** an eminent scholar of Indian philosophy, is of the view that all systems of Indian philosophy are goal-oriented & hence they be evaluated by standards peculiar to them, certainly not conforming to the standards applicable to philosophy in the west. But objectively speaking, the nature of philosophy in India is not different from that of the philosophy in the west. The Indian philosophers have never repudiated reason, never sealed discussions on the nature of Reality, never taken well-founded beliefs at their face value & never stopped from asking questions about the universe and the real meaning of human existence. True as it is, the Indian thinkers were not mere theoreticians, but, for them, philosophy as view of life was inseparable from philosophy as way of life. **Winternitz, colebrook, Neitzehe, Scholpanhauer** & many other orientalis had an appreciative understanding of the Indian cultural ethos & their evaluations of the entire corpus of the Indian literature in general and philosophy in particular are more objective & precious than those that verge on pre-occupied opinions. As in the west, so in India, philosophers were in quest for the ultimate truth and the systems they have structured are as coherent and well-knit as many other systems in the west. Indian thinking is the product of its own milieu and it has to be evaluated as it is. Indian philosophers loved wisdom or sophia, evined a keen curiosity to plumb the depths of **atman** and its nexus with the world that evolves. The total spectrum of thought processes leads us to believe that Indian thinkers were motivated by an intellectual quest for goals

that were metaphysical and spiritual in essence and for practical realisation of truth. The vedic and upanishade visionaries from **Uddalak, Yajnavalk, Kapil, Kanad, Patanjali** to sankar and off the beat thinkers like **Buddha** and **Mahavir** and others possess all the credentials for entry into the famed hall of pre-eminent thinkers.

Religions in India were far from being

tradition cemented the bond between the two without playing the negative role of stunning and stultifying the growth of either of them. Numerous thought processes with varied approaches and premises to essential problems of life and world have come into being in India and tradition deep-rooted as it has cemented their links with the essential genius of India. Tradition elsewhere

Religions in India were far from being rigid and dogmatic. They had no set codes to reduce vast numbers of Indian masses to the sheer position of obedience and conformity. They had intrinsic proclivity to allow openness & variety of thinking that led to the formation of a broad mosaic in which each thread of thought merged on the pattern but at the same time stood out of it to attract attention.

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has proved reactionary and retrogressive by way of discouraging and even suppressing new trends of thought, but in the Indian cultural model, it has not worked fetters on the wings of speculative thought. Instead it has aided all stirrings in the minds of men towards new horizons of thinking by way of raising a corpus of questions regarding man's existence and the world where he held his being. To hold that tradition in India was always healthy and positive certainly smacks of conservatism and parochialism. But what is significant about India is the growth of regenerative and assimilative movements after every crisis caused by the choking impact of tradition at a time when it proved a hurdle in the development of new thinking processes.

Various systems of philosophy that had their genesis and growth in India are essentially rooted in the empirical experience but most of the

systems ultimately find their apogee in transcendentalism. In fact, empirical data and observable facts have been culled and gleaned and utilized as 'building blocks' to structure and construct these transcendental systems. The philosophers in India are in no way contented with the mere analytical explanations of the world process and the mass of data provided by them to the human senses, but they have posed the essential hypothesis of absolute Reality as the creator, defender and supporter of the world. In fact, thinkers in India by and large have a '**metaphysical hunger**' to know and understand what lies beyond the 'elusive and mysterious veil of nature'. They have offered a concept of absolute Reality which is a changeless principle, infinite and beyond the precincts of temporality. Most systems of Indian philosophy pose, discuss and explain the concept of absolute Reality from their own positions. In fact, these systems are 'insights' affording man 'sight of the sensible verities' enabling 'him to understand in the light of reason the super-sensible truth'. The systems, in fine, afford a mine of debate and discussion of Reality, which is generally believed to be one of the essential functions of philosophy.

To distinguish between 'Reality' and 'appearance' is one of the commonplace functions of Indian philosophy. Reality is immutable and is the uncaused cause of appearances. Reality in Advait-vedanta is pure, untouched and undefined by appearances. Brahman as Reality in Vedanta is transcendental. But Paramsiva in 'Saivadvaya philosophy of Kashmir is both transcendental and immanent Reality. Brahmana is Sat, cit and anand, away from the gross impurities and defilements of the

world of Maya, but Paramsiva is directly involved in the cosmic process. The nexus between reality and appearances have been discussed and analysed from dualistic, dual-cum-non-dualistic and non-dualistic stand points. Reality is being, unchangeable and permanent and appearances are becoming, changeable and immanent.

It is commonly believed that architectonics of philosophy in the west are put on the pedestal of reason. Philosophers from Aristotle to Bertand Russel have never ignored and repudiated the primacy of reason and intellect in their efforts to structure their philosophies and the systems they have constructed are reason-oriented and logic-based. But, contrary to the western standpoint, the Indians do not commit themselves to reason though the systems they have structured provide ample evidence of reason-reoriented analysis and explanation of the empirical data. Liberation or moksa from the bondage and trammels of birth and death is the principal goal they assiduously pursue with a deep sense of faith. Observes **Karl Potter**, "Practically all philosophical systems view liberation as the highest aim of mankind and Advaita is no exception...liberation consists of release from the process of birth, life, death and transmigration". Puts **Dr. Theos Bernard**, "Hindu Philosophy does not attempt to train one to discern metaphysical truths; it offers a way of thinking which enables one rationally to understand the Reality experienced by self-fulfilled 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".

Cholistan - The Inside Story



By Sanjay Godbole

BAHAWALPUR is a city in the province of Punjab in Pakistan. This city is situated at a distance of 90 k.m. from Multan and 420 km. from Lahore. One comes across a desert, called 'Cholistan' at a distance of 30 km. from Bahawalpur. In the past, an ancient river called 'Hakda' used to flow in this region. In the vicinity of this river, there exist about 300 prominent spots, which have remains of 'Harappa Culture'. Between 12th Century B.C. to 6th century B. C. the culture here, had flourished and was at its peak. In course of time, the basin of river 'Hakda' got shrunk and dried up and the whole terrain got gradually converted and transformed into a desert. The word 'Cholistan' has its origin in the word 'Cholna' as spoken in the local dialect of that area and which means to move or to migrate from one place to another. The nomadic tribes of this area very frequently migrated from one place to another, in search of water and fodder for their livestock. This practice of migrations made this province popularly known as 'Cholistan. The residents of this area, even as on today, live in the earthen homes constructed on sandy dunes. The art of weaving, the embroidery and the needlecraft and the general artwork here are very

famous. The medium of communication is predominantly the 'Siraiki' language, the total area covered by the desert, which is mostly extended towards the east of Bahawalpur is 15000 sq. k.m. and the same finally gets joined to Gulf of Kutch, or the desert of Thar.

Cholistan has many wells. These wells are furnished with a water lifting device which is driven with help of camels. People belonging to various tribes or communities, such as 'Chachar, Meher, Lar, Pariyar, Channar and Chandani' are settled in Cholistan.

potable water, was stored in these tanks. The first ever such fort was got constructed by Devraj the prince of Jaisalmer. The entire area in Cholistan was under the control of the Rajput rulers from Jaisalmer. In the year 1733, the Nawab of Bahawalpur conquered this region. One of the big forts in this region, situated at 'Deravar' is known as a 'Square fort'. The 40 gigantic bastions, each 30 meter high could be seen from at a very long distance in the desert of Cholistan. This mammoth fort is spread over an area of 1500 sq. meters, from

buried underground. The above fort was constructed with the help of that treasure. This fort was christened after the name of Goddess 'Bijseni' as fort of 'Bijnor' because it was believed that the construction of this fort was possible only on account of the blessings of Goddess 'Bijseni'. This fort was under the command and control of the 'Rajput' rulers for nearly a thousand long years. After some time, the Nawab of 'Bahawalpur' conquered this fort also. Presently this fort houses the contingent of 'Pakistan Rangers'. One Mr. 'Allah Wasaya a

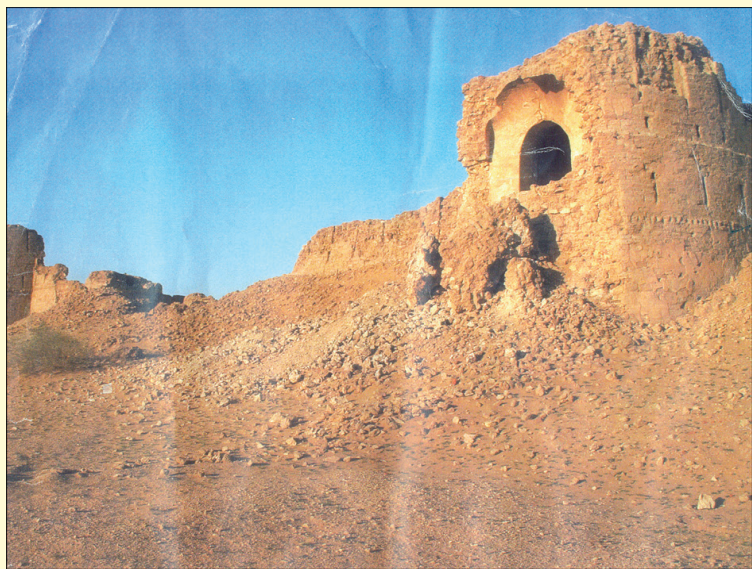
Mr. Wasaya.

The residents of all the nearby villages had vacated their places enblock. The Indian armed forces made advances and reached Bijnor.

The Indian army, however, soon retreated from Bijnor, due to the implementation of the 'Simla pact' between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

One of the research scholars from Pakistan, Mr. Salman Rashid, carried out a detailed survey of the fort of Bijnor recently. In his opinion, the fort of Bijnor, like the one at 'Kot Diji' had a palace, terrace, Galleries, observation towers, Large parlours, rooms and storage spaces. Special underground tanks for storage of water were also provided. On account of a large opening caused during the action, one fails to visualize the original grandeur of the fort in totality. The walls built in limestone, of the structures of the fort are made extraordinarily thick to induce natural air conditioning effect, which is desirable in the hot and arid climate of Cholistan. The roofing is dome shaped. Many a legendary accounts of the Fort of Bijnor are tastefully gossiped in and around Pakistan. Colonel Tod has referred to the fort of Bijnor in brief. But according to Mr. Salman Rashid, a detailed historical account of the Bijnor's central fort, in the precincts of Cholistan known as 'Ruhi' in local dialect and of the various forts, eventually built by the Rajput rulers along the banks of river 'Hakda' has not been available here-insofar.

**(The writer is an museologist/archeologist based at Pune)*



Cholistan-Fort.

Ancestrically, they are more akin to the lineage of the people from Rajasthan. The various forts in cholistan were specially erected by the Rajput rulers for the sole purpose of monitoring the movements of the caravans of camels, and their migratory movements in Cholistan. These forts have been uniformly erected at an evenly equispaced distance of approximately 29 k.m. For the provision of potable water, specially designed and devised underground water tanks were constructed within the limits of these forts, and

Deravar, one comes to a place called 'Bijnor' and the border of Indian territory is at a distance of mere 25 k.m. The city of 'Bikaner' is at a distance of 150 km. from 'Bijnor'. In the past, the lights from 'Bikaner' could be clearly visible, from this place. In the 19 century, one James Tod authored an exhaustive historical account of Rajasthan. In that account, he has made a specific reference to the fort at 'Bijnor'. The fort at Bijnor was constructed in the year 757 A.D. Prince 'Tanmr' of 'Bhatti' Dynasty found a sizeable treasure-trove,

gentleman, almost 70 plus of age resides at Bijnor. Since he is thoroughly acquainted with the history of Bijnor, he always provides vital information as to the history of 'Bijnor' to the media. In his opinion, the real tension started mounting at Bahawalpur, when in the year 1956, the state of Bahawalpur got merged in Pakistan. In the war that broke out between India and Pakistan in the year 1971, the fort of Bijnor was considerably damaged on account of bombings and regular air assaults by the Indian air force, says

GOD IS CALLING-IV

(From Page 14)

every time the same method will succeed. Try the other next time. Do not forget also that the purpose of both the methods is to make you aware of your breathing and through it observing of to and fro flow of thought—waves coming in or going out through your mind.

However, a word of advice". Never try to check, mould, distract or control your thought - waves. Just observe them. The control will come automatically once you stop allowing your mind to weave a story or indulge in an imaginary discussion with another person and thus absorb you in it completely. It you continue watching or keeping track of your thoughts and not get lost in them a stage will come when there are not thoughts and suddenly a feeling of weightlessness will overtake you.

Try to hold on to or prolong this state as long as you are able to enjoy sitting like this. Soon the mind will overtake you. You will then, have to restart this process again and after some practice you will start getting

what is called out-of-the-body experience. You may hear the sound of OUM, of bells ringing, of ethereal music or have visions of gods or demons 'according to the religion in which you were raised as a child. You may hear singing musical voice calling itself the voice of god or of some great Himalayan Yogi. You may even experience hovering or floating in the air above and seeing your own body down below while floating above it. And finally you may hear the voice of your guiding

Continuation

angel clearly and be able to converse with it and thus satisfy curiosity and you may clear all worldly as well as metaphysical dilemma.

One thing important, however, here is that an experience you may have had in one of the sittings may 01 may not repeat itself later on, So do not expect a particular experience again. That particular experience need not be repeated necessarily. There can be a number of experiences. These experiences will differ from person to person and depend on the mental state of each person. Further, one thing will always distinguish these experiences from dreams. Here, unlike dreams, you will always have pleasant surprises, the colours/you see will always be bright and not hazy. You will never come in contact with an event or object, which is not of your liking. Once you are back from this state, of bliss you will always be cheerful, refreshed, full of energy and good thoughts.

If, however, you come out of this state as depressed or fee I drained out, then it is not an out-of-the-body experience but that you had just fallen asleep and had a nightmare. So try again after having 'a proper and sound sleep.

Once you have had any or a few out-of-the-body experience, you will not be the same person. This is what Swarrii Vivekanand meant when he said that your book has opened now and that books are useless to you until your own book opens. Then all other books are good so far as these confirm or conform to your book.

There are various methods, concepts and an infinite number of books and scriptures on the subject. You may try any or many but till you are not bored with other games of life available, you cannot succeed in playing this last game before going home.

And you cannot play indefinitely because all your playmates will be going home soon.

—(Concluded)



By Upender Ambardar

THE wide spread of the diverse Shivratri rituals and customs reflects the elegant and wondrous confluence of various and distinct influences acquired over the times, asserted Sh Avtar Krishan Koul an original resident of Purshiyar, Habbakadal Srinagar and now putting up at ORT Complex Purkhoo Comp, Phase-I Jammu. Refreshing the festival related memories of the yore, he recalled that as a run-up to the festival, the house cleansing followed by mud smearing of the whole house would commence on Phagun Krishan Paksh Pratipadha, locally known as **'Hur Oakdoh'**.

Similarly, the customary washing of the outfits was done on Phagun Krishan Paksh Shasti or **'Hur Shyam'**. In conjunction with the family, **'reeth'**, the **'Vatuk'** comprised one clay, **'Nout'**, one **'Doul'** (Bhairav Doul) and **'Doulji'** (**Resh Doulji'**, two small **'Doulji'**, one **'choud'** designated as **'Ram Goud'**, two **'Suniwari'**, two **'Muchiwari'**, two **'Sanipatul'** (one used for **pooja** and the second one was seated with the **'Vatak'**, utensils. They were brought home on the specific day of **'Dhyara Dahum'** i.e. **Phagun Krishan Paksh Dushmi'**.

They were ushered inside the house amidst the traditional **'Aalath'** i.e. waving around of a water filled vessel having a few rice grains and a coin put inside it. The **'Aalath'** was performed at the main entrance door of the house. A day prior to Shivratri, a clay utensil designated as **'Ram Goud'** was installed by seating it on the backside space of the mud hearth, locally known as

'Dhaan' in the kitchen room. The rite was performed usually in the evening after **'Vusur'** was tied to its rim and it was seated on a grass woven base called **'Aarie'**. The combined vegetarian dish of **'hakh'** and **'nadru'**, **'nadir churma'** and cooked rice along with **'argh'** and flowers were put into **'Ram Goud'** amidst an elaborate **pooja**. Interestingly enough, on Shivratri, the ritualistic meat dishes were those of **'rogan-josh'**, **'kelya'**, **'muja-gaeda'** and **'demni-nadru'**. The **pooja** utensils of **'Vatuk'** were filled-up with water at the yarbal ghat of Purshiyar. On the next day of **'Salam'** morning **pooja** was performed for **'Nout'** and **'Ram Goud'**.

In conformity with the family **'reeth'**, the **'Doon Mavus'** **pooja** was performed first at the **'yarbal ghat'** and then at the **'Vatak Kuth'** but curiously enough the 'knock at the door' ritual of **'Thuk Thuk'** was omitted.

However, though on the **'Doon Mavus'**, the embellishment of **Vusir'**, **'mouli'** and **'aarie'** etc. were untied but curiously enough they were deposited in the river only on **'Hur Ashtami'**. Out of eight oil lit mud lamps, one each was placed at home, connecting lane, lane corners, yarbal ghat and one was floated in the flowing waters of the river. The Shivratri rituals are riveting evocation of long and remarkable socio-religious journey of our community. They are outcome of specific beliefs, convictions, social patterns and taboos and are interlaced with insightful meanings, articulated Smt. Meenawati Watt Pandit, an original inhabitant of the village Hall, district Pulwama and now residing at Indra Nagar Srinagar. The **'Vagur'** and **'Vatak'** utensils were filled up with water at the bank of Lar riverlet, a tributary of Rambara stream. In conformity with the family **'reeth'**, the ritualistic offerings to the **'Bhairav Doul'**

were cooked liver (Churvun), cooked cheese and vegetables and not the usual meat dishes. She also disclosed that in tune with an unusual and exceptionally rare family custom, the **'Parmuzan'** of only **'Vagur'** was done on **'Doon Mavus'** and not that of **'Vatuk'** as is usually done in majority of the households. Accordingly only water of the **pooja** utensils was replaced with fresh one on **'Doon Mavus'** and actual **'Mavus'** **pooja** was performed

Indranagar Srinagar. During an interaction, it was revealed that on Phagun Krishan Paksh Duvadashi i.e. **'Vagur Bah'**, uncooked reddish slices and an uncooked and uncleared small fish variety called **'gurun'** were family specific traditional offerings to the designated **pooja** utensils of **'Vagur'**. It was obligatory to procure and offer **'gurun'** even in overwhelming odds of harsh climate.

On Shivratri, the



on Phagun Krishan Paksh Dashmi at the yarbal ghat of Lar streamlet. On **'Tila Ashtami'**, oil lit mud lamps were placed, one each at the house corridor passage called **'Vuz'**, courtyard, cowdung heap and the stream bank. The ritual of **'Thuk Thuk'** likewise was performed on **'Dashmi'** instead of the usual **'Amavasya'** and the auspicious things were symbolically granted by an elderly lady of the household. The family would also perform **'Jatoon Toon'** on the evening of the said day. It was also revealed that apart from cash, the potter was also given rice in the willow wicker container, locally called **'Phout'**, in which the **'Vatak'** utensils had been carried by him.

The multilayered complexity of the festival rituals represents an amalgamation of many socio-cultural influences of bygone eras, declared Mrs Dhanwati Khan, an original inhabitant of the village Hall, district Pulwama and now residing at

traditional offering to the **'Bhairav Doul'** was only cooked liver (Churvun) and interestingly enough the usual meat preparations were excluded from the offerings. However, strangely enough separate **pooja** was offered to the sacrificial offering of an uncut and unwashed sheep's lung in its entirety having its heart intact. After the **pooja** was over, it was kept on the roof top for the crows and the kites to feed on. The **'Doon Mavus'** **pooja** was performed at the village streamlet called **'Lar'** but the widely prevalent custom of **'Thuk Thuk'** was not performed.

The Shivratri rituals reflect the grandeur and richness of our ceaseless devotion and symbolize the devotion personified, remarked Smt. Arundati Ambardar, an original resident of the village Sombruna, Tehsil Shangus, district Anantnag and presently putting up at Muthi Jammu.

During a detailed conversation, she narrated that as per the family **'reeth'**, the

whole house was spruced up for the festival by though cleansing only on Phagun Krishan Paksh Suptami, while as it was obligatory to initiate and complete the ritual of **'livun'** on the evening of the same day and not before that she also disclosed that piece of cloth used in the process of clay and water smearing, locally known as **'livun hur'** had to be retained inside the house till the wee hours of the next day to its subsequent disposal only at an uncontaminated place. The **'Vatuk'** comprised one **'Nout'**, one Bhairav Doul, one Resh Doul, two **'Saniwari'**, one Sanipatul, one dupzor and five flat bottomed saucer shaped earthenwares, called **'Toke'**.

The **pooja** utensils were filled up with water at the village stream. The said ritual was strangely enough performed only by the male members of the family as participation of the ladies was not allowed. During the said ritual, an unusual and peculiar family reeth ordained that an eldest male family member would wrap a woollen blanket around his waist, locally known as **'Hoal Gandun'**. It was also mandatory to keep a small axe locally called **'Makh'** on the right side of the wrapped up woollen blanket at the level of the waist. It was also required to keep the head covered with a towel during the act of water filling. The subsequent entry inside the house was allowed only after the main entrance door was closed by an elderly lady of the house and opened only after the 'knock at the door' ritual of **'Thuk Thuk'** was performed. It is in sharp contrast with the other households, where the said ritual is performed usually on **'Doon Mavus'**.

During the rite of **'Thuk Thuk'**, all the good things of life like health, wealth, rozgar and overall prosperity **'Soukh'**

'Savai' were symbolically granted by the male member standing outside the entrance door. The **'Doon Mavus'** **pooja** was performed at the village stream bank.

The myriad hues of mythical Shivratri rituals trace a magnificent and splendid journey of our socio-religious development and growth, opined Sh. Ravi Kumar Najawan, an erstwhile resident of the village Chek Chrathram, tehsil Pattan, district Baramulla and presently putting up at the ORT Complex Mishriwalla, Jammu. The festival related memories are indelibly imprinted in his mind. He nostalgically recalled that in accordance with his family reeth, the **'Vatuk'** consisted of brass vessels of **'Gagar'**, **'Gudva'**, five Katoreez called **'Kuvli'** and one **'Doul'**. It is in contrast with the wide prevalent reeth of having only the clay utensils as **'Vatuk'**.

Among these vessels, the **'Gagar'** was the symbolic representation of Lord Shiva, the **'Gudva'** as that of the Goddess Parvati while as the two **'Katoreez'** stood for Lord Ganesh and Kumar. The **Vatuk** was filled up with water at the village stream. The vegetarian dishes as per the family reeth were the sacrificial offerings to the **'Bhairav Doul'**.

As per an unusual reeth, hulva and puri were also an additional ritualistic offering to both the utensils of **'Gagar'** and the **'Bhairav Doul'**. It was also revealed by him that it was customary for one member of each family to participate in the Shivratri **pooja** of other households of the village. The **pooja** as such would continue till the wee hours of the next day.

Sh. Ravi Kumar also disclosed that **'Vatak'** **pooja** was performed not in the **'Vatak Kuth'** but in a portion of the kitchen set aside for it. The **'Doon Mavus'** **pooja** was performed at home and not at the stream bank.

However, the utilised and left over **pooja** material was collected and stored in a bucket for subsequent immersion in the village stream. On **'Ashtami'**, oil lit mud lamps were placed at the window shelf, store room, cowshed, the entrance stair base or **'brandh'** and at the intersection of the roads called **'Chowk'**. The rite of **'Jatoon Toon'** was not performed.

The Shivratri ambience to pray, worship and meditate, observed Sh. Bakshi Lal Kapoor, an erstwhile resident of the village Chak Narayan Dass and now putting up at Muthi Jammu. The said village is a distance of about three kilometers from Chak Chrath Ram village. He disclosed that no symbolic **pooja** of the utensils was performed. However, curiously enough in accordance with the family custom, **'parthishor'** of Lord Shiva and the Goddess Parvati were made out of cooked rice. They were subsequently seated reverentially in a thali. Amidst elaborate **pooja**, the most relished dishes of meat and fish were ritualistically offered to the rice made symbolic substitutes of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati. An additional offering was that of an uncooked, uncleared, and undressed fish variety called as **'gurun'**. On the subsequent day of **'Salam'**, they were immersed in the village stream. Accordingly no **'Doon Mavus'** **pooja** was performed. Sh. Arjan Nath Kapoor, an original resident of the same village and at present residing at ORT complex Mishriwalla Jammu disclosed that Shivratri festival was celebrated by his family in the same way. However there was a minor variation in the sense that only vegetarian dishes were the sacrificial offerings to the rice made **'Parthishar'** of the Lord Shiva and the Goddess Parvati.

—(Continued)

Oct.1: 8 Terrorists and a cop were killed as Army foiled intrusion bids in the valley. Seven person including two video-journalists were injured in violence even though curfew was clamped in view of court verdict on Ayodhya.

Oct. 2: Two HUIJ terrorists were arrested in Dachan and an LeT hide out was busted at Utrayan Bounjwaj, Kishtwar and arms and 9 SIM cards were recovered. The operation against terrorists near LoC ended as one terrorist was killed today. Kashmir witnessed a day long normalcy though one more injured succumbed. NR, RPF and GRP are to discuss modalities tomorrow to start restoration work of damaged railway track in the Valley. CI wing of police has started random verification of SIM cards to prevent misuse.

Oct.3: A recycled surrendered terrorist and a youth were rescued from the clutches of HM terrorists in Kishtwar. Four people were injured in Shopian as curfew was clamped at many places and restrictions elsewhere in the valley to foil separatists, march to Baramulla. S A Geelani and Umar Farooq were put under house arrest. Violence in valley has hit NHPC projects.

Oct. 4: Terrorists kidnapped brother of an SPO from Gursai area in Poonch and released after thrashing. Terrorists are not only using SIMs of Indian telecom companies but also of Pak companies as four SIM cards of Pak companies were recovered from a terrorist hide out in Kishtwar. Kashmir witnessed a normal day. Omar Abdullah met Prime Minister and discussed Political and law & order situation of the state. Air Chief Marshal O V Naik favoured continuance of AFSPA in J&K. Mendhar firing victims are also to get Rs five lakh exgratia.

Oct.5: Two top terrorists were killed in Mahore. Four people were injured as authorities foiled separatists' march to Kupwara. CRPF started removing 16 bunkers from Srinagar city. Kashmir situation was discussed in the Assembly. Cabinet is reportedly to consider Justice Sageer Report. Parvez Musharraf admitted that Pakistan trained terrorist groups against India.

Oct.6: Kashmir witnessed a normal day as curfew was lifted. Terming Kashmir an outstanding issue that needs resolution, Omar Abdullah said in the Assembly that development and employment can not address the issue and Kashmir has acceded conditionally and not merged with India. India termed Musharraf's admission vindication of its stand.

Oct.7: An LeL terrorist was killed by his associate in Keshwan, Kishtwar. BSF fired at infiltrators in Samba sector.UHQ decides to revoke PSA against 12 youth. Stone pelting was reported from many places in the valley. Omar Abdullah described unrest in Kashmir a Cross that he will bear life long. Omar Abdullah's statement in the Legislative Assembly yesterday evoked wide spread condemnation. BJP decided to boycott the rest of the Assembly session after being marshalled out for protests against CM's statement.

Oct.8: Two top HM terrorists were held in Jammu city while an SPO was absconding as fruit boxes full of explosives were seized near Indra Chowk. Two dreaded terrorists were arrested in Kishtwar and recovered a large quantity of arms and ammunition from their possession. Stone pelting was reported from many places while curfew was imposed in Srinagar and many other towns as a precautionary measure. As opposition stayed away from the Assembly to protest CM's statement, Congress described J&K an integral part of India and BJP accused CM of internationalizing a domestic issue.

Oct.9: A terrorist was killed in Kangan as strike affected normal life in the valley. Government decided release of 12 PSA detainees. Another terrorist was arrested in connection with the recovery of explosives in Jammu and hunt was on for an SPO and three others as traces of the module were linked to Gandoh. Yog Guru asked for the resolution of J&K issue once for all.

Oct.10: An LeT terrorist was killed in Sopore and normal life remained paralysed in the valley due to strike. An SPO was among four arrested for sending explosives to Jammu. A foreign national was killed at IB in Samba sector while a Pakistani was arrested in Balakot sector. An IED was detected and defused at Basantgarh, Udhampur. In new development youth go to Pakistan on visa and return after training. Ramdev asked Pakistan to keep hands off Kashmir.

Oct.11: An Army Jawan injured in an encounter at Sopore succumbed to his injuries. Curfew was imposed across the valley to foil march to Hyderpora. A villager was killed in firing range in Nowshera in

Jammu.

Oct.12: A woman was among four arrested in Kulgam for helping terrorists. Curfew was imposed to foil march to Geelani's residence. Core Group reviewed infiltration and security scenario.

Oct.13: 15 people were injured in clashes though curfew was lifted from many places in the valley. Journalist Dilip Padgaonkar, academician Radha Kumar and Information Commissioner M M Ansari were named as interlocutors and the separatists described it a futile exercise. GoC 16 Corps Lt Gen. Roy said that the terrorists were shifting operational strategy in J&K.

Oct.14: Two Rajouri terrorists were among three terrorists killed in an encounter in Shopian. A grenade was launched towards a CRPF camp in Sopore but failed to cause any damage. The valley witnessed a normal day. A civilian was injured in a blast in Mendhar. The appointment of interlocutors did not inspire confidence as most of the organizations opposed the selection on one ground or the other. Mehbooba said the choice dampens hope while BJP described them not good.

Oct.15: Curfew was imposed in four districts including Srinagar as death toll rose to 106 in valley disturbance. The government said that the stone pelters will be released for three months initially and will have to fulfil many conditions. S M Krishna described J&K legitimate part of India but defended Omar Abdullah's statement in the Assembly. Army Chief described China and Pakistan as major irritants for India's security. BSF is to get anti-fog equipments to fight infiltration.

Oct.16: Two terrorists heading for Rajouri from valley were killed in Budhal. Valley witnessed a normal day.

Oct.17: Four Jawans were injured in an encounter in Reasi. AN HM terrorist was arrested and plot to kill contractors was foiled in Mahore. Two terrorists were held in Pattan. Curfew will be clamped to foil Pattan Chalo. Hurriyat to launch signature campaign for US intervention for settlement of Kashmir issue.

Oct.18: An LeT terrorist, an Army Jawan and a civilian were killed in anti-terrorist operations in Kashmir. An IED was detected outside PCR. Curfew was clamped as mastermind of the present unrest Masart Alam was arrested and booked under PSA. Two Kashmiri youth were rescued from terrorists in Mahore. P Chidambaram comes in support of J&K CM.

Oct.19: Stand off ended as the holed up terrorist was found dead in the mosque in Bandipore. An LeT terrorist was killed while another escaped in an injured condition in an encounter in Banihal. Curfew was imposed in four districts as 23 people were injured in clashes in the valley. India described cross border terror a major issue. Kashmir interlocutors met Home Minister and described political settlement of Kashmir as their agenda.

Oct.20: LeT shifted top comodrs to Rajouri for recruitment. A terrorist guide crossed over to PoK whose wife and four children are already there. Valley remained normal today. Union Home Minister said that there are no red lines for the interlocutors and the talks with Pakistan will begin early next year.

Oct.21: Two JeM terrorists were killed in the outskirts of Srinagar and Army installations were reportedly their target. Three terrorists were arrested in the valley and curfew was imposed in Srinagar and Sopore to foil Lal Chowk Rally. Geelani and separatists' sympathizers faced wrath of KPs and other nationalists at a seminar in New Delhi. Dr Karan Singh described J&K's accession with India full and final. Army Chief said that new terror camps have come up in Pakistan and infiltration is on rise as more terrorists are waiting to infiltrate. Amidst controversy PM assured support to the interlocutors and J&K CM asked for giving them a chance.

Oct.22: Two top HM terrorists were arrested at Jammu Railway Station after reaching there from Pakistan via Nepal. Srinagar gun-battle toll rose to three with recovery of one more terrorist's body. Curfew was imposed in several parts of the valley. Three children were injured while fiddling with an explosive at Maloora, the site of recent encounter. Three rifles were looted in Badarwah.

Oct.23: Three infiltrators were killed in Uri. Strike affected normal life in the valley. The terrorists arrested at the Railway Station turned out to be the confidants of Salah-u-Din. The interlocutors started their campaign in Srinagar and met PDPleader Muzaffar Hussain Beigh and visiting Central Jail.

Oct.24: A jawan was killed in Pak firing on LoC in KG sector. The terrorists arrested at RS Jammu disclosed that about 1400 J&K terrorists are still in Pak camps. Criticising handling of unrest in valley, Army

Chief said that opposing AFSPA is to play in the separatists' hands. BJP accused Padgaonkar of internationalizing Kashmir issue as he described dialogue with Pak necessary for resolution of Kashmir issue

Oct.25: A govt. teacher and a terrorist were arrested and three escaped as a plot to kill five Gujjars was foiled in Reasi. UHQ reviewed security situation. Padgaonkar asked students to prepare roadmap for Azadi. Geelani described appointment of interlocutors to mislead Obama.

Oct.26: Eight people were injured in clashes at several places in the valley and curfew was imposed in down town Srinagar. Arms and ammunition were recovered in Budhal. Shabir Shah refused to get released conditionally. Continuing their campaign interlocutors met many people and visited Shopian to meet the family of Neelofer and Asiya. Law Minister Veerapa Moily slammed Geelani and Arundhati Roy. State cabinet is to review Ammnesty plan for Kashmiri terrorists in PoK. A suspect was nabbed on IB in Arnia. Army Chief said that infiltration was on rise.

Oct.27: Two ReT teachers were kidnapped in Marwah, Kishtwar; one managed to escape. 15 people were injured in fresh clashes and curfew was imposed at many places to foil Hurriyat march to UNMOG. Pak violated ceasefire in Poonch and Uri. Interlocutors reached Jammu and said that they would not go to meet anyone uninvited. IT department asked Geelani to pay Rs 1.73 crore tax.

Oct.28: A notorious stone pelter was arrested though normalcy returned to the Valley. ReT teacher was rescued in Marwah. Interlocutors visited Migrant Camp Muthi and met delegations in Jammu and hinted of opening offices at Jammu, Srinagar and Delhi.

Oct.29: A jawan was killed while four terrorists were reportedly holed up in an encounter in Navapachi, Marwah. Four people were injured in clashes that followed Friday prayers and curfew was imposed at several places in Kashmir. Singh-Wen meet discuss visa issue related to Kashmir.

Oct.30: More troops were rushed to Navapachi as searches continued for the terrorists. In a new development, posters appeared in Srinagar warning Hurriyat for continued strikes even though curfew was imposed in three towns of the valley after protests. Two bodies were recovered in the valley. P Chidambaram, who is on two day visit to the state, said that the interlocutors are to find political answer to Kashmir.

Oct.31: A terrorist was killed in an encounter in Sopore. Curfew was imposed in many parts of the valley and life remained paralysed due to strike. 26 letter pads recovered from terrorists arrested at Ry Stn. were signed by Salah-u-Din to recruit fresh cadres. Interlocutors said that the terrorists are to submit peace-plan. Geelani described posters as handiwork of the govt. Reports suggest that Imams helped to scale down protests in the valley. P Chidambaram reviewed security situation in Kashmir and assured equal treatment to all the regions.

Nov.1: Four terrorists were killed in different encounters in Kashmir. Life remained paralysed in the valley while five stone pelters were arrested. Large cache of ammunition was recovered in Sabjan, Mandi. Seven-eight more SPOs are reportedly involved in recovery of explosives at Indra Chowk, Jammu. Appealing for giving peace a chance, P Chidambaram advised interlocutors to refrain from commentary. Complaint was registered against Geelani and Arundati Roy.

Nov.2: Two more LeT terrorists were killed in Shopian. An OGW was arrested in Handwara. Religious leaders asked govt. not to impose restrictions on Fridays and appealed separatists not to call for strikes on such days. Sonia Gandhi described Kashmir unrest painful while Farooq Abdullah said that the strike politics has crippled J&K. Interlocutors submit report to Home Minister.

Nov.3: Normal life disrupted due to strike and isolated stone pelting incidents reported in the valley. Shabir Shah was released unconditionally for a period of one month and more stone pelters are to be freed. A Delhi court seeks report on Geelani and Arundati Roy.

Nov.4: Normalcy returned to the valley for a day while authorities decided to impose curfew apprehending protests on Friday. BJYM and BD activists hackled Shabir Shah and disrupted his press conference. US slaps sanctions against LeT and JeM.

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Nov.5: Two people were killed in an accident caused by the stone-pelting in Shopian as valley observed strike on Obama's visit to India. Massive searches were launched in Ghati forests of Kathua after reports of the movement of two terrorists in the area. Two terrorist hideouts were destroyed in Keshwan, Kishtwar and Sunderbani, Rajouri. An OGW of HM was arrested under PSA in Reasi. RSS described total integration of Kashmir, including parts under occupation of Pakistan and China, into the Indian Dominion as the only solution to Kashmir issue.

Nov.7: Protests against continued strikes lead to clashes in Srinagar. Omar Abdullah said that AFSPA can be withdrawn with a rider and Army can step in even after withdrawal. Army Chief alleged that the US aid to Pakistan is diverted to terrorism. The US president Obama said that Pak is not dealing terror as quickly as liked by the US.

Nov.8: Two terrorists were killed in Tangdar as forces foiled an intrusion bid. Valley observed a strike. An HM ultra surrendered in Ramban. Jammu observed Bandh even though Omar Abdullah stood by his statement on the accession. Separatists hailed Obama's Kashmir reference. India and the US called for smashing all terror networks.

Nov.9: Demand for UT status figured prominently as interlocutors held wide range of discussions in Leh. Omar Abdullah hailed Indo-US joint statement. SC upheld freeze on delimitation till 2026. An Army Jawan committed suicide in Baderwah.

Nov.11: An HM commander's associate was arrested and another terrorist booked under PSA in Reasi. Interlocutors continued their mission and visited Uri. State govt. said that PM's return package was set for implementation and appointment orders of 1700 migrants will be issued soon.

Nov.12: A terrorist and a cop were killed in an encounter in Sopore while an NC activist was gunned down in Shopian. After nine weeks prayers were offered in Jamia Masjid, Srinagar as there was no strike or curfew. Interlocutors continued their interaction in the valley and said that the centre would find solution from their exercise.

Nov.13: A Rajouri girl was rescued in Pulwama and she claimed that she was being forced to join terrorism. The US secretary for state Hillary Clinton said that Pakistan is using terror as hedge against India and the US support to radicals boomeranged.

Nov.14: Two Pakistani terrorists were killed on LoC as troops foiled an intrusion bid in Poonch district. Two bodies were recovered from forests in Baramulla. Interlocutors pitched for the release of political prisoners. PCC Chief said that AFSPA cannot be revoked on the demand of a group or an individual.

Nov.15: Top HM terrorist Inqullibi was arrested by Delhi Police. PSA Review Committee decided to release 14 more persons detained under the act. A Delhi court acquitted an LeT terrorist of Doda. India hailed exclusion of J&K from the list of unresolved international disputes in the UN.

Nov.16: A youth of Jammu who has been pushed into terrorism remained untraced while two ultras were arrested for luring the youth. Hizb Commander Inqullibi's wife and father-in-law were arrested while DP denied the custody of the terrorist to J&K police. DP sought more time to probe Geelani and Roy case. India raised stapled Visa case with China.

Nov.17: Inqullabi's wife and father-in-law have been charged with waging war against the country. Police vehicle was set ablaze and five people were injured as there were protests after Eid prayers in the valley.

Nov.18: A hunt was on for two terrorists while a Rajouri's transporter was arrested for sheltering Inqullibi. The valley remained peaceful after a day of protest. Pak Army named 453 soldiers killed in Kargil war. The US described LeT a dangerous group.

Nov.19: A hideout of Inqullibi was busted while an OGW was arrested in Kishtwar. Massive search was launched in Sabjan as terrorists started shifting to plains. Three people were injured in stone pelting and clashes in the valley. 17 Rly Stations to have integrated security setup as damage restoration work started in the valley. Farooq Abdullah blamed accidental politicians for impeding resolution of Kashmir issue. India took serious exception to Irani supreme leader Ayottuullah Khamni's remarks of asking Muslims to support Kashmir freedom struggle.

Nov.20: A holed up terrorist was killed in Sopore while a former terrorist was shot dead in Pulwama. An OGW was killed in cross firing in Kishtwar while four security personnel were injured in subsequent protests. Three Myanmar nationals were arrested from Pooja Express at Kathua. Army Chief V K Singh said that Pakistan wanted to hide Kargil mistake.

Nov.21: A Pakistani was among three terrorists arrested in Kashmir valley. Eight people were injured in a

grenade attack at Bijbehra. A dreaded terrorist Habib Gujjar struck in Keshwan and killed mother of STF Incharge Nagnigarh. Inqullabi reportedly offered help to get four terrorists killed in lieu of Pass Port for his wife in an effort to take her to Pakistan. Indian Air Force is planning aerial protection to prevent 9/11 like strike.

Nov.22: An IED was seized from a bus in Baramulla. Two SOG jawans were hurt in an ambush in Surankote. DP is to take Inqullibi to Shopian to find out his hideout and effect recoveries. Myanmar are reportedly using Bangladesh and Nepal routes to reach J&K. Another group is to visit Valley reportedly to build confidence. State cabinet approved rehabilitation policy for terrorists held up in Pakistan and PoK.

Nov.23: A huge quantity of ammunition including two solar powered rockets was recovered in Baramulla. Three protesters were injured as people protested against arrest of youth in connection with burning of a police vehicle at Anantnag on Eid .Habib Gujjar's father and brother were among three arrested as hunt was on for the terrorist in Keshwan. A Pakistani was arrested on LoC in Poonch. India claimed that China was responding to its concerns about Stapled Visa as the singer Tania Gupta was issued a stamped visa.

Nov.24: A jawan was injured and infiltrators pushed back as Pakistan violated cease-fire in Poonch sector. Two HM commanders were held in Pulwama while life was affected in the valley due to strike. Delhi police takes Inqullibi to Rajouri to affect recoveries. Criminals' links with Kashmiri terrorists and metro criminals under investigation as a revolver of America make was recovered from a criminal killed in Jammu two days back.

Nov.25: One of the longest surviving terrorists Ubu Ujefa was among the three LeT terrorists killed in an encounter in Surankote, Poonch. Five Army jawans and a civilian were also injured in the encounter. Two brothers were killed in an explosion in Machil sector. Forces arrested an OGW of LeT and recovered a huge cache of arms and ammunition in the valley. Curfew was imposed in some parts of Srinagar Mirwaiz Omar Farooq and Bilal Lone were manhandled at a seminar at Chandigrah and 21 people were arrested and subsequently released for the incident. Budhal police is to seek Inqullibi's custody from DP. A local court transferred case of the BSF commandant and a cop under going trial in the alleged killing of a youth in Nishat to General Security Court. Omar Abdullah claimed that the Surrender Policy poses no threat to the national security as the policy has been discussed thoroughly before the centre gave the nod to the state.

Nov.26: Curfew was imposed in parts of Srinagar to foil Hurriyat plans and prevent protests. 60 employees arrested for fuelling unrest in the valley. Arrested Pakistani terrorist Abu Saad admitted that Pakistan continues to train terrorists and help infiltration while IGP said that there was nexus between terrorists and so-called separatists. A BSF jawan was among three family members killed and five others were injured as a shell exploded in their house in Bishnah. Three close associates of Inqullibi were arrested

Nov.27: Two terrorists were killed in an encounter in Zachaldara, Handwara while an infiltration bid was foiled in Trehgam sector. Geelani's call for strike evoked less response as schools and shops at many places remained open. In Kolkata, Farooq Abdullah said that not an inch of Kashmir will be given to separatists. A delhi court asked Delhi Police to lodge FIR for sedition against Geelani and Arundati Roy. Three more live rocket shells were seized and defused at Kulla, Kotli in Bishnah as police is investigating the case. Omar Abdullah said that govt. was trying to make return of Kashmiri youth legal and there will be no adverse impact of the removal of CRPF bunkers from Srinagar.

Nov.28: Two hardcore terrorists were killed in a cave in Doda and an LMG looted from police was recovered from the possession of the slain terrorists. An encounter was going on at Bhati Dhar in Mendhar, Poonch. The kin of the soldiers who laid their lives fighting terrorists described the surrender policy disrespect to the martyrs. Mirwaiz Umar Farooq faced protests, now in Kolkata. PCC president Mr Soz said that surrender policy was no threat to the security. Finance Commission submitted its report after its establishment four years ago.

Nov.29: Three terrorists and a cop were killed and a civilian injured in an encounter at Qamarwari Chowk in Srinagar. Two LeT terrorists were killed in Handwara. A group of six terrorists managed their escape from the encounter in Bhati Dhar while a terrorist surrendered in Poonch. Rajouri police got the custody of Inqullibi from DP. Two Rajouri terrorists were arrested for plotting attacks in Mumbai. KBA president was released but immediately

arrested by Hiranagar police. Probe is on to verify the presence of Chechanya terrorists in the valley. Russia ask Pakistan to stop infiltration.

Nov.30: DGP Kuldeep Khoda claimed that the slain terrorists at Srinagar were part of JeM module as one of the dead turned out to be the kin of MP Shariq. He also said that about 100 terrorists managed to infiltrate even as 200 terrorists were killed. Police is to attach properties of 100 LeT and HM terrorists. BJYM activists attack Umar Farooq at Delhi. Farooq Abdullah met interlocutors in Delhi while P Chidambaram said that the interlocutors have suggested administrative reforms and CBMs that have been forwarded to the state govt. Delhi High Court asked centre not to evict retired KP employees and asked for providing alternate accommodation.

Dec.1: Inqullibi was sent to Rajouri jail. The commission probing killings in the valley gets extension. Mirwaiz said that Hurriyat will continue its campaign despite attacks. GoC 16 Corps said that terrorists have been neutralized to large extent. Central govt. said that there is no move to withdraw AFSPA.

Dec.2: Pak Army violated cease-fire and fired mortars and rockets at LoC in KG sector. Police gets custody of Inqullibi. Noor Jahan, who infiltrated back recently, said that she was forced to join militancy and had to face nightmarish experience in PoK.

Dec.3: Noor Jehan was sent to JIC for suspected terror links. HC stayed GSFC proceedings against BSF commandant and Cop in Nishat killing case. Umar Farooq and Geelani were put under house arrest. A fact finding team of parliamentarians and civil society are on a visit to Srinagar. India described Chinese activities in PoK illegal.

Dec.4: A school bus of Tibetan Public High School was set on fire at Khanyar as life remained paralysed in the valley due to strike call by the Hurriyat (G). Three associates of Inqullibi were formally arrested. Centre seeks withdrawal of 60 para-military companies to be deployed in the naxal hit areas. The parliamentarian-civil society delegation is to raise Kashmir in parliament to galvanize public opinion and asked the centre to resume dialogue with the separatists.

Dec.5: HM's recruitment head Fatwh Mohd. Alias Chacha was arrested in Dachan, Kishtwar. Two hide-outs were busted in Thana Mandi, Rajouri and Mahore, Reasi and arms and ammunition recovered. An HM terrorist was arrested at Patan, Baramulla. Th hunt is on for the woman terrorist Shakeera of Tral who reportedly helped Inqullibi in fleeing from the valley. The so-called fact-finding mission asked for resumption of talks with the separatists and Pakistan. In a surprise development, Congress leader and Health Minister in the state cabinet demanded statehood for Jammu, UT status for Ladakh and Azadi should be given to the Kashmiris who have raised the bogey since long. The two SFC members who have given their dissent notes have asked for grant of regional autonomy in development, administration for the equitable development of all the three regions. Omar Abdullah advised separatists to talk to the centre while Farooq Abdullah described autonomy as the best solution for the resolution of the Kashmir issue. It is reported that two years before 26/11 the US had asked Pak to crack down on LeT & JuD. Formal orders were issued to migrants employed under PM's Package.

Dec.6: Inqullibi's police remand was extended for four days while six more persons were detained for questioning. Terrorists carried rocket attacks including the residence of SP in Sopore while four persons were booked under PSA in Pulwama. SC sought JK Government's stand on the center's package for migrants while Additional Solicitor General Indra Jaising said that the properties auctioned between 1990 to 1997 would be declared illegal and would be restored. The delegation that visited the valley recently decided to form Kashmir Panel and urged the centre to initiate dialogue with the separatists. Congress distanced itself from Sham Lal's Azadi remark. France asked Pakistan to act against terror.

Dec.7: An Army officer was injured as two terrorists were reportedly holed up in Sopore. Many more arrests are on cards as the help of an NC leader and government officials surfaced in Inqullibi's case. Rajouri terrorists were sent to JC in Mumbai. As centre said that the action has been initiated on the interlocutor's recommendations, the interlocutors are expected to submit their report early next year for the resolution of the Kashmir issue. One child was killed and 25 other persons injured as terrorists struck in Varanasi; IM claimed the responsibility. French President Nicolas Sarkozy said that the terrorist originating from Pakistan was unacceptable and asked for global cooperation to fight terror. Health Minister Sham Lal said that his outburst at Bani was in response to Mustafa Kamal's venom against the Congress.

Pandits Commemorate Homeland Day

K.S. Correspondent

JAMMU, Dec 28: Panun Kashmir held a massive 'Scooter-Car Rally' to commemorate the **HOMELAND DAY**. The Rally that started from the PK office culminated at the Press Club, Jammu. It was on this day in 1991 that Kashmiri Pandits passed the historic **MARGDARSHAN RESOLUTION**. Panun Kashmir described the resolution as the roadmap for the reversal of the genocide and nationalistic solution to the Kashmir imbroglio. Reiterating the demand of **HOMELAND**, PK said that any attempt to trivialise the genocide and push the community to the servitude of the fundamentalist and separatists will be suicidal for the community and against the national interest. The organization warned the centre that



The rallyists demonstrating outside Press Club, Jammu.

ignoring the aspirations of the nationalist forces in the state and succumbing to the blackmail of the separatists and terrorist regimes will ultimately lead to the secession of the state. PK described it the high time for the political establishment to start dialogue with the organization on the demand

of Panun Kashmir.

Addressing the rally at the Press club, PK General Secretary Sh Kuldip Raina said that the Margdarshan Resolution is the expression for the political empowerment of the community that has faced long persecution and was hounded out of Kashmir. Accusing centre of trivializing the genocide, PK leader said, 'Any attempt to ignore the aspirations of the community and push it to the servitude of the fundamentalists and separatists will prove counter productive for the community as well as the nation.' He accused the centre of lacking vision as nothing concrete has been done for the political empowerment of the community and prevent the persecution and victimisation. Exhorting the community to have faith and not to feel desperate by the recent developments, Sh Raina said 'The community should see through the machinations

and resolve to frustrate the designs of those from within and outside. The communities that forget their victimisation lay foundation for the victimisation of their progenies.' Asking centre to revisit its Kashmir policy, Panun Kashmir leader said that by ignoring the aspirations of the nationalist forces the centre is nurturing separatist politics in the state and it is high time for the Indian government to reverse the trend.

Advocating for the reorganization of the state, ASKP-SC President Sh O N Trisal said that reorganization of the state with creation of **HOMELAND** with UT status for the exiled community will defeat the separatist politics in the state and ensure empowerment of all the populace of the state. Alleging the centre for ignoring the nationalists and appeasing the separatists, Sh Trisal said that the issue of the appointment of the VC

for the Central University for Jammu reflects how the genuine concerns of the nationalists are being ignored. He warned that the powers that ignore the nationalist concerns do that on their own peril. Referring to the statement of the chief interlocutor Dalip Padgaonkar about the reasons of the displacement of the Kashmiri Hindus that was carried by a section of press, the Pandit leader said that if the interlocutors are prejudiced from the outset, they cannot address the issue of exile.

Addressing the rally PK leader Sh B L Koul described the **MARGDARSHAN RESOLUTION** a historic document in the history of Kashmiri Pandits. He said that the resolution replaced helplessness with hope and disarray with cohesiveness. He added that the community has tagged its future with the **HOMELAND** demand as it guarantees their political empowerment and protection from further victimisation.

Earlier the Rally passed through Muthi, Barnai, Bantalab, Janipur, BC Road, and reached the Press Club in a big procession of scooters, cars and other vehicles. The rallyists, wearing saffron headbands, were holding banners, placard and raising slogans in favour of **HOMELAND** and against the pro separatist and anti community policies of the governments.



The rally passing through different Jammu localities.

MEDIA INTERACTION

Separatists misusing freedom of Expression-PK

(Text of the statement issued during media interaction addressed jointly by Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Dr. M.K. Teng and Sh. O.N.Trisal on 29th Nov, 2010 at Jammu)

PANUN KASHMIR takes seriously the campaign started by the separatist forces of Jammu and Kashmir to solicit support for their seditious objectives in different parts of India. Panun Kashmir seeks to warn the people of India that any legitimacy accorded to the campaign of preaching and promoting sedition under the cover of freedom of expression will be disruptive of the national unity.

Panun Kashmir holds the

firm view that the separatist ideology in Jammu and Kashmir has nothing to do with the principles of freedom. Separatism in Jammu and Kashmir is essentially a regressive campaign to destroy the freedom of people living in the state and create an Islamic State. The separatist ideologies of various hues are essentially using the freedom guaranteed by a democratic and secular constitution to destroy all the human rights as well as

fundamental rights which a modern society should have. There should be no doubt in anybody's mind that the separatists in the state are relentlessly pursuing the agenda of establishing a Theo-fascist political organization. Their words and deeds over the years have made it amply clear.

Panun Kashmir wants to make it clear to everybody that the separatists in the state are not fighting any battle of ideas but are

essentially working to impose a ruthless religious hegemony to destroy the potential of a society for ideas and creativity.

They are using the tolerance of a liberal society to perpetuate intolerance.

The cardinal lesson of handling the secessionist movement in J&K by various govt's at the helms in the state from time to time since the accession of the state with India is only: one Soft secessionism only complements and nourishes frank secessionism.

Patronizing communalism destroys secularism.

Panun Kashmir calls upon all people of India to proactively contest separatist campaigns anywhere and everywhere.

Panun Kashmir calls upon all not be misled by those who advocate that freedom of expression guaranteed by the Constitution of India is blanket immunity for preaching and promoting perspectives which negate the Constitution itself.