

Inside

EDITORIAL

Dialogue Between
Predator And The
Policy.....Pg 3

PERSPECTIVE

The long betrayal.....Pg 4

THE PLACE VALUE

Panun Kashmir, Place and
Oppositionism.....Pg 6

VIEW POINT

J&K Interlocutors Report.....Pg 7

MEDIA SCAN

Were Kashmiri Pandits
Big Land Lords.....Pg 8

CLARION CALL

Swami Vivekanad's
Future Plan For India.....Pg 8

RITUALS

Maha Shivratri-Rivisiting
Kashmiri Ritual Variants.....Pg 9

CULTURE

Sanskrit Kashmir,
Kashmiri Pandits &
The Caste Reality.....Pg 10,11

MEDIA INTERACTION

No One Gave Mandate To
Self Proclaimed Leaders
To Talk To Hurriyat.....Pg 12

COMMUNITY INTERACTION

Self Proclaimed Leaders
Are Bounty Hunters.....Pg 13

SEMINAR

Invasion & Accession Of
Jammu & Kashmir.....Pg 14

MASS PUBLIC RALLY

Jagti Township Sans Basic
Parameters.....Pg 15

PRESS CONFERENCE

Transfer New Recruited
KP Youth To Jammu.....Pg 16

PK ACTIVISTS MEET

The Youth Must Shoulder
More Responsibility.....Pg 17

CULTURE

Prakash Organises A Day Long
Interaction With Eminent
Writers.....Pg 18

CONCERN

Centre Silent On Gilgit-Baltistan
Lease Issue.....Pg 19

COVER STORY

Organized Corruption amongst KPs : The tool of new destabilization



Dr Ajay Churugoo

ON Feb 18, a local newspaper in Jammu reported that the officer in charge of the Relief Organisation as well as a joint venture firm M/S Mytas Rithwik were booked by the State Vigilance Organisation for causing wrongful loss of over two crores of rupees to the State exchequer. According to the FIR, the concerned officer had made payment of Service tax out of the government exchequer from the Relief Commissioner's office. The amount was actually required to be deducted from the running bills of the firm Mytas Rithwik submitted in the office of Relief Commissioner as per the newspaper reports. The vigilance probe forced the government to transfer the Relief Commissioner. There is more to this sordid drama than the allegations of sleaze and corruption in the relief department. Not only swindling of money for the beneficiaries in the political class and the administration, but a politics which is demeaning to the victims of religious

cleansing and also brazenly coercive to force them to toe the government line is vividly manifest.

The Ministry, under which the relief organisation handling the affairs of relief and rehabilitation of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus falls, had till recently tried to hush up the matters. When the dwellers of Jagati Camp came to the streets to highlight the substandard and

to make the employees of the Relief Organisation to call of their strike. Almost everyone suspected the strike by the employees of the Relief Department of having been a mock one organized at the behest of the corrupt officials who were seething under anger against the agitating camp residents and sought assurances of the continued confidence of the Minister in them.



unsafe construction work as also the mismanagement and corruption in the affairs of the Camp by the Relief Organisation they received threats of intimidation from those whom the camp residents recognize as the henchmen of the relief department. To counter the growing public outcry the employees of the Relief Department went on a strike urging the government to insulate them from the public outrage which they saw as interference in their functioning. The Cabinet Minister, who for weeks together did not pay any heed to the agitation in the camps, intervened personally

The Minister promptly proclaimed his unflinching confidence in the integrity and capability the Relief Commissioner and the employees of the department. He assured the striking employees of his intention to persist with services of the Relief Commissioner whom the public blamed of being responsible in allowing corruption cartels in the Relief commissioner's office to flourish.

The special interest of those at the helms in the concerned ministry to persist with and encourage such elements within the Relief Organisation whom the displaced

deemed to be corrupt seems to emanate from not only the mutual interest but also a vicious politics. The Relief Organization over the years has been converted almost into a political department of the state government. Through selective favors and share in the sleaze it has propped up individuals who are given the respectability of being leaders of the displaced community. The prime role

whole camp smells of shit during the summer. Sewerage disposal plant which is incumbent to be built for such a large dwelling place has not been built. Experts in civil construction privately say that money not less than 200 crores out of a project of 400 crores has been drained out. With such huge sums of sleaze available corruption incentives and pressures are generated on everybody down the line. Looking after a pliable flock of self serving leaders in such a scenario is not a big deal. Corrupt cartels in government feed themselves and also the fifth column within Kashmiri Hindus which can do its bidding.

The political management of the issues pertaining to displaced Kashmiri Hindus has become critical to both the Congress as well as National Conference running the coalition government in the state. Congress Party for quite some time has been almost unilaterally seeking to come to a compromise with Pakistan and the separatist regimes in Jammu and Kashmir. Sensing this National Conference has been prodding, pushing and planning to make Government of India to retreat a step or two and reap the political benefits. Kashmiri Hindus are being seen as the spoilers of this dangerous convergence. Their constant refusal to legitimize any process which denies their genocide

(Contd. on Page 5)

Demise of staunch PK activist condoled**PK reiterates to carry on the struggle for Homeland**

KS Correspondent

JAMMU: Panun Kashmir organized a meeting on May 27 at Jammu to condole the demise of Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan of Sirnoo, Pulwama, Kashmir. He expired on May 25th in Jammu.

The meeting was held under the chairmanship of Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Chairman Panun Kashmir and was attended by large number of Panun Kashmir activists and community members. Highlighting his qualities, Dr. Chrungoo said, "Late Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan symbolized the epitome of will power and selfless work in a true sense and never compromised on the issues related to the upliftment of the community and the creation of Homeland in



Fourth from Left: Late Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan attending a public meeting organized by Panun Kashmir at Jagti a few weeks before his untimely demise.

Kashmir. He never believed in generation gap".

In the unanimously passed condolence resolution it was held that Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan will always be missed by his colleagues with whom he worked selflessly for the cause of resurgence of the community. The standards he set for all the ground level workers and activists of Panun Kashmir will always be adhered to without any compromise till the goal of Homeland is not achieved. It was prayed that may his noble and motivational soul rest in eternal peace as he was a true Karmayogi. A two minute silence was also observed for the peace to the departed soul.

**PANUN KASHMIR
HOMAGE****SH. PUSHKAR NATH RAZDAN
(A Great Panun Kashmir Soldier Departs)**

It is with the feeling of love and respect that we pay homage to **Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan** and share the same with many people who have known him within and from outside the Kashmiri Hindu Community.

We salute his commitment, dedication and untiring effort for the redressal of community issues and his vow to carry on with the unfinished task with multifold effort and vigour to take these to their logical conclusion.

Our love and sympathy goes to the entire family of the **Lt. Sh. Pushkar Nath Razdan**.

Jai Bharat**Jai Panun Kashmir****APPEAL**

Dear Readers

We apologise for not publishing *Kashmir Sentinel* for quite some time for reasons beyond our reach despite our best efforts.

Esteemed Readers, we have tried our level best to publish your monthly on regular basis for the last fifteen years or so and managed the same with very meagre resources available to us.

To ensure the publication on regular and timely basis we need your cooperation assistance and help. This is our earnest appeal to all our readers to please contribute generously in terms of financial assistance.

Please send your cheques/bank drafts in favour of *Kashmir Sentinel*.

You can also deposit your donation/subscription directly with *Kashmir Sentinel* bank account no: 10024157676 with Rehari Branch of State Bank of India Jammu.

--Editor

KASHMIR SENTINEL
172, Sector-3, (EWS)
Colony,
Lower Roop Nagar,
Jammu-180013
0191-2593166

LETTER

Offing of Judicial Law Commissions

Sir,

I wish to draw your kind attention through your esteemed paper Kashmir Sentinel and the people about the J&K Govt. setting up Judicial/Law Commissions in State. The news was covered by Daily Excelsior Jammu on March 30, 2012.

J&K State has economical freedom along political freedom. Political freedom to minority of State since 1984 has been vigorously avoided as office of J&K Minority Commission at Srinagar has been closed.

In absence of Hon'ble Supreme Court of India, New Delhi Jurisdiction over Kashmir after 1947 State introduced community wise seniority against general seniority prevalent under Dogra rule for teachers to elevate to gazetted cadre, resulting seniors to turn juniors and vice-versa which was disallowed by Hon'ble Supreme Court of India. Now under its jurisdiction over Kashmir vide its judgement on 10/1/1973 on three writ petition nos: 175, 359 and 360, but even after this I had faulty justice under faulty judgement at J&K High Court at Jammu.

May I appeal to touch unconscious region to account the inspiration of State and Centre genius to safeguard the legal freedom of the minority in the state through your media etc. when state is going to set up Judicial/Law Commissions to find Jurisdiction of Hon'ble Supreme Court of India New Delhi over Kashmir, to end and things like communitywise seniority system, is to revive to encourage again enslavement.

--Shyam Lal Dhar Bahar

SONNET

'Cash More' after 1947

Roving wild, to hurt, put waste of hopes over thrown;
Sensitive turn eyes shut feeling vicious want on air;
Kashmiri Pandits' pensive citdels freely were blown;
Neither ethics nor constitution put despair to repair.
Likes in human dwelling fear be hit by sharp stone;
Kashmir turn 'Cash more' ghost growing to behave dare;
Distances grew rude, good neighbour with times to see is rare,
Even bees were hit to Soar, roaring was for fallen atone,
None fair God, grabbing a new ideal slandpit pit be too near.
Steepfall in values, a reality, crocodile tears too are present;
Humanity did not land here, aggressive turned fortunate;
The Pandits to save respect, honour did leave the vale in fear,
Vice Versa junior teachers turned senior under past beat and wait,
Aborigines in minority were put to exodus under ugly content.

--Shyam Lal Dhar Bahar

A sonnet is a poem that has 14 lines. Each line has 10 syllables, and the poem has a fixed pattern of rhymes.

--Editor

This contents of this letter and poem have been published same as received by us with minor editing.

--Editor

EDITORIAL

Dialogue Between Predator And The Policy

THE feeling of outrage amongst all sections of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus when the local media reported about the meeting between a group of Kashmiri Hindus and leaders of the separatists Hurriyat Conference in Srinagar recently is understandable. In fact the absence of outrage, anguish and shame on the acts of some individuals from amongst the rank and file of the community hounded out of its homeland and suffering genocide would have been pathetically abnormal.

Kashmiri Hindus by and large hold the exclusivist communal order in Kashmir Valley as the cause of their religious cleansing. They rightly see the leadership of Hurriyat Conference of having collaborated in creating this communal order. Hence they see leaders of Hurriyat Conference as the active collaborators of their genocide. Ali Shah Geelani in particular, is being viewed as a patriarch of theofascisms which has taken stranglehold of Kashmir. Mirwaiz Farooq is the timid acquiescent who has been walking down the lane on which his own father was gruesomely killed.

Kashmiri Hindus have in fact been seeking the cardinal justice in the form of bringing all those forces who perpetrated genocide on them to justice. Some Kashmiri Hindus choosing to give even a semblance of credibility to those who perpetrated grave crimes

against their community and humanity at large by engaging in dialogue with them has only defiled the innermost sensitivities of the entire flock of internally displaced Kashmiri Hindus.

Can the meeting between factions of Hurriyat Conference and Kashmiri Hindus individuals be called a Dialogue? Some Kashmiri Hindus intellectuals rightly described it as a dialogue between a predator who cares two hoots about a dialogue and the helpless prey who wants its abject pleas to be recognised as words of wisdom. That the so-called "dialogue" took place under the aegis of the NGO, Council for Dialogue and Reconciliation, puts the whole process into a proper perspective. This NGO has been predominantly promoting and endorsing that leadership spectrum in the State which wants to establish, a Muslim communal order in the State, is brazenly secessionist in intent and a collaborator in the terrorist campaigns in the State. More recently CDR has been seen promoting more fundamentalist and pro-Pak hues of opinion in the Valley. Taking limelight seeking Kashmiri Hindu individuals to talk to separatist leadership was more an act of investing secular credibility on this leadership. The exercise was not an act of dialogue but only an act to put a disguise of liberal motivations on communal bigots.

The Hindus who joined this exercise and invited

rebuks from their community have for quite some time been operating as bounty hunters. Such individuals collaborate with the perpetrator only to worsen their own victimhood. Victim collaborator is a tool of devaluation of the victim. Victim collaborator seeks to destroy even the moral claim of the victims to justice. Kashmiri Hindus have performed an utmost human task by disowning them.

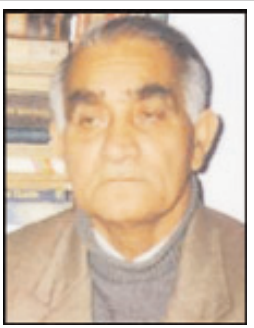
What happened in the meetings with the separatists is still a mystery? Many of the participants have voiced their disappointment with the meetings and even confided in their close kith and kin that the issue of return is dead as the separatist leadership is not interested in demonstrating even a semblance of commitment to a pluralist secular order in the state. Their private confidings seem to have been corroborated by the repeated statements from Geelani and others, recently, in which they reiterated their commitment to a puritan Islamic system in the state where Shariat will be the supreme law. The spurt in the activities of Lashkar-e-Toiba, Jesh-i-Mohammed, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen asking recently elected Sarpanchs to resign only speaks of the control of regressive forces on the social milieu.

The organisers and the Hindu participants in the meeting with separatist leaders cannot claim to have seen signs of change in the outlook of the

Hurriyat leaders vis-a-vis the issue of displacement of Hindus. In fact growing radicalisation of the atmosphere in the Valley is manifest enough to escape notice. Recently Christians and Sikhs living in the Valley have been targetted by the communal zealots. Even the Shrine worshipping Muslims are getting scared due to growing Wahabism to which many of the Hurriyat leaders owe allegiance.

Holocaust experts are unanimous about the need to bring perpetrators of genocide to justice. The idea of coexisting with the perpetrator of Genocide is obnoxious as is the hope that generation of goodwill for the victims in the heart of the perpetrator will lead to reversal of genocide. It is infact a worse form of denial of genocide and far from being an act of rapprochement is actually an act of crime against humanity.

Denying legitimacy to the perpetrator of genocide is basically the first step towards getting justice. Doing otherwise leads to undermining of the process of justice. It leads to a permanent state of devaluation for the victims. It leads to the destruction of self-esteem which acts as the support for the victims to withstand the genocidal crimes. Those who met Hurriyat leaders have been only seeking devaluation and those who debunked the act have only resisted this act of devaluation.



By Dr. M.K. Teng

The Long Betrayal

the Hindus would join the Muslim struggle against India, was a well-planned move aimed more to silence their protest in exile than open the way for their rehabilitation.

The ethnic extermination of the Hindus was the first objective of the religious war, the Jihad unleashed in Kashmir. The Hindus had through the crucial days which followed the partition, offered stubborn resistance to the secessionist movements in the State and the Muslimisation of the government and the society in Kashmir. The ethnic extermination of the Hindus was therefore, the first strategic objective of the militant flanks, which formed the vanguard of Jihad for the secession of Jammu and Kashmir from India. After the war of separation triumphed, the Jammu and Kashmir would, as a part of fundamental unity of the Muslim brotherhood, join the commonwealth of Pakistan. The terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir as it spread, unfolded several of its aspects, which were characteristically original to it. The terrorist violence had a wider portent: the expansion of pan-Islamic fundamentalism and the achievement of the Muslimisation of Jammu and Kashmir. The extermination of Hindus in Kashmir was a part of Islamic revolution which the armed struggle aimed to accomplish.

The Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh and the people around him could not have been unaware of the conditions the return package would push Hindu refugees into. It would be an irony of history, if the Indian leaders believed that the Kashmiri Hindu would return to their homes and hearths to join the Muslim struggle against India. The sociology of the exodus of the Hindus of Kashmir needs to be studied in order to understand the impact of genocide on them and the upturning their exodus brought about in their lives.

The Sociology of Exodus

The Hindus of Kashmir had fought

shoulder to shoulder with the people of princely States for the freedom of India from the British Paramountcy as well as the princely rule. In fact the first Plenary of the All India States' Peoples' Conference, held in Kathiawad, was presided over by a Kashmiri Pandit, Shanker Lal Koul, who, along with Lalla Muluk Raj Saraf of Jammu, represented the princely State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Conference. Shanker Lal Koul sounded the bugle of revolt against the Princes and their British mentors. The Hindus of Kashmir fought alongside their Muslim compatriots against the princely rule. They were also at the center-stage of the Khilafat Movement launched by Gandhi, which took Jammu and Kashmir by storm and which shook the British, who were secretly conspiring to

the Quit Kashmir agitation, the Secretary General of the All India States' Peoples' Conference, Dwarika Nath Kachroo, a Kashmiri Pandit, played a historic role to prevent a split between the National Conference and the Indian National Congress which was still committed to cooperation with the princely rulers. Meanwhile the left flanks of the National Conference, predominantly Kashmir Pandit, who formed the core of the War Council, the National Conference had constituted, carried on the agitation from its underground quarters under the leadership of Mohi-u-Din Qarra. The man second to Qarra, in the War Council was Niranjan Nath Raina Saraf, a veteran communist and an intellectual, who turned to academics later and became one among the first nuclear scientists of the post independent India.

RETURN OF PANDITS

colonise more temperate regions of the north of India including Jammu and Kashmir. In fact, the Hindus of Kashmir provided the main thrust to the State-Subject movement, which was aimed to frustrate the British efforts to colonise Jammu and Kashmir and convert it into a white enclave in India. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir opposed the State-subject movement and in collaboration with the Muslims in Punjab beseeched the British to merge the State with the British India. In spite of the Muslim intransigence and singed by the anti-Hindu riots of 1931, the Hindus of Kashmir joined their Muslim compatriots to initiate secular peoples' movement for the freedom of the State. The leaders of the Hindu community of Kashmir alone dared to openly question the Gandhi's decision to refuse the request of the President of All India States' People conference, Sh N C Kelker, to integrate the State peoples' struggle in the princely states with the liberation struggle of India.

In 1946, during the turmoil that followed

In the aftermath of the June 3 Declaration, which envisaged the creation of Pakistan, the Hindus of Kashmir lost no time to declare their commitment to the accession of the State to India. It is not a widely known fact that during those fateful days, while the National Conference maintained a complete silence on the issue of accession of the State, the leaders of the Yuvak Sabha, the premier organisation representing the Hindus of Kashmir, had a secret meeting with Acharya Kriplani, the Congress President, who had come to Srinagar, at the residence of Bal Kak Dhar in Srinagar. The next day Shiv Narayan Fotedar, Professor Laxmi Narayan Dhar and Pandit Gana Koul, moved a resolution in the General Council of Yuvak Sabha calling upon the ruler of the State to prepare ground for the accession of the State to India and bring to a close the existing distrust in the State. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sabha and given to the press the same day.

Dwarika Nath Kachroo participated in the crucial Working

The extermination of Hindus in Kashmir was a part of Islamic revolution which the armed struggle aimed to accomplish.

Committee meeting of the National Conference held in early October 1947, which took the historic decision to support the accession of the State to India. He cabled the minutes of the meeting to Nehru. The decision of the Working Committee of the National Conference was a determining moment in the unification of Jammu and Kashmir with India.

In the aftermath of the invasion of the State by Pakistan in October 1947, the Hindus of Kashmir joined the resistance the people of the State offered to the invading columns. After the accession of the State to India, the Hindus put themselves into the forefront of the resistance against the long war of subversion, Pakistan and the pro-Pakistan Muslim flanks carried on in the state. They gave ideological content to the political and economic reforms the Interim Government, constituted by the National Conference, embarked upon. They accepted the political and economic reforms with the hope that the Indian Secularism would eventually triumph, though they knew that the reforms underlined Muslim precedence in the government and the society of the State. They did not oppose the exclusion of the State from the constitutional organisation of India mainly because they were aware of the pressures the Indian government faced in the Security Council. However, they threw away their caution and stormed the streets of Srinagar after the disintegration of the National Conference in 1953, in support of the second Interim Government, headed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad installed in the State. Indeed the Hindus formed the main flanks of resistance against the long struggle for self-determination, the All

Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front spearheaded for more than two decades. For their audacity to oppose the Front they earned their rath who branded them as the "unpaid agents of Indian imperialism". The condemnation pursued them even after the conclusion of the Indira-Abdullah accord which restored the Front leaders to power in Jammu and Kashmir in 1975.

Long Betrayal

The dissolution of the Plebiscite Front and the withdrawal of the movement for self-determination, Indira-Abdullah Accord envisaged, did little to contain the Muslim separatist movements in the State. On the contrary, the Accord broke up the plank on which the resistance to the Muslim Separatist movements was based.

The Front leaders reconstituted the National Conference after they dissolved the Front. In order to consolidate their hold on the State power, they adopted a two pronged strategy. First they put the National Conference on the right side of the Muslim separatist movements to assuage the ruffled tempers of the large sections of the Muslim society which did not approve of the abandonment of the movement for self-determination. Secondly the National Conference leaders launched a surreptitious campaign to: a) neutralize the Muslim flanks which had given support to the National Conference faction lead by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, State Congress party lead by Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and Sayed Mir Qasim and drive them out of State politics; b) eliminate the left flanks, which had played a decisive role in the dismissal of the first Interim Government headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in 1953; c) isolate the Hindus and the other minorities to eliminate whatever influence

(Contd. on Page 5)

(From Page 4)

they still exercised on the ongoing political process in the State; and d) subvert the institutional framework which formed the basis of the support structures India had in the State.

The Accord broke up the main plank on which the resistance to the Muslim separatist movements was based. During the days which followed the accord the Indian political class bent so low to seek a compromise with the Muslim separatist and secessionist forces that the Hindus were pushed out of the conflict, the Muslim separatism underlined.

The involvement of Pakistan in Afghanistan gave that country fresh ground and a new ideological plank for intervention in Jammu and Kashmir. The Islamic Revolution in Pakistan provided a new thrust to the fundamentalisation of the Muslim society in Kashmir, a serious development which the successive state governments chose to ignore. As the decline set in the

Soviet power, Pakistan began the militarization of the separatist and the secessionist forces in the State. Not unexpectedly, Pakistan launched the Jihad in Kashmir towards the close of 1989. By that time the disintegration of the Soviet power had become imminent.

The Hindus of Kashmir were a witness to what happened around them. They cried in wilderness. The Indian political class gloated over its dependence on the Muslim support structures it claimed to have built on the basis of the recognition of the right of the Muslims in the State to a Separate freedom, which placed them outside the secular political organisation of the Constitution of India.

The Jihad Struck Kashmir in January 1990. The support structures the Indian political class had boasted to have built in the State vanished overnight. The Hindus were left alone

on the frontline. The Indian security forces remained in the rear.

The Hindus bore the brunt of the first assault, the Jihad mounted. In the midst of the holocaust, as the death and destruction enveloped them, Hriday Nath Jattu, the Chairman of the All India Kashmiri Pandit Conference and his close associate Jagar Nath Sapru waited upon the State Governor, Jagmohan. With tears rolling down their cheeks, the beseeched him to save the community of the Hindus from the nemesis they faced. A few days later, Sapru was kidnapped by the militants. He survived the torture that he was subjected to, dragged himself out of a gutter he had been thrown into, and crawled to a nearby house where from he was taken to the Military Hospital at Badami Bagh.

The Indian political class refused to recognize the real import of

the jihad because it did not possess the courage to fight the religious war, the Jihad waged in the State. For a long time the Indian political class took recourse to subterfuge. When it could not hide its face any longer it withdrew into the traditional trappings of its colonial past and offered to reach a compromise with the Muslim separatist flanks and their military regimes. The Hindus were hurled into the oblivion.

Return Package

In the sordid drama which the Indian political class enacted as the Jihad engulfed the state, the Hindus of Kashmir were the "dramatis personae", who fought on the battle front, from where the nation of which they were the "unpaid agents" had withdrawn without giving a fight. For more than four decades they had borne servitude in the hope that history would set right the

wrong done to them. They faced the Jihad with the fortitude of a people who refused to surrender after their defeat.

The veterans of the freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir, Omkar Nath Trisal, Pran Nath Jalali, Reshi Dev, who had given the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir its ideological content and imparted direction to the resistance against the Muslim separatist movements and foreign intervention, met this author in their exile. A sob was stuck in their throat. They gave expression to their remorse and the hurt, their exile had caused them. A decade later, Makhan Lal Sher, who enlisted himself in the defence of Srinagar in 1947, and later played a key role in the resistance against Muslim separatism in the state, met this author in Jammu. He told this author in resigned tones: "We have done

our duty. If the people of India failed to fulfill their pledge they will pay a heavier price than we have."

The Prime Minister's Return Package came as an affront to the hopes, the Hindus in exile harbored. It did not seek to set right the wrong done to them. It did not envisage the reversal of the genocide. It did not promise the Hindus the restoration of their homes, their temples and their sources of livelihood which they had lost in the holocaust that had enveloped them. Nor did it promise them protection in a social environment which was politically unstable. Ideologically regimented and exposed to subversion.

The Hindus of Kashmir acted as the "unpaid agents" for their commitment to the unity of their country. They could not be prepared to allow the Indian Political class to use them as its errand boys. They gave the Return Package of the Prime Minister, the consideration it deserved.

The tool of new destabilization

(From Page 1)

and helps in the retreat of India from the state is being sought to be neutralized.

Relief Organisation in recent times has been made to play a more proactive role to ensure this.

The state government seems to be in fact creating a network of vicious vested interests around Kashmiri Hindus in the state which can act as collaborators in the bigger political game. The dynamics of these vested interests has come to the fore in recent times. The case of the encroachment of the beautiful Hindu shrine at Nagdandi in Anantnag district of Kashmir valley is a vivid example of the nature of these vested interests. The state government has built a children's park and a community hall within the premises of the shrine to be used by all in violation of the religious and spiritual sanctity of the place. This has been done in connivance of the manager of the Ashram who happens to be a non state subject. As per information available through RTIs, the state government has allowed and encouraged these encroachments on the verbal instructions of no

less a person than the patriarch of National Conference Dr Farooq Abdullah. The manager of the Ashram, without whose indulgence this could not have been possible, has views on the displacement of Kashmiri Hindus no different than the communal separatist establishment. He is publicly as abusive and contemptuous of Kashmiri Pandits as any radical fundamentalist organization of Kashmir valley and can form an excellent cog in the wheel of the fifth column which government is more than eager to create.

The case of happenings in the Hindu Education Society which owns the famous Gandhi Memorial College in Srinagar is another vivid example. Its present President claims himself to be a National Conference worker. Hindu Education society has purchased 200 kanals of land in Bern, Jammu for which money has been paid. The possession of the land has not been taken over even till now more than a few years after its purchase. As per reports around 45 lakhs has been paid over and above the price apparently for effecting the mutation of the land

which in any case should not have been more than 40,000 rupees. The President of the society has also been trying to change the clauses in constitution of the Hindu Education Society so that Omar Abdullah, the present Chief Minister of the state, can be made as the Chairman of the Society. This as per the advocates of the proposal may facilitate the government help for the Hindu Education Society. The management has also dithered in going for the contempt proceedings after two favorable judgments by the Court were not implemented by the government. As per insiders the present management does not want to take over the control of the Gandhi Memorial College Srinagar for the fear of displeasing the present National Conference establishment which is in favor of the take over of the management of the college. The members of the management under cloud for swindling the money of the Hindu Education society also support the bartering out the property of the society in the valley to the government. They are also very active supporters of the government

line on return. Corrupt practices, government patronage, and vicious coercive politics can be seen brazenly in this unfolding story.

The Hindu employees who have joined the new jobs told this author that they would like to testify before the highest in the Government of India about what they are experiencing and why it is crucial to shift them to Jammu. In an atmosphere of intimidation it is extremely difficult to share the facts in the valley with even ones kith and kin. The Muslims living in valley have experienced it in ample measure. Now the new returnees Hindus are experiencing it. While the quotient of freedom of expression was the first causality in the valley after terrorist violence reared its head, there was perceptible freedom in Jammu. Even in the displaced camps people could speak fearlessly about their problems and against their own government. But not after the Relief Organization was assigned the political task of taming the Kashmiri Hindus in the camps. The demise of freedom of expression in the camps is perceptible. People do not speak

freely for the fear of retribution that their relief be stopped under one pretext or the other. When the Jagati Tenement Committee gave a call during the day time to protest against the Relief Organization only scores of hard core activists participated in it. But when they gave the call of a candle light demonstration during the evening hours hundreds of camp dwellers participated in it. In the evening it was difficult to recognize faces and hence easy to demonstrate.

The incidents elucidated here are not unconnected routine incidents which we see in public life quite often these days. These are incidents of hate politics organized around patronage and corruption. From the times of Vajpayee era when the idea of accommodating Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir

started receiving the importance which it never had since the accession of the state with India, neutralizing the Hindu opinion in the state and winning their support for a possible compromise with Pakistan has become more and more critical. Neutralizing Kashmiri Hindus is a crucial cog in this sinister outlook. Hostaging Kashmiri Hindus to the new Muslim Order being created in Jammu and Kashmir is an assignment which not only the Revenue Minister in the state but the whole government seems to be implementing by hook or crook. Organised corruption is a critical political intervention within the Kashmiri Hindu community in creating a fifth column for a new and more sinister destabilization.

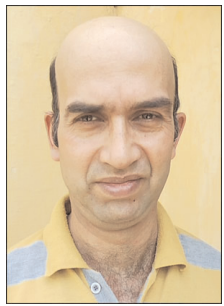
HOMAGE

Panun Kashmir and Kashmir Sentinel pay homage to **SH. P.N. MUJOO** who passed away on 14/6/2012 at Pune. Sh. P.N. Mujoo was an ardent supporter of Panun Kashmir. His contribution to *Kashmir Sentinel* will be remembered for all times to come.

May his departed soul rest in peace. Our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.



SH. P.N. MUJOO



By Dileep Kumar Kaul

Panun Kashmir, Place and Oppositionism

HUMAN beings do not get angry with others only. They get angry with their own selves as well. Courage is given to others and to one's own self also. Compromises are made with one's own self and almost every action we perform towards others is performed with one's own self as well. This is the way in which we deal with the world as persons and as community. This acting towards own self enables us to indicate to ourselves the things in our surroundings.

How is this done? We take out a thing from surroundings, hold it apart and then give it a meaning. Then that thing assumes importance for us and becomes an object. This leads us to the fact that we are not surrounded with pre existing objects that make our environment. The objects get meaning through our activity. In every action of ourselves we are indicating different objects to ourselves and giving them meaning. In the process we understand the usefulness of these objects, whether these suit our actions or not. This is how objects are interpreted as symbols that enable us to decide our actions. During the course of any action we are constantly indicating things to ourselves and interpreting in what way these things can be significant for our future actions. This process of indicating things to self exists in its own right. (Just watch all your actions from morning till evening). Any conscious action is constructed through this process.

If we consider the concept of the interactional past of a place that consists of the past experiences or memories associated with a site there can be communities that do not fit into that interactional past. Past experiences contain abstract objects like moral and philosophical principals that when indicated by a community towards themselves, find no significance for their con-

temporary actions that may be governed by some other source. Unable to take the significance of those objects as a continuum, that community tends to reject that past, or oppose it. Same is the case with Kashmiri Muslims. The interactional past of Kashmir is full of rich cultural and spiritual experiences. Problem is created by ancientness of these experiences and their association with the Hindu line of thought the legacy of which is carried by Kashmiri Pandits. Several methods have been employed to solve this problem. One way has been to work backwards and build a narrative around the cultural symbols of Kashmir, and colour those narratives with Islam. This sounds easy but as it solves one problem it creates bigger ones. How far can one go in the interactional past of the Kashmir? There are too many pre-Islamic objects in that past and the interaction of those in that past cannot be termed as uncivilized or contrary to modern progressive discourses. Kashmiri Pandits were killed and hounded out. But many like us escaped and what could we be without talking about our interactional past.

Being misfit in the interactional past of a place always becomes a problem for the people who do not understand the importance of attachment with a place and the power of its interactional past. This kind of thinking leads automatically to a situation where all the happenings of the past are isolated from the present. In other words past is severed off. Time and history are separated. There is just a chronology of events. This happens because many events in history which are meaningful otherwise loose meaning because the new faith does not require them. The faithful do not want to carry the effect of those events into the future. It needs to be emphasized here that chronology of events and history are two different things. Chronology means when events succeed each other but are isolated from one another. History means when an event in the present has taken something from the past and there is a scope for it to be carried into future. Here time and history are one and an integral part of the

activity of the people who carry forward the process of social life.

But there have been Muslims like Ahad Zargar, Abdul Ahad Azad and Mehjoor, who have owned the interactional past of Kashmir. In my previous write up I underlined how the politics followed by the majority social group, through linguistic violence and other means, has distorted our interactional past to create a cultural neurosis. But hounding out Kashmiri Pandits too could not solve the problem of the past. Throwing out Kashmiri Pandits means telling them that we do not want any interaction with you and this place has no interactive potential with you. But this is also to be understood that when a community or a section of it commits atrocities on another com-

many houses in the capital city of Jakarta are named after Ramayana. Hotels are named after Ramayana and even the cycle rickshaws called Trishaws bear the name of Ramayana. Even today the main river of central Java is known as "Serayu" (after the river 'Sarayu' associated with Ayodhya in Ramayana)." The first international Ramayana Festival in the world was organized in Aug. -Sept. 1971, by the Ministry of Information and Culture of Muslim majority country i.e. Indonesia. So deeply ingrained is Ramayana in the Social life of Indonesia. Indonesians as Muslims have given meaning to the symbols from their interactional past and do not feel alienated from it. Neither have they found themselves misfit with their Hindu past nor is that past misfit with their



River Serayu in Central Java Indonesia

munity symbols are created during that process as well. What is 14th September? It is the day on which the first Kashmiri Pandit was killed. And what is 19th January? Every Kashmiri Pandit understands the meaning of these days as the symbols of the holocaust. It is through these symbols that Kashmiri Pandits have offered resistance and asserted their right on their Homeland.

But Muslims, despite being Muslims, can be perfectly in tune with their interactional past that is totally contrary to their faith. Indonesia is the best example of this fact. The Indonesian Muslims have owned their Hindu past and given meaning to their present through it. They have visualized history as a process, inseparable from the process of social activity. Ramayana and Mahabharata find such an important place in Indonesian society that

Muslim present. This arrangement strengthens the interactional potential of Indonesia as a nation and as a place.

The political class amongst Kashmiri Muslims has spent a good amount of its energy in establishing that their present is not a part of the interactional past of the place i.e. Kashmir. They have always taken oppositionist stand against it. The hounding out the Kashmiri Pandits, who carried the legacy of that past, was the climax of their project. Their present too is a protest against a Hindu India. The slogan 'Indian Dogs go back' was accompanied with 'Ai Kafiرو Ai Zalimo Kashmir Hamara Chhod do'. The sacred place of Chrar Sharief, revered by Hindus and Muslims both was burnt to ashes by Mast gul and the slogan was 'chrar bani gari gari, Mast gul kati bani.'

Under such circumstances when oppositionism has become the cen-

tral moral object of the society, what can happen to the interactional potential of the place that is Kashmir? Kashmiri Muslims will continue to visualize Kashmir as a potential singularly Islamic place which they have been able to achieve to a remarkable extent, and this place will have the opposition as a central activity, towards India, the very country that supplies resources for its survival. This idealized Islamic place is not self-sufficient but it will feel no responsibility towards the resources it gets from India. No place, in fact can be self-sufficient in the contemporary world. We depend on other places for ecological and material support. But Kashmir as an oppositionist place and Kashmiri Muslims as an oppositionist community will continue to show utter disregard for India. This is the interactional potential Kashmir can have.

Panun Kashmir has shown resistance against this oppositionism. How can a place be established when it is being eroded that too when the dominant community does not want to hold the community that is attached with that place? The only way is by building a place and the place is built by collective, interactive consciousness.

Panun Kashmir is that kind of response against the oppositionism that has characterized Kashmir and has been intensely expressed for about last two decades. The idea of Panun Kashmir emerged at a time when all the possibilities of the interactional potential of Kashmir for Kashmiri Pandits were closed. The situations were such that no KP could visualize a future life in Kashmir. Panun Kashmir visualized a future life over there. They visualized a possibility where we could take the symbols from our interactional past through our present into a future to ensure the continuity of meaning that would establish our own place, our own Kashmir.

But a place is inseparable from the physical site where it becomes possible. The resistance against the oppositionist mindset of the majority community could not but be a political battle and the resistance against the erosion of our place could

be given a solid shape through a landscape only. Landscape is where our bodies dwell and exist. We move within a landscape from place to place without being conscious of a boundary. The mental views of a place that constitute a place change as we move from one point to the other. Places exist within a landscape at different points. As there are no boundaries of a place some features of a landscape can be used as boundaries. Panun Kashmir used the sacred river Vitasta to mark the boundary between the oppositionist Kashmir and Panun Kashmir. Panun Kashmir would exist north east of river Vitasta. On this side of the river all our important sacred places exist. This is a sacred landscape. Our ancestors have lived there and left there something of themselves. Their lives and times enfold in this landscape. To see this landscape is not just a political or measuring act. It is an act of remembrance. It perceives an environment that contains our interactional past in it. That way it is more appropriate to call it what anthropologists refer to as taskscape. The existence of sacred elements, our important shrines in the landscape of Panun Kashmir presupposes this. In a taskscape people live and act back on the taskscape as it acts on them. The presence of shrines send to mind the existence of an activity that involves nature also. There must be flowers and water. Mother Vitasta and water sources are present there. The Panun Kashmir taskscape is a domain of interactivity and aims at the historicization of place. That way it is the only resistance against the dehistoricization of Kashmir being done by the oppositionalist dominant community.

We do not act upon the world and change it. We go along with it. World transforms itself of which our actions are a part. Lalded says to Shiva that when you are everything what should I offer as oblation. This one thought can transform our thinking. We have to go along with our world in which Panun Kashmir has come as a transformation.

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

J&K Interlocutors' report :

A 'compact' to strengthen or weaken the bonds?



By Ramesh Manvati

"...I will not let the Kashmiri Pandit community down. It is a shame that the community has been forced to live as refugees in their own country..." replied Dr. Dileep Padgaonkar in response to "...Sir, we have a lot of expectations from you..." during a brief phone call from this writer, congratulating him immediately after being appointed by GOI as chief interlocutor for J&K on October 13, 2010. This writer had previously met him twice along with other Panun Kashmir colleagues including Dr. Agnishekhar, and Sh.Moti Kaul (then an active member of PK and now President, AIKS) as Padgaonkar was a member of well known Kashmir Committee headed by Ram Jethmalani, a leading legal luminary and former Law Minister of the country. All the members of Kashmir Committee had echoed similar sentiments when Panun Kashmir members had met with them previously. Hence the 'courtesy' call to Padgaonkar from this writer. And, since Dileep's participation in Dr. G.N. Fai's Pakistan-ISI backed Kashmir centric seminars in USA, was unknown at that point of time, this writer had felt a little bit assured by the chief interlocutor's promise. As is known, almost similar assurances were subsequently given to various Kashmiri Pandit delegations, including Panun Kashmir, which had met the team of interlocutors comprising of Prof. Radha Kumar and M.M. Ansari besides Dileep Padgaonkar.

Brief analysis of the proposed "Compact" :

Before presenting the 'final' report last year on October 12, the team had a meeting with Union Home Minister P Chidambaram, on September 29, 2011. The report was made public by the Ministry of Home Affairs on May 24, 2012, through its website, after more than seven months of having been presented to Indian Home Minister. And, the government also chose to make it public only after the budget session of Parliament that ended on May 22. As is known, Indian Home Secretary, R. K. Singh, after his two day 'preparatory' visit to Kashmir, (May 15-17, where besides his other official engagements, he also met both CM Omar Abdullah and Governor N.N.Vohra-a previous interlocutor), left for Pakistan

on May 23, to represent the country at Secretary level talks between the two countries. One can draw individual interpretations of the brief chronology given here before proceeding further.

The interlocutors have received "over 700 delegations of community representatives" but gives a list of only 357 in the report (Annexure 'E'- page 153 to 169; wrongly mentioned as 'D' in the report). Another Pandit organization, AIKS, is also supposed to have met the team, but, finds no mention in the list. Similarly, there is no mention of the teleconference, arranged by US based KP Diaspora and attended by various Pandit representatives (from different parts of the world including USA, UK, New Zealand etc.) besides many parts of India with the chief interlocutor in New Delhi on February 5, 2011 where he had assured the community with these words: "The end result must be one which fulfills the dreams of the exiled Kashmiri Pandits to live a life of honor and dignity in their own homeland."

It is also baffling to note that "verbal" consultations have been the "mainstay" and written memoranda have formed "only one of the inputs" of their work while framing solutions to the vexed issue. No wonder, the issue of the rise and spread of Islamic terrorisms in the valley and its subsequent expansion to rest of India has once again been virtually pushed under the carpet and consigned to the dustbins of history.

The issue of return and rehabilitation of "Internally Displaced" Kashmiri Pandits, presently in their 23rd year of forced exodus (seventh in the history) because of rise of Islamic terrorism in the Valley in 1986, has been dealt in a very insensitive manner. It is ironic to find them having been clubbed with the issue of Kashmiri militants wanting to return from POK etc. The exiled Pandit community's prime demand to set up a 'commission of enquiry', to be headed by a retired Supreme Court judge, that would establish the real causes responsible for their gross human rights violation and genocide (termed as "akin to genocide" by the then Chairman, NHRC of India) and their forced displacement from their roots, has been totally ignored. It may be noted the demand has been repeatedly raised by their representatives, including, Dr.Agnishekhar and Dr.Ajay Chhangoo of Panun Kashmir, at various forums including before many Presidents of India and also during three Round Table Conferences, convened and chaired by current P.M. Dr. Manmohan Singh himself in 2006. PM's RTCs find a mention in the report, but sadly, minus the Pandits' key demand. It may not be out of place to emphasize here that Kashmiri

Pandits, being earliest inhabitants of the valley, having a rich and recorded socio-cultural history of over 5000 years, are the principal victims and stakeholders in the entire issue and as such their legitimate urges and aspirations cannot be taken lightly. And, it should not leave anybody in doubt that return of exiled Pandit community to their place of origin symbolizes return of 'India' in Kashmir.

Likewise, the report lays no clear cut emphasis for implementation of the Parliament resolution of 1994. The proposals recommend reopening of Sharada Mata Temple presently in POK, not as an inalienable right, but, only as an overall part of Indo-Pakistan policy to facilitate religious pilgrimages between the two countries.

The report talks of preservation and promotion of all "spoken" languages but is silent about necessity of the revival of Sanskrit, the great language of "gods and higher learning". It may be noted that Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit literature from ancient times, particularly predating the advent of Islam in the valley in early part of 14th Century, has been monumental and is well recognized the world over. Unfortunately, the sacred language, a symbol of great heritage and culture, has been rendered almost defunct now by centuries' old Islamic hegemony and persecution in the state. The apathy of democratically elected state and central governments in the modern times, towards Sanskrit is equally shameful.

Although the proposed "compact" rightly mentions that the "clock cannot be set back" (to pre '53 situation), but how come it recommends a "case by case review of all the Central laws and Articles of the Constitution of India extended to the state after the July 1952 Delhi Agreement"? Similarly, why the "temporary" Article 370 of the Indian constitution is suggested to be treated as "special" when the majority voice of the three regions of the state, including that of Jammu and Ladakh, wants its total repeal to help further integrate the state with rest of the country? The suggestion of "gradual" rolling back of Article 312 (All India Services and All-India Services Act-1951 that intends to "enhance" the State's Administrative Services from present 50% (as against 33% in other States of the country) is also beyond ones comprehension. The crafty language / words used leave no one in doubt about the interlocutors' compulsions that only smack of a big conspiracy to weaken India's position on Kashmir.

In general public perceptions, the secessionists- APHC (both Geelani and Mirwaiz factions), JKLF, etc have boycotted the interlocutors. But, on close scrutiny of the final report "informal discussions" have taken place "with some of them", including member organizations, "such as former

APHC Chairman, Maulvi Abbas Ansari, and/or their supporters, and district branches of such organizations as the Bar



Copy of the report being burnt by Panun Kashmir activists in NCR, Delhi (Photo courtesy : Ramesh Manvati)

Association" - who have provided them "illuminating" inputs "especially for key CBMs, political elements and roadmap issues".

It may be borne in mind that PDP, the well known political face of secessionist elements in the state, has welcomed the report with remarks: "Some of the suggestions made by interlocutors have been proposed by our party in self-rule document". As is well known, the so-called "Self-Rule" is a proposal initiated by Pakistan's General Pervez Musharraf during his presidency. He, as the then Pak Army Chief, was also behind 1999 Kargil intrusion that saw 527 Indian security forces martyred besides 1,363 wounded. The ruling NC, which has stuck to its "Autonomy" and pre-53 stand, thinks: "we had an ideal opportunity when we were dealing with Pervez Musharraf at the height of his power". However, BJP has rejected the report and Panthers Party has termed "the three musketeers" reportedly Rs. fifty crore exercise a "fraud".

The legitimate demand for a separate statehood for Jammu, UT Status for Ladakh and a separate Homeland for KPs within the valley, stands sadly ignored by the interlocutors. And, what emerges in the end, is that the govt. is essentially trying to "build on commonalities" between NC's 'Greater Autonomy'; PDP's 'Self-Rule' and Peoples' Conference's 'Achievable Nationhood' proposals and force down the so-called "new compact" through the throat of the patriotic and majority voice of the state i.e. the combined voice of Kashmiri Pandits, Jammuities, Ladakhies, Gijjar-Bakkarwals, Sikhs and other patriotic forces.

Not only is the apparently orchestrated report self contradictory, but lacks clear insight into the ground realities including the psyche of the large section of 'majority' community of the state. One may tend to agree with the suggestion, if India was to consider devolution of more powers, purely on equality basis, to various states

of the country, including, Jammu and Kashmir. But, one must understand, the context and contours of such a demand from valley based politicians has a different connotation altogether. Thanks to its weak-kneed policies, Indian state has been grappling with political gimmickry in J&K, particularly in the valley, for more than six decades now. And, the just released 176 page report has only added to the prevailing confusing and capricious situation. Therefore, the interlocutors' highly expensive exercise is nothing but one more attempt to appease the separatists and their cohorts, both within the state and across the border that leaves ample scope for dilution of India's overall sovereignty and integrity in the state - which can't be allowed at any cost. Besides, the supreme sacrifice of thousands of security forces who have laid down their precious lives to protect and uphold the sovereignty and integrity of the country in the state, particularly in the valley during last over six decades, cannot be allowed to go in vain just to please anti-national elements - who only deserve to be tried for treason and/or treated as per appropriate law of the Nation.

Dileep Padgaonkar and his team may have played to the gallery. But, have certainly not lived up to their promise made to exiled Pandits - now reduced to a "reverse minority" in the state. Therefore, the community has rightly rejected and burnt the report titled: "A new compact with the people of Jammu & Kashmir". The compact may contain some new phrases and words but there is nothing fresh in it that could help strengthen further the millennia old bonds between Bharat Mata and her 'crown'. Hence, the question arises: can the Indian patriotic forces in general, and the exiled Kashmiri Pandit community in particular, see the writing on the wall and help consolidate its only potent political voice- Panun Kashmir - to meet the challenges ahead? Yes, We Can !

*(The writer, a senior political analyst and activist of Panun Kashmir, can be reached through e-mail :- paannyaar@rediffmail.com rameshmanvati@yahoo.co.in)



By DN Dhar

WERE KASHMIRI PANDITS BIG LANDLORDS?

WHEN the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits was forced during 1989-90, a canard was spread that Kashmiri Pandits were big landlords and had ill-treated peasantry in the state. It was lent credence by the political vested interests from Kashmir and some neo-illiterate politicians in India, though subsequently such politicians recanted their statement.

When the Big Landed Instates Abolition Act of 1950 was passed, the land had been concentrated in the hands of big landlords. There were 27 families (including three religious institutions) which

break up of 1,52,924 kanals held in ownership in Kashmir is given as under:

Out of these proprietors of land in Kashmir Province (excluding two religious institutions) six belonged to Jammu and five to Kashmir. Out of five Kashmiris two belonged to Kashmiri Muslims, two to Kashmiri Pandits and one to non-resident Kashmiri Hindu.

There were also holders of Jagirs in Kashmir. They occupied large chunks of land. Whole villages were assigned as Jagirs. The practice of granting Jagirs owes its origin to the Sultanate period and it had taken enormous dimensions then. Under Fateh Shah, his Prime Minister Usman Malik distributed the whole Valley among three powerful nobles as Jagir. Kachi Chak under the orders of Sultan Ismail Shah divided the

declared whole Kashmir as his crown land and the management of its finances was given to the authority looking after the finances of the Punjab.

As is well known, during the lime of early Sultans like Sultan Sikander the iconoclast, Sultan Alishah and Sultan Hyder Shah, thousands of Kashmiri Pandits had to migrate to various parts of India. A chunk of these migrants had settled in one of the small states of Madhya Pradesh called Dhar. Due to their hard work, scholarship and language skills they carved out a respectable place for themselves. One Miro Pandit, making humble beginning in the Mughal Army, after winning laurels in the field, reached to the position of General and was placed at the head of Nurjahan's Army. Earlier he had become the Chief of Golkanda Fort in South India, he had proved his valour in the battle of Kabul also. He was instrumental in getting the Emperor freed from the clutches of Mahabat Khan. To reward him for this good act, Jehangir granted Kamraj (Baramulla) as Jagir to him which was later inherited by the descendants of Pt. Gulab Dhar and others down below who got petty shores out of it.

Although land always belonged to Kings yet the Dogra rulers had carried the conviction that it was their personal property as they had paid Rs.75 lacs to East India Company against it. This conviction was real with them. Once when Maharaja Gulab Singh was on his tour, he

met a lady who complained to him with the words, "we are hereditary residents of Kashmir and we had built a pakka house, but a sepoy demolished the house saying he would build the house for himself on the spot." The Maharaja replied, "The land owner is someone else, the Nizam (Hakim ala) or the Hakim (Kotwal) who can build a house, he is the owner of only the material (stones, bricks and wood etc.) and not of land." Even Maharaja Ranbir Singh, in his Duster-ul-Amal sanctioned on 16th March 1846 A.D. (Treaty of Amritsar) in our possession without anybody else having any claim on it..." Maharaja Pratap Singh was more forthright when he wrote to his Chief Minister in a letter dated 13th Dec, 1918, "As you are already aware the proprietary rights in all lands of Kashmir belong to the ruling Chief exclusively for the simple reason that the territories of Kashmir were purchased by my late lamented grandfather, Maharaja Gulab Singh ji, and hence any sale of such land by anyone else is illegal."

Maharaja Hari Singh was modern in outlook and was a patriot. He upset the British applecart when he declared in the Round Table Conference in 1930 AD, "As Indian and loyal to the land where we derive our birth and infant nurture, we stand as solidarity as the rest of our country-

men for our lands enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations" Not only this much but he dared to remove the Union Jack from the Residency by a detachment of state forces. He stopped British Resident to move to Jammu during winter months. In Gilgit he made them to fly State flag along with Union Jack. He got British troops replaced by State troops. He even proposed to Britishers to close the Gilgit Agency. But with all these qualities he was cast in feudal dispensation. He too granted Jagirs in his time. No Jagir was granted to a person belonging to Kashmir, least of all to a Kashmiri Pandit. All these Jagirs were granted from the Kashmir

Valley. Following is the detail:

1. Kavi Raj Muraridhar village of Wakura, assessed to the revenue of Rs. 3,015.

2. Thakur Puran Singh Ji: Two villages, Mimender and Pani in Kulgam Tehsil

3. Rao Raja Hukam Singh Ji, Two villages, Hardohajam and Arabal in Tehsil Awantipura assessed at Rs.1036 and Rs. 1037, respectively.

4. Rao Rattan Singh Ji: Village Walahama, Tehsil Anantnag, assessed to the revenue of Rs.1011.

5. Thakur Kartar Singh Ji: Two villages, Warapora and Chinakpora assessed to revenue of Rs.2033.

6. Wazir Sobha Ram: Village Malangam, assessed to revenue of Rs.

2033.

No doubt, some Kashmiri Pandits were Chakdars. What were Chaks? These were land grants and not purchased lands. When during the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh the land revenue dwindled, he granted some fallow lands to certain people under different categories. These categories were Chaki Zarnias, Chaki Ishtihari, Chaki Halkari. Chaki Mukraridari and Chaki Hanudi. Kashmiri Pandits were granted Chaks mostly under Chaki Hanudi category. Under this category, grants were made to Hindus. They had to pay revenue under a given schedule. This land grant was subject to three conditions, Number one was that the land granted is a wetland, number two was that the grantee continued to remain a Hindu and number three was that no cultivators were employed. Chakdars of other categories had other conditions attached to their land grants. By 1950 when land reforms took place, the share of the produce of Chakdars had petered down to pittance due to law of inheritance with some exceptions.

In any case Kashmiri Pandit was not a big landlord and he had under no circumstance ill-treated peasantry in Kashmir. In fact he was instrumental in imparting education to the multitudes of illiterate population of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. History will write it in golden letters.

**(The author lives at Dwarika, New Delhi)*

—Courtesy: Naad

1) Shrimati Vidyawati	70,468 kanals
2) Wazir Ramdas	19,368 kanals
3) Wazir Tej Ram	4,665 kanals
4) Sardar Kishan Singh	5976 kanals
5) Dewan Dhanpat Rai	7754 kanals
6) Thakur Kartar Singh	2,626 kanals
7) Ahmad Mir	4,202 kanals
8) Musmati Ashraf Begum	3,915 kanals
9) Khanqah Baba Siam-ud-din	5,856 kanals
10) Ziarat Pir Dastgir Sahib	4,483 kanals
11) Pt. Shyam Sunder Lal Dhar	10,412 kanals
12) Pt. Balkak Dhar	5,144 kanals
13) Raja Upender Krishen Kaul	8,162 kanals

owned 518, 811 kanals of land among themselves, each having more than about 3000 kanals. Out of this total land, 3,30,301 kanals were held in Jammu Province, 1,52,924 kanals in Kashmir and 65,586 kanals in Ladakh. The

land belonged to the Kings. They bestowed large areas to their favourites on Subjective considerations.

Akbar discouraged Jagirdar-nobility of Kashmir. In fact after Yadgar rebellion he made Kashmir as one of the Subas of his empire. He

Swami Vivekananda's Future Plan For India

By Mahesh Kaul

INDIA as a nation has witnessed processes and challenges at all levels of human consciousness. The most affected areas have been religious, social, cultural and political. The Indian consciousness has been the amalgam of experiences in all these fields.

The national spirit of the inhabitants has always emerged from the cultural spiritual core. This core has been the nucleus of this ancient civilization.

What holds the nation together inspite of the invasions and vandalisation from outsiders and the colonizers? What has kept the land of Bharata alive when every external thrust was designed to subjugate the masses and crush the nation in every pos-

sible sphere?

Swami Vivekananda, the wandering monk who ignited the flame of Indian nationalism through the Universal religion of Vedanta, answered all these questions and chalked out the plan of action for the future of the Indian nation.

He provided solutions to the

CLARION CALL

problems of modern India in an introductory article written for the Bengali fortnightly Udbhodhana, which was published on 14th of January, 1889.

He wrote with pride that Of that ancient Indian race upon, which the rays of civilization first dawned deep thoughtful-

ness first revealed itself in full glory, there are still found hundreds of thousands of its children, born of its mind-the inheritors of its thoughts and sentiments -ready to claim them."

Swami Vivekananda revealed the power of Indian thought that still flows in the soul and the mind of its people, acting as glue binding the Indian nation with the cohesive force of spiritualism. And he was not bothered whether it flowed in the veins of the nation in 'a distinct or in some subtle way'. This flow of Indian thought, he credited to universal ancient inheritance.

Elaborating on the predominant power structure and the political situation Swami Vivekananda ponders over the inherent structure of the



Indian national life and says: "Once in far remote antiquity, Indian philosophy, coming in contact with Greek energy, led to the rise of the Persian, The Roman, and other great nations.

After the invasion of Alexander the Great, these two great waterfalls colliding with each other, deluged nearly half

of the globe with spiritual tides, such as Christianity. Again, a similar commingling, resulting in the improvement and prosperity of Arabia, laid the foundation of the modern European civilization. And perhaps in our own day, such a time for the conjunction of these two gigantic forces has

(Contd. on Page 19)

Maha Shivratri-Revisiting Kashmiri Ritual Variants-XV



By Upender Ambardar

THE ritualised traditions associated with the festival of Shivratri are expressions of reinforcement of collective socio-religious values and beliefs, which lend a firm sense of group identity to the community, fondly opined Sh. Mohan Lal Raina, an original inhabitant of the village Gosh Bugh, Tehsil Pattan, district Baramulla and presently putting up at Durga Nagar, Jammu.

The ritualised traditions associated with the festival of Shivratri are expressions of reinforcement of collective socio-religious values and beliefs, which lend a firm sense of group identity to the community,

Speaking on a nostalgic note, he recalled that as per the family reeth, the act of 'livun', washing of the clothes and washing of the hair by the ladies of the house was completed upto Phagun Krishan Paksh Ashtami. It was also customary for the house inmates to engage themselves in Bhajans and signing of hymns right from 'Hury Oakdoh' upto 'Hury Aa'tham' in the evenings. On 'Hury Aa'tham' it was obligatory to smear the side walls of the main entry door of the house once again with a mix of water and clay.

From 'Hury Aa'tham' onwards, the washing of clothes and washing of the hair by the female folk was disallowed. It was also a taboo for the women folk even to put oil in the hair or comb the hair during this period.

The cooking of dry vegetables and

rajmah was also strictly prohibited from 'Hury Aa'tham' onwards. On the evening of Vaagury Bah, an earthen utensil of 'Tsodd' was reverentially installed in the Vattakh Kuth. The ritualistic offerings were cooked rice and vegetables. The 'Vatuk' comprised of one Nott, three Ddulji, two Vaari, two San'ny Vaari, one Bhairav Ddul and a Sa'ny poatul. The Vattak utensils were personally collected by the male members including children from the potter's house on an auspicious day and timing. 'Aalath' was performed before the pooja, utensils were ushered inside the house. The 'Aalath' was performed by an elderly lady of the house by waving around of a thali

by Resh Ddul and Ddulji. The second row comprised of Vaari, Sa'nny Vaari, Kheetarpaal and Dupu'zuur. The utensils of Ddul and Ddulji were emptied of their ritualistic offerings usually by the daughter-in-law or eldest lady of the house. Their contents were deposited at the base of a fruit tree after midnight after all the house inmates had slept. Pooja was performed every day in the morning upto 'Dduuny Maavas' and after pooja rice flour rotis were put inside the Nott and Tsodd utensils. In sharp contrast to the usual widespread reeth, the Dduuny Maavas pooja was performed in the morning and not in the evening. In consonance with another unusual and strange family custom, an eldest male family member was required to prepare 'Mongvaer' and 'Bubur' on a make-shift mud stove, locally known as 'Oakchoar' in a room and not in the kitchen on the day of Duuny Maavas. Both of them along with the rice flour rotis i.e. 'Tsochivar' formed a part of the Duuny Maavas pooja items. The distribution of walnuts without 'Tsochivor' was a taboo and portent of a bad oman.

During the said pooja, the water of the village stream was cut seven times with a knife. It was followed by the customary ceremonial dance performed by ladies of the house on the stream bank. During it, seven circular roundabouts were undertaken by them. The said ritualistic dance was enacted to the accompaniment of a folk song, which Yon as 'Yander Sinz Nosh Korae Vach Yarbal, Raen Vach Paanis Chatnay' (The daughters of Lord Inder have come to the river bank. The gracious ladies have stopped in to interest the flowing water). On Tila Ashtami, clay lamps having a

sprinkle of black til were oil lit in the memory of the family manes. In the evening, one each of them was kept at the Thokar Kuth, the stream bank and the village temple. A few oil lit lamps were floated in the flowing waters of the stream. The ritual of the Jatoo tuun was performed. As per one more family specific reeth, it was necessary for the children to play the indoor game with the sea-shells, while as the youngsters would engage themselves with playing of cards and male elders were required to busy themselves with the traditional game of 'Gilli Danda' on the day of 'Salaam'.

The faith driven Shivratri rituals and beliefs are a hallowed tradition, which spruce up the religious and devotional tone of the festival, recounted Sh. Girdhari Lal Khera, an original resident of the village Chak Narayan Dass Tehsil Pattan, district Baramulla and presently putting up at Suryavanshi Nagar, Muthi, Jammu. Sharing the cherished memories of the festival, Sh. Khera revealed that as per the reeth, the family was not required to perform the pooja for the utensils. Instead, two Parthishor's were made out of the cooked rice, which are symbolic representations of Lord Shiv and the Goddess Parvati. During the making of the Parthishor's, the cooked rice was required to be mixedup with milk, gur, ghee, clove, cardimom, parched rice, sugar cystals i.e. 'nabad', honey and the Vattakh masala. The two Parthishor's were then reverentially seated on grass woven 'Aari' in a brass thali. Afterwards, tilak was applied to them and mouli tied around them along with Bilav leaves and flowers. The vegetarian culinary delights of cheese,

dumaalu, palakh, haakh, and fried nadnu slices put in a rice filled thali were kept infront of the Parthishor's. It served both as an offering to the deities and as 'prasad' to the house inmates. Amidst Shiv Pooja and to the accompaniment of ringing of bells and blowing of conch shell, milk and curds were poured over the said Parthishor's. On the day of 'Salaam', new seasonal vegetables were cooked. In the evening pooja and aarti were performed.

The rituals of 'Dduuny Maavas' and Tila Ashtami were not performed. The Shivratri festival blessed with countless variety of sacred bonds laden with immense religious devotion and societal mores are our prized inheritances, declared Sh. Bansilal Tandon, an erstwhile inhabitant of the village Chak Narayan Dass, Teh. Pattan, Distt. Baramulla and now a resident of Suryavanshi Nagar Muthi Jammu. Recollecting the fond memories of the celebrations at his native place, he divulged that acts of dusting. Cleasing and Clay smearing of the house were carried out to the spruce up the religious mood of the festivities. On Phagun Krishna Paksh Triyodashi, a long necked brass utensil known as 'Gagar' was reverentially installed on a grass woven base 'Aari' in the kitchen. It was decked with mouli, Bilva leaves, sindoor and flower garlands. It was filled up with water and walnuts. Curiously enough, the usual other pooja utensils were avoided. A rice filled brass thali having culinary repertoire of meat dishes was placed infront of the pooja utensil of 'Gagar'. An additional thali having 'halva' and leavened rotis' known as 'phulkas' placed infront of the Gagar was one more sacrificial offering. The brass utensil of

Gagar was filled up with water at the village stream.

On the day of Salaam, Shiv Aarti was performed. On the evening of 'Dduuny Maavas' the Gagar was taken to the village stream for the replacement of water and performance of the pooja. The distribution of walnuts as prasad would immediately follow it. The Shivratri is both a flagship festival and mother of all festivals of Kashmir. The festival related rituals being mammoth display of our boundless devotion and steadfast commitment keep the society rooted in its mores and on the righteous path, spoke Sh. Soom Nath Bhat Goswami, a resident of the village Nunar/Wazirbagh Srinagar and now

not performed on the day of Shivratri but on the evening of Salaam. On the evening of Dduuny Meavas, pooja was performed at the bank of Padshah Koal of, the village Nunar. The ritual of 'Thuk Thuk' was performed by the ladies of the house. During the ritualistic conversation, Vattak Raaza was spoken as being witness to the function. The empty Gagars were retained in the Vattakh Kuth upto Tila Ashtami, whileas, the Sa'ny Vaari were placed in the kitchen'. On Tila Ashtami, five to eight earthen lamps were oil lit in the morning in memory of the family ancestors. A red coloured turnip and cooked rice placed infront of them were additional ingredients. The act of 'Jatoo Tuun' was

The faith driven Shivratri rituals and beliefs are a hallowed tradition, which spruce up the religious and devotional tone of the festival

putting up at Old Janipur Jammu.

Reminiscing about the festival of yesteryears, he recalled that in contrast to the earthen utensils, the Vattukh comprised two long necked brass utensils of Gagars, five brass Ddulji, two Sa'ny Vaari and two Kheetrapaals'. As per the family reeth, separate Bhairav Ddul, Resh Ddul and Sa'ny powtul did not form a part of the pooja utensils. In tune with the fine gourmet tradition of Kashmir, the vegetarian culinary delights of cheeses, dumaalu, daal-nadru and 'nadir churma' were the ritualistic offerings to the Ddulja's. The ritual of 'Vattuk Barun' with water was entirely undertaken by the womenfolk of the house and participation of the male members was avoided.

As ordained by the family reeth, strangely enough, the Shiv Pooja for the Parthishor was

performed.

The socio-cultural make-over acquired by Shivratri rituals over the centuries are acts of personal devotion, opined Sh. Ramesh Kumar Mujoo, a resident of Rainawari Srinagar and now putting up at Ajeet Colony, Gole Gujral Jammu. Speaking on a nostalgic note, he divulged that Vattukh comprised of earthen vessels of Ramgound, two utensils of Nott, one Ddul, one Sa'ny powteul and two Sa'ny Vaari, the notable omission being that of Resh Ddul.

The vegetarian dishes were the ritualistic offering to the Bhairav Ddul. During the ritualistic conversation of Thuk Thuk, in reply to the enquiring query of 'Kus Chuv', the customary reply was 'Ram Broar', while as Dal Raaza, the presiding deity of the Dal Lake was spoken as being a witness to the said discourse and function. **—(Continued)**

Sanskrit Kashmir, Kashmiri Pandits and the Caste Reality-II



By Shailendra Aima

NOW coming to the period of British hegemony, not only had India's resources been pillaged for decades by the rapacious East India Company, the inexorable British Raj also set about enshrining caste in the Indian administrative structure, modeling it on the British colonial class system. The 'scheduled caste' is an entirely British creation, into which the lowest strata of Indian society has been perpetually pigeon-holed. As there was no classification of caste in the Indian legislation prior to this juncture, it was the British who single-handedly formulated the caste schedules that remain in place today. The evils manifest in the current form of the caste system therefore cannot be ascribed to the Hindu faith.

The British of that period practiced their own 'class system' and, even within their own ranks, there was a rigid 'order of precedence' which pervaded all areas of daily life, including seating arrangements for dinner. Indians were excluded from interacting socially with Europeans and there was an enforced colour bar in place throughout the subcontinent with 'Europeans only' clubs. Indians were not allowed to travel by railway carriages, or use railway waiting rooms as these were reserved for Europeans. Not only that, Indian judges were not allowed to try Europeans in their districts. The Ilbert Bill introduced in the British Parliament in 1883 during Lord Ripon's viceroyalty to remedy this situation, had to be withdrawn in the face of vicious opposition by Europeans and Anglo-

Indians.

Claude Alvares has written: "The English establishment viewed themselves as a separate ruling caste; like other Indian castes, they did not inter-marry or eat with the lower (native) castes. Their children were shipped off to public schools in England, while they themselves kept to their clubs and bungalows in special suburbs known as cantonments and civil lines."

In addition to the explicit discrimination experienced by Indians, European scholars further promulgated various philosophical arguments, and to which the critics too ascribe, that fair-skinned natives of the north were in fact descendants of a superior Aryan race that had entered India from the west and brought with them the Vedas. Hindus to the north of India were considered by these European scholars to be the hybrid descendants of this superior Aryan race and the indigenous Indian populace. Hindus throughout India were debased as being savage and heathen in nature and the idea followed that Vedic culture must have originated from a 'superior' Caucasian race. This 'Aryan Invasion Theory,' one school claims, was developed by Max Muller in 1848, a highly paid German employee of the East India Company in order to deny any political or moral basis to the Indian claim for independence from British rule. For, under this theory, Hindus as well as the Muslims too were as much foreigners in India as were the British. This theory was not openly challenged for over 120 years and even many Indians were duped into believing they were descendants of a superior foreign civilization.

Such an imperialist hypothesis was designed to ensure that the British were allowed 'legitimate' political rights over India as did Hindus and Muslims, all being foreigners. There is an implicit notion among some British historians to this day that their coveting of India and her assets was more

through 'mutual' consent of the host than coercion, often comparing this subtle method to the brutish colonization of the Americas. Western scholars further theorized that the dark skinned southerners (Dravidians) were the indigenous Indian populace and primitive in nature, thus proliferating disunity between Indians in the North and South.

Kevin Hobson in his path breaking study "The Indian Caste System and The British: Ethnographic Mapping and the Construction of the British Census in India", makes the following observations. He states: "The freebooters of the 18th century were giving way to the bureaucrats of the 19th century. It is highly debatable which of the two, freebooters or

Moreover, it appears that the caste system extant in the late 19th and early 20th century has been altered as a result of British actions so that it increasingly took on the characteristics that were ascribed to by the British".

Kevin Hobson goes on to state: "The word caste is not a word that is indigenous to India. It originates in the Portuguese word "casta" which means race, breed, or lineage. However, during the 19th century, the term caste increasingly took on the connotations of the word race. Thus, from the very beginning of western contact with the subcontinent European constructions have been imposed on Indian systems and institutions. To fully appreciate the caste system one must step away from the definitions imposed by

'Aryan Invasion Theory,' one school claims, was developed by Max Muller in 1848, a highly paid German employee of the East India Company in order to deny any political or moral basis to the Indian claim for independence from British rule. For, under this theory, Hindus as well as the Muslims too were as much foreigners in India as were the British. This theory was not openly challenged for over 120 years and even many Indians were duped into believing they were descendants of a superior foreign civilization.

bureaucrats were the most dangerous to the people of India..... Treasures can be replaced. Cultures, once tampered with, are nearly impossible to reclaim".

He further observes: "The caste system had been a fascination of the British since their arrival in India. Coming from a society that was divided by class, the British attempted to equate the caste system to the class system. during the 19th century caste was not what the British believed it to be. It did not constitute a rigid description of the occupation and social level of a given group and it did not bear any real resemblance to the class system.the British saw caste as a way to deal with a huge population by breaking it down into discrete chunks with specific characteristics.

Europeans and look at the system as a whole, including the religious beliefs that are an integral part of it. To the British, viewing the caste system from the outside and on a very superficial level, it appeared to be a static system of social ordering that allowed the ruling class or Brahmins, to maintain their power over the other classes. What the British failed to realize was that Hindus existed in a different cosmological frame than did the British".

Thus, it may be seen that within traditional Indian society the caste system was not static either within the material or metaphysical plane of existence. With the introduction of European and particularly British systems to India, the caste system began to

modify. This was a natural reaction of Indians attempting to adjust to the new regime and to make the most of whatever opportunities may have been presented to them. Moreover, with the apparent dominance exhibited by British science and medicine there were movements that attempted to adapt traditional social systems to fit with the new technology. Men such as Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda, and Ramkrishna started movements that, to one degree or another, attempted to explore new paths that would allow them and their people to live more equitably within British India. Roy in particular sets this description with his notion that the recognition of human rights was consistent with Hindu thought and the Hinduism could welcome external influences so long as they were not contrary to reason. There was a dynamic interplay between the British and Indians that had a profound effect on both societies.

While the Mughals had issued written decrees on the status of individual castes, there had never been a formal systematic attempt to organize and schedule all of the castes in an official document until the advent of the British censuses. The data was compiled on the basis of British understanding of India. This understanding was deeply affected by British concepts of their own past, and by British notions of race and the importance of race in relation to the human condition. Further, the intellectual framework, which was provided by anthropology and phrenology and used to help create the ideas surrounding the concept of race, was foreign to the intellectual traditions of India. These concepts endured well into the 20th century and affected the analysis of the censuses throughout this period. Risley, for example, used anthropometric measurements, which were directly descended from anthropological and phrenological methodology, in his ordering of

castes following the census of 1901. These same notions led to a classification of intelligence and abilities based on physical attributes, and this in turn led to employment opportunities being limited to certain caste groupings that displayed the appropriate attributes.

Indians attempted to incorporate themselves into this evolving system by organizing caste sabhas with the purpose of attaining improved status within the system. This ran contrary to traditional views of the purpose of the caste system and imposed an economic basis. With this, the non material rational for caste was degraded and caste took on a far more material meaning. In this way, caste began to intrude more pervasively into daily life and status became even more coveted and rigid. In a sense, caste became politicized as decisions regarding rank increasingly fell into the political rather than the spiritual sphere of influence. With this politicization, caste moved closer to class in connotation. The actions of the Indian people that contributed to this process were not so much acquiescence to the British construction, as they were pragmatic reactions to the necessities of material life. In expropriating the knowledge base of Indian society, the British had forced Indian society and the caste system to execute adjustments in order to prosper within the rubric of the British regime.

In this manner, India's awareness of its own society, the societal structure, history and culture was manipulated in the hands of colonial ideologues. Domestic and external views of India were shaped by authors whose attitudes towards all things Indian were shaped either by subconscious prejudice or worse by barely concealed racism. For instance, William Carey (who bemoaned how so few Indians had converted to Christianity in spite of his best efforts) had little respect or sympathy for Indian traditions. In one of his letters, he described Indian music

Sanskrit Kashmir, Kashmiri Pandits and the Caste Reality-II

(From Page 10)

as "disgusting", bringing to mind "practices dishonorable to God". Charles Grant, who exercised tremendous influence in colonial evangelical circles, published his "Observations" in 1797 in which he attacked almost every aspect of Indian society and religion, describing Indians as morally depraved, "lacking in truth, honesty and good faith" (p.103). British Governor General Cornwallis asserted "Every native of Hindostan, I verily believe, is corrupt".

Unable to rise above the colonial paradigms, many post-independence scholars of Indian history and civilization continue to fumble with colonially inspired doctrines that run counter to the emerging historical record. And hence, it is often difficult to have a dialogue, since prejudice sweeps their minds and distorts their ability to see reason.

I never stated nor did my note declare any grand standing of Kashmiri Pandits' position. In fact, it is the critics who should explain why they believe that we are assuming a superiority and if at all, then viz. a viz. whom. We have repeatedly stated that we believe in pluralism and wish good and peace for all. Again, is it so that the critics do not agree with the tenets of proselytizing religions, which developed in West

Asia and are called Semitic religions and so treat my statement as an inferiorization of what are Semitic Religions? In fact, I had stated: "How are Semitic Faiths different from Sanskrit Faiths? The basic difference is that the Semitic faiths are essentially monotheistic, the Sanskrit faiths are Pluralistic. We, as upholders of these faiths, do not distinguish between the jeevas (mankind as well as other animals) and believe them to be carrying the essence of same atman. The Semitic faiths distinguish among Human kind and other life. They distinguish among people on the basis of the Faithful and the other. That is why there is a concept of proselytization; and we don't have that concept. The Semitic faiths have caused conflicts and strife by dividing mankind among believers and non-believers. The Semitic civilizations invaded each other in the name of religions, fought wars, indulged in ghettoizing the non-believers, annihilation of the non-believers, in waging the Crusades."

Talk to any faithful Christian or a Muslim, and you would know that both these religions hold proselytization as legitimate and moral.

And I no where dispute their right to preach their faith and convert more faithful to their creed. But I do state that the Sanskrit faiths, especially the Sanatan Dharma does not believe in conversions. And then I give my reason for that. I also state that the Sanskrit religions do not discriminate among humans on the basis of their faiths, as BELIEVERS and NON-BELIEVERS, as the Semitic Religions do. Do I make a false statement, a derogatory statement, a grandiose statement? I believe that I don't.

What the critics further do is to create a unique construct that the "Sanskrit civilization was an offspring of the notion of the (so-called) Aryan race". They however don't provide any arguments in support of that; they assumes a lot, but these assumptions lead them nowhere.

Civilization and race are two very different things. That the Indian civilization, in any of its manifestations, ever propounded any sort of racialism is an astounding construct created by these critics. The Hindu Sanatan principles treat the entire universe as one family (Vasudeva Kutumbakum).

The Upanishads speak so: "Ekam Sada, Vipraha Bahudah Vaddanti" – meaning that the wise men describe the Truth in different ways. In the Bhagavad Gītā (4:11), God, manifesting as Krishna, states that "As people approach me, so I receive them. All paths lead to me (ye yathā m?? prapadyante t??s tathā iva bhaj?myaham mama vartm?nuvartante manu?y?? p?rtha sarva?ā?). The Hindu religion has no theological difficulties in accepting degrees of truth in other religions. Hinduism emphasizes that everyone actually worships the same God, whether one knows it or not. Just as Hindus worshiping Ganesh is seen as valid by those worshipping Vishnu, so someone worshipping Jesus or Allah is accepted. Many foreign deities become assimilated into Hinduism, and some Hindus may sometimes offer prayers to Jesus along with their traditional forms of God.

Racism is a product of capitalism. It grew out of early capitalism's use of slaves for the plantations of the New World, it was consolidated in order to justify western and white domination of the rest of the world and it flourishes today as a means of dividing the working class between white and Muslim or black, and native and immigrants or asylum seekers.

The justification of slavery

by an ideology of racism started to fade under attack by slave-trade abolitionists, and with the decline of the trade itself. Racism, however took on a new form as a justification for the ideology of Imperialism. This racism of Empire was dominant for over a century from the 1840's on.

Authors such as Hannah Arendt, in her 1951 book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, have said that the racist ideology (popular racism) that developed at the end of the 19th century helped legitimize the imperialist conquests of foreign territories and the acts that accompanied them (such as the Herero and Namaqua Genocide of 1904–1907 or the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1917).

Rudyard Kipling's poem *The White Man's Burden* (1899) is one of the more famous illustrations of the belief in the inherent superiority of the European culture over the rest of the world, though it is also thought to be a satirical appraisal of such imperialism. Racist ideology thus helped legitimize subjugation and the dismantling of the traditional societies of indigenous peoples, which were regarded as humanitarian obligations as a result of these racist beliefs. Concepts such as the 'white man's burden' became fashionable especially in England where British Colonialists liked to cast themselves as father and mother with a clear duty to take responsibility for the material and spiritual well-being of their 'colonial' children. Racism became the ideological justification of capitalism's expansion into conquering countries, plundering their wealth and exploiting the natives.

The racial policy of the Nazis was a set of policies and laws implemented by Nazi Germany, asserting the superiority of the "Aryan race", and based on a specific racist doctrine which claimed scientific legitimacy. It was combined with a pogrom that aimed for racial hygiene by using compulsory sterilizations and extermination of the Untermensch (or "sub-humans"), and which eventually culminated in the Holocaust. These policies targeted peoples, in particular Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals and handicapped people, who were labeled as "inferior" in a racial hierarchy that placed the Herrenvolk (or "master race") of the Volksgemeinschaft (or "national community") at the top, and ranked Russians, Romani, persons of color and Jews at the bottom.

It was the Spaniards who gave the world the notion that an aristocrat's blood is not red but blue. The Spanish nobility started taking shape around the ninth century in classic military fashion, occupying land as warriors on horseback. They were to continue the process for more than five hundred years, clawing back sections of the peninsula from its Moorish occupiers, and a nobleman demonstrated his pedigree by holding up his sword arm to display the filigree of blue-blooded veins beneath his pale skin—proof that his birth had not been contaminated by the dark-skinned enemy. Sangre azul, blue blood, was thus a euphemism for being a white man—Spain's own particular reminder that the refined footsteps of the aristocracy through history carry the rather less refined spoor of racism.

Allegations that caste amounts to race were addressed and rejected by B.R. Ambedkar, an advocate for Dalit rights and critic of untouchability. He wrote that "The Brahmin of Punjab is racially of the same stock as the Chamar (Dalit) of Punjab, and that the 'Caste system does not demarcate racial division. Caste system is a social division of people of the same race'".

Such allegations have also been rejected by many sociologists such as Andre Béteille, who writes that treating caste as a form of racism is "politically mischievous" and worse, "scientifically nonsense" since there is no discernible difference in the racial characteristics between Brahmins and Scheduled Castes. He writes that "Every social group cannot be regarded as a race simply because we want to protect it against prejudice and discrimination". In addition, the view of the caste system as "static and unchanging" (which would indicate a form of racial discrimination) has been disputed by many scholars. Sociologists describe how the perception of the caste system as a static and textual stratification has given way to the perception of the caste system as a more processual, empirical and contextual stratification. Others have applied theoretical models to explain mobility and flexibility in the caste system in India. According to these scholars, groups of lower-caste individuals could seek to elevate the status of their caste by attempting to emulate the practices of higher castes. Sociologist M. N. Srinivas has also debated the question of rigidity in Caste.

Yes, Friedrich Nietzsche is noted to have said "Close the Bible and open the Manu Smriti. It has an affirmation of life, a triumphing agreeable sensation in life and that to draw up a lawbook such as Manu means to permit oneself to get the upper hand, to become perfection, to be ambitious of the highest art of living."

Contra Nietzsche, Nipissing University philosophy professor W.A. Borody has coined the phrase "sublimation-transmogrification logic" to describe the underlying 'state of mind' lying behind the ethical teaching of the Manu Smriti - a 'state of mind' that would have found Nietzsche's concept of the Dionysian Übermensch abhorrent, and a 'state of mind' or 'voice' that has always been radically contested within India's various philosophical and religious traditions.

In fact, Joseph Goebbels stated "If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it. The lie can be maintained only for such time as the State can shield the people from the political, economic and/or military consequences of the lie. It thus becomes vitally important for the State to use all of its powers to repress dissent, for the truth is the mortal enemy of the lie, and thus by extension, the truth is the greatest enemy of the State." The critics seem to have taken a fancy to both Racism and this Nazi precept. Parrot fashion, they kept repeating ill-founded and deliberate colonial constructs to debunk and denounce Indian Civilization or the Sanskrit Civilization as I have chosen to give a name to a historical period of a millennium and a half, in India's history. They wrongly try to associate it with the priestly class, the Brahmins and their efforts at stratifying the Indian society into the ugly reality of Caste and Jati.

One of such constructs foisted upon Indian Civilization and history is "A Myth of Aryan Invasion" that was created to make it appear that Indian culture and philosophy was dependent on the previous developments in Europe, thereby justifying the need for colonial rule and Christian expansion in India. This myth remained unchallenged for almost a hundred years till the remains of an urban civilization were found through the efforts of Sir John Marshall in 1920s in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. As archaeologists started to demystify the haze surrounding these finds, the Aryan invasion theory started getting deconstructed.

(To be continued)

No one gave 'mandate' to self proclaimed leaders to talk to Hurriyat: KPs

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Apr 19: Kashmiri Pandits are up in arms against those community members who had met separatist Hurriyat leaders at Srinagar recently. Taking a serious exception to it, the leaders of various socio-religious organizations to Pandits said that the community had not given any mandate to any organisation or individual to talk with the separatists or agents of Pakistan.

Talking to reporters in a joint press conference organised by Panun Kashmir MK Kaul a social activist, Raj Nath Raina, president Magam Bangil Sabha, PL Dhar president TRT Nagrota and Sheela Handoo ex-Corporator said the community had not given any one mandate to talk to separatists on its behest. Kashmiri leaders are convinced that the types of Geelani,

Mirwaiz and others like them have presided over their religious cleansing and genocide. They hold them guilty of committing heinous crimes against humanity in general and the Kashmiri Pandits in particular.

"It is unfortunate that some community members and representatives of some organizations met hardliner Hurriyat leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani and its moderate faction leader Maulvi Umar Farooq seeking their support for return of the community to Valley", said MK Kaul. He while criticizing these leaders said that they had no



(L to R) Sh. Raj Nath Raina, Sh. M.K. Kaul, Sh. Mahesh Kaul, Sh. P.L. Dhar and Smt. Sheela Handoo addressing media persons in Jammu.

mandate from community to talk with Hurriyat as this conglomerate is responsible for the miseries and sufferings of the community. Kashmiri Hindus consider them to be leaders of an extremely regressive movement which seeks to destroy all freedoms that humankind should enjoy universally for they are agents of a

fascist movement aiming at imposing a hegemonic order on the people of Jammu and Kashmir worse than that of Hitler who imposed them in Germany in the last century. These leaders are responsible for the mass exodus of the community from Valley and in what capacity the community members met them, he

said. "Instead of being apologetic for the same our leaders pleaded for the community's return before them," he said. Moreover, the leaders of these KP organizations who met Hurriyat did not disclose what they discussed with them inside and we apprehend that a hidden agenda on return of the community was discussed inside, he said, adding this was a game plan of some agencies to tarnish the image of the community.

"Why should our leaders talk to separatists whose hands are soaked in our blood" said Raj Nath Raina. He said the majority of Pandits are not ready to accept the package as nothing except a separate homeland will be acceptable

to them. The leaders of various organisations met at PK office here and decided to mobilize community opinion against the same. Raina wanted to know what was the fault of Pandits who were hounded out from Valley at gun point. He made it clear that Pandits will not return till the conditions set by them are accepted. "We will return on our own terms and conditions and not on behest and mercy of separatists" he added.

"We will continue our fight against those forces who play with the cause of the community" said Sheela Handoo. She said that Apex Committee does not have proper representation of the community and demanded that the Board should have real representation of the community and no one should be thrust from the top.

The text of the declaration adopted in an emergency meeting held by the prominent citizens representing all the districts of the Valley and various socio-religious organizations of the Kashmiri displaced Hindus on 18th April 2012, at Panun Kashmir Office, Jammu to voice unanimously their condemnation of the meeting held by some self-proclaimed representatives of the displaced Kashmiri Hindu Community with the separatists leadership in Valley.

THE DECLARATION

All of us have gathered here to convey in very strong and unambiguous terms our condemnation of the act of a group of Kashmiri Hindus having met Hurriyat Leaders in Kashmir valley recently. The group has brought shame to the entire community of Kashmiri Hindus. Their meeting with Hurriyat leaders has insulted the sacrifice of all those who have died at the hands of terrorists while upholding the honour, dignity of their self, community, society and the country at large. This act of the self-proclaimed representatives of the displaced community has brought disrepute to the glorious History of sacrifice for the Indian social and political values

upheld by Kashmiri Hindus and their immense contribution to the Indian civilizational continuity.

Kashmiri Hindus are convinced that the types of Geelani, Mirwaiz and others like them have presided over their religious cleansing and genocide. They hold them guilty of having committed heinous crimes against humanity in general and Kashmiri Hindus in particular. Kashmiri Hindus consider them to be leaders of an extremely regressive movement which seeks to destroy all freedoms which human kind should enjoy universally for they are the agents of a theo-fascist movement aiming at imposing a hegemonic order on the people of Jammu and

Kashmir worse than what Hitler imposed in Germany in the last century. Giving such leadership even a semblance of credibility is abhorrent to peace-loving and patriotic Kashmiri Hindus as it is to any upright peace-loving and freedom-loving human being. The reality of the types of persons who constituted the group that met the Hurriyat leaders recently is very well known to the entire community. For Kashmiri Hindus they are nothing more than self-seeking bounty hunters who are ready to work for anybody and everybody be it government agencies or the separatist network. The said meeting, we apprehend, seems to have taken place at the behest of subversive cir-

cuits operating in India whose objectives are similar to those of the circuits operated by Dr. Fai in America. Kashmiri Hindus have no doubt that the activities of persons like Sushoba Bharve in Jammu and Kashmir have only complemented the communal secessionist movement in the state.

The Kashmiri Hindus who met the Hurriyat leaders recently have abdicated their right to be recognized as a part of the displaced Hindus community in particular and patriotic Indians in general. We disown them and their activities. We want to state unambiguously that they don't belong to us and they represent only themselves or their masters at whose behest they work.

Electricity crisis at Jagti a state sponsored genocide: PK

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, May 18 : P K expressed serious concern over the plight of the internally displaced Kashmiri Pandit community which is being clustered at the Jagti Satellite Township, Nagrota. Expressing anguish and shock over the deteriorating electricity facility to the Kashmiri Pandit refugees putting up at Jagti, Panun Kashmir held an emergency meeting of its activists and the Jagti inmates and took stock of the emerging scenario in

terms of intimidation of the Kashmiri Pandits residing at the Refugee Township.

The meeting was convened by the Chairman, Panun Kashmir, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo. While speaking on the occasion Chrungoo said, "By resorting to unscheduled power cuts that too for 16-18 hours speaks volumes about the intention of the administration to drive the Kashmiri Pandits living in Jagti settlement to the precipice of desperation when the mercury has reached to almost 40 degree Celsius.



The reason given by the administration that the KP inmates should sign an agreement and agree to metering clearly reveals the apathy and

ignorance on the part of the administration, without realizing that the inmates are refugees whose status has not changed. It is only their

location that has changed. Their economic condition has not changed."

Asking the government to explain the rationale behind the unscheduled Power cuts and blocking the power supply to the KP inmates, Dr. Chrungoo said, "The status of the people who have been accommodated at Jagti from Muthi, Purkhoo, Mishriwala and Nagrota one room tenements has not changed as they still continue to be the internally displaced people away from their homeland, neither has

their status as relief holders changed.

He said, "Panun Kashmir appeals to all sections of the society and the sensitive citizens to impress upon the administration to stop the state sponsored intimidation and human rights violation of the Kashmiri Pandit inmates of Jagti.

Panun Kashmir will mobilize the public opinion all over the state and country so that justice is delivered to the KP refugees living in inhuman conditions in Jagti.

Self Proclaimed leaders are bounty hunters: KP's

KS Correspondent

PANUN KASHMIR organised a meeting of the Kashmiri Pandit community, on April 29, 2012 at the Invitation, Banquet Hall, Roop Nagar, Jammu. The meeting was attended by a large number of people from the Kashmiri Pandit community. The entire gathering present on the occasions expressed great anguish over the meeting of the so called Kashmiri Pandit representatives with the Kashmiri Muslim separatist leadership including Ali Shah Geelani and Omar Farooq. The community members termed these people as bounty hunters and traitors who are selling the desperate and despondent ethnically cleansed Kashmiri Pandits for their vested interests.

The gathering was attended by the Kashmiri Pandits from various camp settlements which includes TRT Muthi, TRT Nagrota and Jagti, Nagrota as well.

While speaking on the occasion Sh. B.L. Bhat from jagti



that those people who have collaborated with the enemy, who ethnically cleansed the Kashmiri Pandit community should be socially boycotted from the community, and the solution to reverse the genocide is not the collaboration with the enemy but the carving out of the separate homeland with the union territory status for the Kashmiri Pandits in

Pandit community in Kashmir. The community will never deviate from this nationalist goal.

Expressing his opinion on the occasion, Dr. Ajay Churungoo, chairman, Panun Kashmir said that the community is facing a war of attrition and we are in the forefront of this civilisational war. He said those people who are hobnobbing with the separatists are surrendering the Kashmiri Pandit community to the persecutor who wants the attestation from the persecuted community that the separatist movement motivated by pan Islamism is not communal and regressive but secular. It is a trap laid to keep the Kashmiri Pandit community as hostage of the theofascist and communal society led by the jihadist operatives. Those Kashmiri Pandits who went to meet Geelani and Omar Farooq are acting like the Jewish collabo-



Geelani, Mirwaiz and others like them have presided over their religious cleansing and genocide. Giving such leadership even a semblance of credibility is abhorrent to patriotic Kashmiri Hindus as it is to any upright peace loving and freedom loving human being.

The reality of the types of

persons who constituted the group that met the Hurriyat leaders recently is very well known to the entire community. For Kashmiri Hindus they are nothing more than self seeking bounty hunters who are ready to work for anybody and everybody be it government agencies or separatist network. The Kashmiri Hindus who met the Hurriyat leaders recently are not a part of us. We disown their activities. We want to state unambiguously that they represent only themselves or their masters at whose behest they work."

The gathering also condoled the untimely demise of Amit Raina, a young Panun Kashmir activist who was suffering from cancer. Even on his deathbed he was speaking for achieving homeland and asked the community members to realise the dream of homeland at all costs.

The programme was co-ordinated by Sh. B.L. Kaul.



castigated the so called Kashmiri Pandits representatives who met the separatists as fifth columnists who are bent to keep the already desperate Kashmiri Pandits as hostages of pan Islamism.

Sh. P.L. Raina, a camp leader from Muthi expressed great shock over these developments and asked the community members to remain vigilant from the forces within the community who are self seekers and middlemen. He also expressed dissatisfaction over the composition of the Apex committee and said that the committee is not represented by credible people.

Sh. P.L. Dhar, president, TRT, Nagrota cautioned the Kashmiri Pandit community to be vigilant from these people who are acting as the collaborators of the enemy. He said how can the community forget the martyrdom of the brothers and sisters like Late Sarla Bhat who was axed to death by the Muslim separatists and fundamentalists. We will not allow their sacrifice to go in vain.

Sh. Raj Nath Raina, a president Magam Bangil Sabha said

Kashmir with the free flow of Indian constitution. No body will be allowed to hold the Kashmiri Pandits as hostages to the Kashmiri Muslim communalism and fascism.

The firebrand leader of the community and veteran freedom fighter Pt. Omkar Nath Trisal lambasted the group of so called Kashmiri Pandit representatives who met the Hurriyat leaders and called them self seekers who lack vision and clarity. He said that these people have lost the memory of the Kashmiri Pandit holocaust and thus they have sided with the persecutors of the community as these people are inflicted with the sickness of slavery. He said that the community is in a state of war and for fighting the war to restore the righteousness and the free flow of Indian constitution the entire community has declared its ideological clarity and vision in terms of Margdarshan Resolution of 1991 in which it was resolved to strive for the separate homeland for the entire Kashmiri



rators who joined the enemy ranks to send their community members to the concentration camps with the hope that they will go Scot free.

The mammoth gathering passed the declaration unanimously which states in its operative part that, "This act has brought disrepute to the Kashmiri Hindus' glorious history of sacrifice for the Indian social and political values and their immense contribution to the Indian civilisational continuity.

Kashmiri Hindus are convinced that the types of



'Invasion and Accession of Jammu & Kashmir—Crucial and Fateful Days Indian Leadership of 1947 Lacked Courage & Grit

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, April 7: The leaders, academicians, journalists, and distinguished citizens belonging to the refugee and internally displaced communities from Pak Occupied Kashmir and the Kashmir valley and the province of Jammu participated in a seminar held in the Banquet Hall of Press club Jammu to discuss the crucial days leading to invasion on the state of Jammu and Kashmir by the regular and irregular troops of Pakistan as also the historical facts of the accession of the state with India. The enlightened citizens shared experiences of the fateful days and the failures of the nation that has led to uprootment of Lakhs of Hindus. Those who spoke on the occasion were Dr M K Teng, Chairman of the Advisory Committee of Panun Kashmir and an expert on the politics and history of the state, Prof Hari Om, a distinguished historian, analyst, and a prominent leader of Jammu, Sh Yuv Raj Gupta, chairman of POJK (Pak Occupied Jammu and Kashmir)Sangarsh Morcha, Mirpur, Sh V K Sehgal, a senior Jammu based journalist and Chairman of Socialist Republican Volunteers Association (SRVA), and Dr Ajay Chrungeo, chairman of Panun Kashmir.

The Seminar was organized by Panun Kashmir as a step towards documenting unknown facts about the invasion of the state in 1947 and its accession to India. Sh Mahesh Koul acted as the anchor for the programme.

In his revealing and insightful presentation Dr M K Teng revealed that the details of the invasion of the state were available to the then leadership at the helms right from its preparatory stages towards the end of August, 1947. He asked the crucial

question as to why did not Government of India act even after the real invasion on the ground started on October 22, 1947. "Why was the state left undefended till the actual accession took place? Government of India had the incumbent responsibility to do so even if the accession of the state had not been formalized." Dr M K Teng said the historical failure of the leadership of Congress Party, Gandhi, Nehru and Patel was that they allowed Muslim League and the British Government to use the States to undermine the integrity of India and sow the seeds of

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah asked him to do so. Nehru's dithering was primarily responsible for the creation of the problem in Jammu and Kashmir.

Sh Yuv Raj Gupta While highlighting the glorious resistance offered by the Hindus of Pak Occupied Kashmir during the invasion to the invaders and salvage the state for the nation said the invasion started actually on Sept 11, 1947. He said that it was the irony of History that the day the jihad against the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir started way back in 1947 is the same day when

"Why was the state left undefended till the actual accession took place? Government of India had the incumbent responsibility to do so even if the accession of the state had not been formalized."

balkanization. Jammu and Kashmir was the most crucial state and the bungling in its affairs has cost the nation heavily and has jeopardized the entire security of the Northern Frontiers of India.

Prof M K Teng said, "Indian State from the very beginning has left the Northern Frontiers of India undefended. Genocide of Hindus in Mirpur, Muzaffarabad, Rajauri, Poonch and Kashmir valley has been a result of this attitude as well as the perverted secular vision which the Indian leadership nourished from the very beginning."

Prof Hari Om in his crisp presentation said that the attempts of early accession were resisted by none other than Jawahar Lal Nehru. He accepted accession not till

the twin towers in New York were brought down in the early years of twenty first century. He said the delay in accession was created by the deliberate conditions created by Jawahar Lal Nehru who wanted to create the ground for the takeover of the State by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. He said that Pandit Nehru was forced to accept accession when Mehraj Chand Mahajan threatened him that in case he doesn't accept the accession then he will have no choice but to go to Jinnah. He said, "The days from October 22 to October 26 were crucial fateful days which changed the demographic profile of Mirpur, Muzaffarabad, Rajauri and Poonch areas of Jammu and Kashmir. The resistance offered by patriotic forces in these areas who were



predominantly Hindus and Sikhs is a saga of glory still unrecognized in the History of the state."

Sh V K Sehgal said all attempts at peace in Jammu and Kashmir have failed, including the SAARC Summit Declaration in 2004, because they failed to take the refugees on board. "There can be no peace in the state until displaced and uprooted people in the state are taken into confidence and the injustice suffered by them addressed. The four crucial days from October 22 to October 26, 1947 were the crucial days which acted as the game changers in the region and these days can provide an insight into past, present and future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir." He further said that future generations cannot afford to ignore the atrocities committed on the people during those days in case they have to have lasting peace in the area. "The problems of ethnic cleansing and genocide have to be addressed sooner than the later in the interests of the lasting peace."

Dr Ajay Chrungeo, Chairman of Panun Kashmir said that there is a great game of genocide of Hindus going which has not been recognized so far. This game of genocide

has been far more gruesome than the holocaust of Jews or Armenian Christians. What has befallen on the Hindus and Sikhs of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947 and subsequently in 1989-90 is the continuation of the same great, ruthless and murderous game.

He said the Indian leaders blundered or connived in this bloody endeavor primarily because they did not have the courage and grit to stand up to the genocidal war launched on Hindus living in Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir. This failure will only help in the duplication of the genocidal wars elsewhere in India. We are already seeing the beginning of these murderous campaigns elsewhere in India. He said the attrition and abandonment of Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir is related to the mindset of criminal compromise with Muslim Identity politics. It is an expression of negation of secularism and the process is still continuing with impunity. "We have to put a halt to this continuous suicide otherwise India will perish as a nation."

Sh Shailendra Aima Vice Chairman of Panun Kashmir concluded the seminar by offering the vote of thanks.



Jagti Township Sans Basic Parameters: PK

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Mar 12: A mammoth gathering was organised by Panun Kashmir, Jagti Unit at the Jagti township, Nagrota. A large number of Kashmiri Pandit refugees participated in the programme organised by Panun Kashmir and Jagti Tenements Committee to sensitise the exiled community about the emerging political scenario in the state. The aim of the public programme was to dispel the atmosphere of gloom and despondency that has engulfed the Kashmiri Pandits residing in Jagti township. The inmates of the refugee township have been facing immense pressure and intimidation at the hands of relief organisation who curtailed the freedom of expression of the people so that the multi crore scandal which came to the fore recently is hushed up.

Addressing the mammoth gathering of the Kashmiri Pandits at the Jagti township, Chairman, Panun Kashmir, Dr. Ajay Churungoo said, "As per the international standards any temporary refugee settlement should have three basic parameters. These are development, freedom and security. Unfortunately, all these three basic parameters are absent in this township which reflects the despondency and desperation of the Kashmiri Pandit refugees in the temporary settlement constructed with the substandard construction material, keeping the people in the constant fear of casualty and threat. The inmates of the township should come out with their problems and Panun Kashmir will leave no stone unturned to raise the voice of the inmates at the appropriate fora."

Dr. Ajay, further said, "The community should remain cautious about the people within the community who are compromising the political aspirations and future of the community by sacrificing the goal of the resurgence of the

community for short time benefits. The resurgence and political empowerment of the Kashmiri and the Community is possible only with the establishment of the Homeland with union territory status in Kashmir with the free flow of the Indian constitution. The myopic policy of linking the employment package with the return and rehabilitation underlines the policy paralysis of the policy makers. Employment needs to be delinked from return and rehabilitation of the Kashmiri Pandits. He apprised the gathering that home ministry recently is on record in

municipal foreclosures rejected co-existence and stabbed the secularism. The solution to all problems of the exiled Kashmiri Pandits lies in the establishment of the Homeland with the union territory status in Kashmir. Homeland is the only model that will lead to the political empowerment of the Kashmiri Pandits."

Addressing the gathering, Sh. Shadi Lal Pandita, president, Jagti Tenements committee, castigated the middlemen and the former relief commissioner in creating a sense of fear, despondency and desperation among the Kashmiri

Senior leader, P.L. Thussu said, "self styled leaders have ruined the community. We are grateful to Dr. Ajay Churungoo led Panun Kashmir for always reaching out to the Jagti Kashmiri Pandits and helping to raise our issues at the appropriate fora. I support the Panun Kashmir and the demand for homeland but the need is also for asking for the political reservation for the community in the legislature and parliament. State government has not spent a single rupee from the state exchequer for the welfare of the exiled Kashmiri Pandits. They have always



The effects of seepage taking toll of newly constructed tenements at Jagti. --KS photo

- Kashmiri Pandits of Jagti Township support Homeland Demand of Panun Kashmir
- Homeland with the Union territory status is the only solution for the empowerment of the KPs
- Jagti is the mirror of the KPs in exile
- Jagti KPs warn the self styled leaders who are diluting the Kp cause for resurgence.



accusing that in spite of linking the employment package with the return not a single Kashmiri Pandit family has been resettled safely in Kashmir."

While addressing the gathering, senior Kashmiri Pandit leader Pt. Omkar Nath Trisal said, "Jagti is the mirror of the Kashmiri Pandit community in exile. Those who will intimidate the Kashmiri Pandits facing the challenges for the right to survival will face stiff resistance from the entire community. We are the victims of genocide and religious cleansing. The neo fascist and Muslim com-

Pandit inmates as far as the allotment of the rooms is concerned. Lambasting the authorities he said "bribe and arm twisting means were used to allot the rooms. The administration is giving false impression that two room sets are being given. Instead it is the one room set which is being allotted. That too constructed with the substandard material posing constant threat to the life of the inmates. The collapse of the quarter No. 11 in the building no. 86 substantiates the fears of the people and exposes the multi crore scandal. Kashmiri Pandits will return to Kashmir on their own terms and now they will not tolerate any intimidation. The complete rehabilitation of the Kashmiri Pandits is possible only when it is divided into two parts, one for the exile Kashmiri Pandits. Jagti Tenements Committee supports the Panun Kashmir demand whole heartedly for the creation of the separate homeland for the exiled Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir."

spent on Kashmiri Pandits from the central funds and that too in inappropriate way."

Well known activist and poet Prem Nath recited his poem titled "Inteezar" highlighting the desperation and despondency of the Jagti inmates.

Well known leader of the Jagti tenements committee, Sh. Vijay Kaul, while speaking on the occasion said, "Keeping in view the inflation and market scenario cash assistance and relief besides age relaxation to youth should be treated on priority. He demanded a comprehensive vigilance probe into the bungalows and allotment of rooms at Jagti township. The agents of the vested interests should stay at bay. Otherwise they will be dealt head on. Administration is intimidating the Kashmiri Pandits to submit affidavits so that the blame is shifted to innocent people and the culprits are bailed out. We will submit D- forms with proof and there is no need for the so

called affidavits."

Sh. Kuldeep Raina, General Secretary, Panun Kashmir said, "the camp life should improve as exile has given us challenge to uphold our right to life. No compromise should have been made with the original blue print of the township but it is a reality that it has been compromised. Panun Kashmir is conscious about the sufferings of the Kashmiri Pandits living in Jagti township. Jagti has to be a model township and it is the fountainhead of the exiled Kashmiri Pandits. No body will be allowed to exploit our despondent brethren. We demand that the shops should be allotted to all those people who have submitted their TDRs for the same 11 months ago so that the frustration of the people is ended. Panun Kashmir policies of the Kashmiri Pandit resurgence will move in tandem with the solution of the local problems."

The programme was coordinated by Chand ji Pandita, Sanjay Raina, (Co-ordinators PK, Jagti) and the team of activists comprising of Sunil Raina, Ravi Zutshi, Vijay Kumar Bhat. A large number of Panun Kashmir activists and members of Jagti Tenements Committee also participated in the programme.

PK holds activists' meet at Jagti

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Mar 19: Panun Kashmir organized an activists' meet today at the Jagti Township to take stock of the organizational activities and the developments concerning the displaced community. The participants emphasised that the present challenges need emphatic and vigorous implementation of the different programmes initiated by Panun Kashmir.

During the meet it was resolved to launch a massive mobilization campaign very soon. Addressing the meet Kuldeep Raina General Secretary said that Panun Kashmir has emerged as the frontline organisation of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits. The campaign it launched is as much a response to the genocide of Kashmiri Hindus by Islamist separatists as

to the apologetic and elitist politics played by a section of the community leadership. It showed the community how the politics, which sought to make community once more subservient to the communal elements in Valley, would

keep the Pandit community in a state of perpetual destabilization. Panun Kashmir decided to call the spade a spade and bury the apologetic politics for ever. The practitioners of apologetic politics, feeling redundant with new socio-political awareness in the community, I continue to sponsor slander campaigns against Panun Kashmir, he alleged. There is a need to tell people about the role played by Panun Kashmir in safeguarding the interests of the displaced community, Raina asserted, Panun Kashmir has given birth to a new Kashmiri Pandit who wants to live in Kashmir as an Indian nationalist, he said.



Transfer newly recruited KP youth to Jammu : Panun Kashmir

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, March 27: Press Brief of the press conference addressed by Panun Kashmir Gen. Secretary Kuldeep Raina, Sh. O.N.Trisal senior community leader, Sh. S.K.Kitchloo secretary Panun Kashmir & Sh. Mahesh Kaul secretary publicity and youth affairs Panun Kashmir at Jammu on 27-03-2012.

Panun Kashmir has been observing the situation in Kashmir valley very keenly and with an open mind since government started to implement Prime Minister's employment package for Kashmiri Hindus. We are of the firm view that the security situation in Kashmir valley is very fragile and in fact showing a calibrated deterioration.

The raising of pro Pakistan slogans by the trainees from Kashmir valley at the Police Training College at Kathua during the recently held Indo-Pak Cricket match is only an indicator of the grip of secessionism on the minds of even those sections of the society who

PK appeals both Centre as well as State government to make all new appointments as per the Prime Minister's Package in Jammu

are joining the mainstream and even aspiring to become the part of the security establishment of the state.

The increased radicalization of the politics and society in Kashmir valley is manifest enough to escape notice of even a casual watcher of the Kashmir scene. The harassment of Christians and Sikhs there has come to the fore many times in the recent months. The experiences of the Kashmiri Hindu employees who joined the new jobs in the valley through the Prime Minister's employment Package also point towards brazen commu-



PK leaders addressing media persons at Jammu on Mar 27, 2012.

nalization of the social order there in Kashmir.

The recent terrorist attacks in the valley is only an indicator of the fact that terrorism continues to be the dominating reality there and its rearing head once in a while is only a reflection of the capability of the terrorist regimes to regulate the volumes of the violence at their will. The state police is far from vanquishing the menace of terrorism.

The regional situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan is becoming once again volatile. Jihadi forces have already started projecting the declaration of withdrawal of American

forces by 2014 as a victory for Jihad. Even the moderate sections of media are claiming that Pakistani Army is more or less coming under the control of the dreaded ISI.

In this situation spurt in violence is a distinct possibility. The soft target vulnerability is increasing with each day. Panun Kashmir is aware about the experiences and worries of the Kashmiri Hindu employees who joined in Kashmir valley as per the Prime Minister's employment package.

Taking note of the deteriorating situation we appeal to the government of India as well as

the state government to realize their responsibility and immediately transfer the newly recruited Kashmir Hindu employees to Jammu. We also appeal to the governments in the state and the Centre to make all new appointment as per the Prime Minister's package in Jammu rather than Kashmir.

Panun Kashmir disapproves of concepts like townships in the valley or developmental zones for the return of Kashmiri Hindus as all

such concepts border on denial of their genocide. Panun Kashmir is of the firm view that only a comprehensive reversal of genocide will lead to permanent return.

Panun Kashmir once again cautions the governments at the helm that they have a responsibility to protect its citizens and not lead them to one more disaster. The return plan of the government is only a tragedy in awaiting and the responsibility of any untoward incident will rest squarely on the gov-

KHSS elects Ravi Zutshi as president

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Apr 24: A general body meeting of Kashmiri Hindu Sharnarhi Sangathan (KHSS) was held at Jagiti camp Nagrota in which various important issues were discussed and certain decisions were taken to formulate the future strategy of the organization.

The members of the organization in one voice elected Ravi Zutshi as its President.

Speaking on occasion Ravi Zutshi said that the callous attitude of the government is unacceptable and the govt. is bound to provide all the basic amenities required for living and for that Sharnarhi Sangathan will strive hard.

Other members elected Raj Kapoor, Shuban Ji Pandita, R.K Sehgal and Chand Ji Pandita as its Cashier's and Auditor's respectively.

Panun Kashmir Organises Activists Meet

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Feb 28: Panun Kashmir has watched with utmost disappointment and dismay the response of the state government to the complaints of mismanagement, corruption and nepotism in the affairs of newly constructed Jagati camp. It is highly intriguing that the state government has mainly indulged in subterfuges and diversion to scuttle the crucial issues which have come to the fore in this regard. Panun Kashmir brought these issues to the fore many a times with the hope that the state government will look into these matters. The state government had also given to understand that the government will fulfill the inadequacies in the management of the camp affairs and also complete the unfinished construction work of the camp and also improve the quality of construction wherever required. After taking a stock of the situation we feel that nothing substantial has been done by the state government so far. Most of the



Sanjay Raina and Chandjee Pandita to Co-ordinate PK activity at Jagti



ceilings and walls of the quarters have developed cracks. Large scale seepage and electric short circuits is a regular feature. The reported recent felling down of the ceiling of the kitchen of Qtr. No. 11, Bldg. no.86 is a matter of serious concern and substantiates the earlier reports and our concern that the material used in the construction work has been inadequate and of substandard quality.

Addressing the activists of Panun Kashmir Sh. Kuldeep

Raina said that the callous attitude of the govt. is unacceptable and the govt. is bound to provide the basic amenities required for living and for that Panun Kashmir will strive hard. We will not allow our brethren to live a second class citizens life. It is high time to enhance the Cash assistance and other facilities, said Kuldeep Raina. He said that one of the agendas of the organization is to improve the living quality of the camp inmates and for that

our activists will be there round the clock. To improve the communication between the organization and the masses and to implement the programmes and policies of Panun Kashmir, we have decided to appoint two

Coordinators with immediate effect. Sh. Sanjay Raina and Sh. Chand Jee Pandita will coordinate the activities of Jagti from now onwards, declared Kuldeep Raina. Concluding his speech Sh. Raina demanded that:

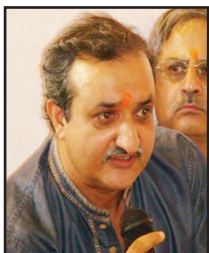
A thorough and speedy probe into the allegations of corruption and bungling in the construction of two room tenements at Jagati.

An immediate assurance from the state government that proper construction material has been used in the construction work and there is no danger to the inmates because of poor quality of construction material.

An immediate redressal of the complaints of the inmates of Jagati with regard to power supply, ration supply, gas supply water and transport.

Printer Publisher B.N. Kaul for and on behalf of **Panun Kashmir Foundation**.
 Editor: **SHAIENDRA AIMA Computer Graphic**: S.K. Babbu, Printed at : **The Kashmir Times Press, Gangyal, Jammu**
 Owned by: **PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION** Published from **PANUN KASHMIR FOUNDATION**,
 172, Sector-3, E.W.S Colony, Lower Roop Nagar, Jammu-180013 (INDIA)
 Tele/Fax: 0191-2593166 **email: kashmirsentineljk@yahoo.co.in**
website: panunkashmir.org

Panun Kashmir Holds Activists Meet



Sh. Satish Sher



Sh. S.K. Kitchloo



Sh. S.K. Handoo



Sh. P.N. Raina



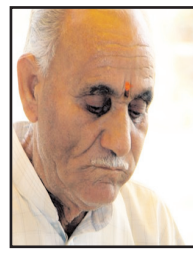
Col. Kandhari



Sh. B.L. Koul



Sh. Mahesh Koul



Sh. J.L. Raina

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, March 17:: **Panun Kashmir** organized an activist meet today to take stock of the organisational activities and the developments concerning the displaced community. The participants emphasised that the present challenges need emphatic and vigorous implementation of the different programmes initiated by Panun Kashmir. The meet resolved to launch a massive mobilization campaign.

Addressing the meet Kuldeep Raina General Secretary said that Panun Kashmir has emerged as the front-line organisation of Displaced Kashmiri Pandits. The campaign it launched is as much a

response to the genocide imposed on Kashmiri Hindus by Islamist separatists as to the apologetic and elitist politics played by a section of the community leadership. It showed the community how the latter politics, which sought to make community once more subservient to the communal elements in Valley, would keep the Pandit community in a state of perpetual destabilisation. Panun Kashmir decided to call the spade by its proper name and bury apologetic politics for ever. The practitioners of apologetic politics, feeling redundant with new socio-political awareness in the community, continue to sponsor slander campaigns against Panun

Kashmir. There is a need to tell people about the role played by Panun Kashmir in safe guarding the interests of the displaced community, Raina asserted.

Sh. Raina said that Panun Kashmir continues to play a path-breaking role in evolving survival strategies for Pandit community. Panun Kashmir has given birth to a new Kashmiri Pandit who wants to live in Kashmir as an Indian nationalist, with fully restored economic, social and political rights. This Pandit rejects the strategies of 'tokenist return' or 'symbolic presence in the Valley'. He wants to reclaim his homeland as a matter of right. Panun Kashmir rejects any

dialogue covert or overt with communal, fundamentalist and secessionist elements in Kashmir.

While concluding his address Sh. Kuldeep Raina said that Panun Kashmir activists are emerging as role models for the community. It is the commendable job done by Panun Kashmir that Kashmiri Pandits are emerging as central element in Kashmir solution. There is a Pandit question because there is movement of Panun Kashmir. Our civil society and the common people have to supplement the role played by Panun Kashmir. We need to strengthen our cadres especially the youth. Our youth have to come forward and join the

The Youth of Community Must Shoulder More Community Responsibility

movement. This is the time when youth of the community should shoulder the responsibility. Almost one generation of the community has borne the brunt of displacement but secured the future of coming generations to a great measure. The youth owe much to the community and the nation. We have great hopes on them.

To ensure the participation of the youth, we have decided to involve them for the job. Sh. Mahesh Kaul an up coming youth leader

will be Secretary for youth affairs and publicity. He will be assisted by another dynamic youth Sh. Ajay Khosa as the coordinator. Both of them will assume their responsibilities with immediate effect. We have also decided that from now onwards Sh. M.K. Dhar will be press secretary and have requested Sh. S.K. Handoo to be part of our Advisory Council.

Among those who addressed the activists included Sh. B.L.Kaul, SH. S.K. Sher and Sh. S.K.Kitchloo.

Curtailment of Electricity at Jagti Gross Violation Of Human Rights : PANUN KASHMIR

IN a press statement issued on May 25, 2012 at Jammu PK asked community to join hands to deliver justice to KP inmates at Jagti.

Expressing serious concern over the inhuman attitude of the administration over the unscheduled power cuts of 16-18 hours duration in the Jagti Satellite Township, Nagrota for the religiously cleansed Kashmiri Pandits, senior community leader and freedom fighter, Sh. Omkar Nath Trisal, while attending the meeting of activists has said, "the unscheduled power cuts and restriction of power supply to the Kashmiri Pandits of jagti for 16-18 hours is the gross human rights violation meant to force the community to surrender their right to life and dignity. The condition of the Kashmiri Pandits in the Jagti refugee township is akin to the condition of the Jews during the holocaust. Jagti has been



THE condition of the Kashmiri Pandits in the Jagti refugee township is akin to the condition of the Jews during the holocaust. Jagti has been turned into a Kashmiri Pandit concentration camp where the hapless inmates are being subjected to intimidation and fear.

turned into a Kashmiri Pandit concentration camp where the hapless inmates are being subjected to intimidation and fear. Why the civil society and the so called human rights activists are silent on the plight of the Jagti inmates. Some hidden agenda to browbeat the

Kashmiri Pandits is being implemented in the garb of disrupting the electric supply."

Kuldeep Raina, general secretary, Panun Kashmir said, "Despite repeated protests and demonstrations the electric supply of the Kashmiri Pandit inmates of the Jagti town-

ship has not been restored.

It is an unfortunate situation where the genuine demands of the inmates are not accepted. By forcing the inmates to sign an agreement and pay the bills is self contradictory on the part of the administration.

As on the one hand government designates the Jagti satellite township as the refugee settlement whereas Kashmiri Pandit refugees from various camps have been lodged. By changing the location of the Kashmiri Pandits from Muthi, Mishriwala, Purkhoo etc, the status of the people in terms of economy has not changed. The administration needs to pay heed to the genuine demands of the inmates." Sanjay Raina and Chand ji Pandita, co-ordinators Jagti Township asked the community to join hands with the Jagti KPs to help the inmates to come out of the atmosphere of desperation and intimidation.

State of Jagti township worries Kashmiri Pandits

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, March 3 The Panun Kashmir has expressed disappointment and dismay over the response of the state government to the complaints of mismanagement, corruption and nepotism in the affairs of newly-constructed Jagti Township for the migrant Kashmiri Pandits.

In a statement issued here, the Kashmiri Pandit organisation alleged that the state government had indulged in diversion to scuttle the crucial issues, which had come to the fore in this regard. The statement said the state government had promised it would fulfil the inadequacies in the management of the migrant camp affairs and also complete the unfinished construction, work at the township, but nothing has been done so far.

"Large scale seepage and electric short circuits are regular in the township buildings. The report of a recent collapse of a ceiling of a kitchen in building no. 86 is a matter of serious concern and substantiates the earlier reports. The material used in the construction work has been inadequate and of a substandard quality," alleged Kuldeep Raina, an activist of the Panun Kashmir.

"The callous attitude of the government is unacceptable and it is bound to provide basic amenities required for living and for that the Panun Kashmir will strive hard. We will not allow our brethren to live such a life," he added.

PRAKASH, organizes a day long interaction with the eminent writers

PRAKASH- a Panun Kashmir initiative for the promotion of Kashmiri Art, Science and History organized a day long interactive session at the Press club, Jammu with the eminent scholar Dr. Shashi Shekher Toshkhani and a renowned writer and poet Sh. Maharaj Krishen Santoshi. The focus of the interactive session was the book titled "Rites and Rituals of Kashmiri Brahmins" written by Dr. Shashi Shekher Toshkhani and the short story collection of Sh. Maharaj Krishen Santoshi titled "Hamare Ishwar Ko Tairna Nahi Aata".

Prakash has been organizing intellectually stimulating events ranging from book releases to discussions with wide ranging implications as far as the literary, cultural and civilisational moorings of the exiled Kashmiri Pandits are concerned. Prakash has been able to dispel the misconceptions created by the biased history and interpretations engineered by the vested interests who are responsible for the ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandits from their homeland, Kashmir.

The interaction with the authors organized by Prakash was yet another milestone in this direction by sensitizing the society about the reality about the origin and evolution of the Kashmiri Pandit community in the Kashmir valley.

Dr. Shashi Shekher Toshkhani set the ball rolling by reading a detailed research paper on the cultural and civilisational moorings of the Kashmiri Pandits and

**"Kashmiri Pandits belong to the Kathak School of the Krishna Yajurveda",
Dr. Shashi Shekher Toshkhani.**



their contribution to the development of the Sanskrit culture in the Himalayas and the Kashmir valley. He touched every sphere of life and activity of the Kashmiri Pandit community ranging from birth to death, highlighting the importance of rites and rituals that form the core of the community activity.

While explaining the rationale behind writing his book titled "Rites and Rituals of Kashmiri Brahmins" he explained the contents of the book chapter wise and talked about the Sanskritisation of the Himalayas in Jammu and Kashmir in which the Kashmiri Pandits played the pioneering role.

Providing an insight into his book Dr. Shashi Shekher Toshkhani explained in detail the origin, effect and significance of the rituals of the Kashmiri pundits. He revealed the Sanskrit origin of the Kashmiri Pandits and established with facts based on his primary research that "Kashmir is the inclusive part of the Sanskrit Civilization of the Indian nation hav-

ing Vedic origins and there has been a systematic process to delink the Kashmir from the national mainstream by the bogus research being carried out the behest of those forces who are hell bent to dismantle the Himalayan frontiers of the Indian nation". He said, "the ideological war launched by the forces who engineered our genocide is the basis for the ethno-religious conflict with an aim to de Sanskritise the Himalayas and exclude J and K from the Indian nation".

He highlighted that "the Kashmiri Pandit community is the seed of this Sanskrit civilization" and said that "the Kashmiri Pandit community has absolute Vedic roots and it belongs to the Kathak School of the Krishna Yajurveda".

Sh. Maharaj Krishen Santoshi's short story collection depicting the various facets of the socio-cultural activities of the Kashmiri Pandit community was reviewed by the eminent scholar and educationist Prof. M.L. Kaul. While reviewing the short story collection of the writer titled "Hamare

Ishwar ko Tairna Nahi Aata" Prof. M.L. Kaul said that the writer writes on the broader canvas and has a keen eye that captures the subtle aspects of the Kashmiri Pandit society. He reviewed 13 short stories contained in the collection and praised the writer for connecting the characters with their roots and hailed him for making them speak in first person about the ethnic cleansing and the pain of exile. He appreciated the writer for maintaining the standard and meter.

Sh. U p i n d e r Ambardar, a keen researcher and general secretary of Prakash provided a deep insight into Sh. Maharaj Krishen Santoshi's mindset as a writer and his sensitivity in dealing with the situation that arised due to the exile. He said, "the writer is essentially a poet and being a poet he has done justice to the meter as well which adds clarity to the short stories."

While speaking on the occasion and explaining the contents of his work Sh. Maharaj Krishen Santoshi said "the per-

secuted communities should speak the truth and exile for me is the journey to the roots as in Kashmir I was not aware of the richness of my culture, in exile I became conscious of my culture".

Eminent political scientist Prof. Mohan Krishen Teng praised both the writers in his address for their pioneering work. He said, "These are the works in continuity." He said "the Sanskrit Vedic culture of which the Kashmiri Pandits are the torch bearers is continuous and there is no conflict in it. While the Semitic civilizations have an inherent conflict which led to the genocide of the Kashmiri Pandits".

Expressing his views on the occasion, Dr. Ajay Churungoo, chairman, Panun Kashmir said, "the persecuted communities have a responsibility and that responsibility is to speak the truth and writers belonging to the persecuted communities have a responsibility as well and that responsibility is to speak the truth and the writers belonging to the persecuted communities like that of

The Sanskrit Vedic culture of which the Kashmiri Pandits are the torch bearers is continuous and there is no conflict in it. While the Semitic civilizations have an inherent conflict which led to the genocide of the Kashmiri Pandits.

--Dr. M.K. Teng

Kashmiri pundits should not write as spectators when they are victims but as the participants. And for the Kashmiri Pandit community memory of the holocaust is the shield and it assumes more importance when we are still in the process of continuous genocide".

The session was presided over by Prof. B.L. Fotedar, convener, Prakash and eminent educationist. He informed the audience that in the due course of time, Prakash will organize more programmes that will cover important aspects related to the social, cultural, literary and historical aspects of the Kashmiri Pandit community from different perspectives. The day long interactive session was attended by a galaxy of writers, thinkers, intellectuals, scholars and members of the civil society.

Centre Silent On Gilgit-Baltistan Lease Issue: PK

Panun Kashmir Expresses Serious Concern On Lease Issue

KS Correspondent

JAMMU, Mar 2: Panun Kashmir expressed its serious concern and dismay on the Gilgit-Baltistan Lease Issue interacting with the media persons at Jammu on March 2, 2012 the Panun Kashmir leadership discribed it as highly disturbing that the reported lease of the region of Gilgit-Baltistan to China by Pakistan has not evoked the concern and attention that it should have from the Government of India.

The reported lease is a severe blow which Pakistan and China have administered to India. It is more so because Government of India seems to be frantically seeking a peace and improvement of relations with Pakistan including the settlement of the so called dispute of Jammu and Kashmir at this juncture.

The unconcern and unimportance demonstrated by government of India to this development seems to emanate from the traditional policy of government of India of leaving the crucial features of the frontiers of India in the north unclaimed and undefended.

At a time when Pakistani military establishment and the Jihadi war machinery is relentlessly trying to seek a withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan at

its terms and conditions, the increased collaboration of Pakistan and China in Pak occupied Kashmir and Northern areas of the state only reveal that Indian pursuit of peace with Pakistan is one sided and almost bordering on humiliation.

During the years of the Cold War, India made no tangible and purposeful effort to recover the occupied regions of Gilgit and Baltistan and hardly took any stance against Pakistan which virtually handed over the whole region to the foreign powers.

Government of India has never chosen to wake up to the reality that Pakistan has always sought simultaneously to create a Pak- American alliance along with a Pak-Chinese Axis along the northern frontiers of Jammu and Kashmir mainly to acquire control of Himalayas to contain the role of India in determining the future Asian balance of power and confine Indian military presence to merely Shivalik plains situated east of the river Ravi.

It is shocking that Government of India is not showing even a semblance of resistance to the strategic and diplomatic offensive of Pakistan and has instead been allowing Pakistan to lay down terms and conditions in all areas and aspects concerning Jammu and Kashmir.

Government of India's almost silence on the reported lease of Gilgit to China and the contours of its policy to settle the issue of Jammu and Kashmir only reflects a suicidal inclination of Government of India of accepting the division of the northern frontiers of Indian nation as a basis for a future cooperation between India and Pakistan.

Panun Kashmir demands a complete overhaul of the policy of Government of India visa vis Pakistan as well as China. Panun Kashmir urges Government of India to awaken and announce its intention to reclaim the Gilgit-Baltistan region and the Dardic dependencies as the territories belonging to India and withdraw from the so called peace process with Pakistan.



Sh. O.N. Trisal and Dr. Ajay Chrunghoo addressing media in Jammu .

PK URGES UPON GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

- To awaken and announce its intention to reclaim Gilgit-Baltistan region.
- To claim Dardic dependencies as its territory.
- To withdraw from the so-called peace process with Pakistan.
- To overhaul its policy vis-a-vis Pakistan & China.

Swami Vivekananda's Future Plan For India

(From Page 8)

presented itself again. This time their centre is India".

Further explaining the nature of the Indian consciousness and its uniqueness, he said "The air of India pre-eminently conduces to quietness, the nature of the Yavana is the constant ex-pression of power; profound meditation characterizes the one, the indomitable spirit of dexterous activity, the other; one's motto is "renunciation", the other's "enjoyment".

One's whole energy is directed inwards, the other's outwards; one's whole learning consists of knowledge of the Self or the Subject, the other's, in the knowledge of the not-self or the object (perishable creation); one loves Moksha (spiritual freedom), the other loves political independence; one is unmindful of gaining prosperity in this world, the other sets his whole heart on making a heaven of this world; one, aspiring after eternal bliss, is indifferent to all

the ephemeral pleasures of this life, and the other doubting the existence of eternal bliss, or knowing it to be far away, directs his whole energy to the attainment of earthly pleasures as much as possible." Swami Vivekananda's analysis of the Indian existence, consciousness and the spiritual core enables one to understand the foundation of the Indian nation. With the conviction of the Vedantist he boldly asks to assimilate spiritual calmness of the practical yogis to hold firm the roots of Indian civilization amid all external turbulence, which is infact all illusion and not the reality. The reality being the inner sense of introspection of the Vedantist.

Reflecting on the wrong interpretations on the caste system in India, he says have great implications on the Indian national life in terms of religion and politics.

He was quick to give his perspective for the future and well being of modern India. He

said "What should we have is what we have not, perhaps what our forefathers even had not - that which the Yavanas had; that, impelled by the life-vibration of which, is issuing forth in rapid succession from the great dynamo

Europe, the electric flow of that tremendous power vivifying the whole world. We want that energy, that love of independence, that spirit of self reliance, that immovable fortitude, that dexterity in action, that bond of unity of purpose, that thirst for improvement... , we want that expan-

CONTINUATION

sive vision infinitely projected forward ;and we want -that intense spirit of activity(Rajas) which will flow through our every vein from head to toe."

This was his immediate remedy to the degeneration being caused to the national life. But he thought beyond the present scenario. He was concerned about the future of

modern India- its development in all spheres-religious, social, political and economic. Swami Vivekananda said,"the quality of rajas is apt to die down as soon as it comes up ,like a fire of palm leave.The presence of Sattva and the Nitya or eternal reality is almost in a state of juxtaposition- Sattva is nearly Nitya. Whereas the nation in which the quality of Rajas predominates is not so long lived, a nation with a preponderance of Sattva is immortal. History is a witness to this fact."

To be specific about India he said, "In India, the quality of Rajas is almost absent; the same is the case with Sattva in the West. It is certain, therefore, that the real life of the Western world depends upon the influx, from India, of the current of Sattva or transcendentalism;and it is also certain that unless we empower and submerge our Tamas by the opposite tide of Rajas, we shall never gain any worldly good or welfare in this life;and it is

also equally certain that we shall meet many formidable obstacles in the path of realization of those noble aspirations and ideals connected with our after-life."

To sum up, it is appropriate to quote from the Swami Vivekananda's poem 'To the Awakened India', the wandering monk says "And tell the world-awake, arise, and dream no more! This is the land of dreams, where Karma Weaves unthreaded garlands with our thoughts Of flowers sweet or noxious, and none Has root or stem, being born in naught, which The softest breath of Truth drives back to Primal nothingness. Be bold, and face The truth! Be one with it! Let visions cease, Or, if you cannot, dream but truer dreams, Which are External Love and Service Free."

(Writer is a PhD scholar at SHTM, University of Jammu, Jammu, Chairman, Heritage Initiative Foundation and President, Sangarsh).

Pandits slam community members who met Hurriyat leaders

KS Correspondent

NEW DELHI, June 10: Kashmiri Pandits today distanced themselves from a few members of the community who recently met Hurriyat leaders, saying their "shameful" act was in their individual capacity which no recognised organisation of the community supports.

A round-table conference "Handshake with Separatists: Sharing the outrage" held here under the banner of Panun Kashmir condemned those who met the separatist leaders in April, terming it as a "self-seeking" act. "All of us convey in very strong and unambiguous terms our condemnation of the act of the group of Kashmiri Hindus having met Hurriyat leaders in the Kashmir Valley recently. The group has brought shame to the entire community of Kashmiri Hindus," a declaration adopted at the meeting said.

Those who participated in the conference included : BL Fotedar, S.S Toshkhani, S.J Raina, Vijay Kaul, Ramesh Handoo, Kashi Akhoun, Gopala Krishna Roa, Anil Dhar, Romesh Razdan, Ramesh Manvati, G.L Pandit, Suman Kaul, Sanjay Kher, Rajinder Kaul, Ajay Kaul, Pran Nath Wali, Lalit Ambardar, Rashnesh Kher, Navneet Sopory, Dr. B.L Bhan, Dr. Ashok Koul, Ramesh Kaul, Sushil Pandit, Sunil Shekdar, Roshan Lal Handoo, M.K Machama, Kundan Kashmiri, Rajinder Kaul, Rajinder Wanchoo, Ram Krishan Dhar, Prof B.B Dhar, J.Koul, Kapil Sopory, Dr. Geeta Bamzai, Dr. Shakti Bhan, Sh. Vijay Tickoo, Dr. Ajay Chrungoo, Sh. Puran Munshi, Sh.Sanjay Dhar, Sh. Utpal Koul, Anupam Tickoo, Happy Tickoo, Sunil Raina, Raju Chrungoo and many more.

The participants declared that, "We, Kashmiri Pandits, disown the activities of those who met Hurriyat leaders. We want to state unambiguously that they represent only them-



selves or their masters at whose behest they work," it said.

The declaration said Kashmiri Hindus consider the leaders of separatist movement of Jammu and Kashmir as "extremely regressive" who seek to destroy all kinds of freedom which human kind should enjoy.

Addressing the meet, Panun Kashmir Chairman Ajay Chrungoo said the act of the few individuals amounted to betray-

THE DECLARATION

ALL of us have gathered to convey in very strong and unambiguous terms our condemnation of the act of the group of Kashmiri Hindus having met Hurriyat leaders in Kashmir Valley recently. The group has brought shame to the entire community of Kashmiri Hindus. Their meeting with Hurriyat leaders has insulted the sacrifice of all those who have died at the hands of terrorists while uphold-



al of the community and needed to be condemned. Apprehending that some force would have been behind the development, he said such people act to create divisions within the community which was forced out of the Kashmir Valley by the separatists 23 years ago.

Following is the text of declaration adopted during the meet.

ing the honor, dignity of their self, community, society and the country at large. This act of self-proclaimed representatives of displaced community has brought disrepute to the glorious history of sacrifice for the Indian social and political values upheld by Kashmiri Hindus and their immense contribu-

tion to the Indian civilizational continuity. Kashmiri Hindus are convinced that types of Geelani, Mirwaiz and others like them have



presided over the religious cleansing and genocide of Hindus in Kashmir

valley. We hold them guilty of having committed heinous crimes against humanity in general and Kashmiri Hindus in particular.

Kashmiri Hindus consider the leaders of separatist movement in Jammu & Kashmir to be the leaders of an extremely regressive movement which seeks to destroy all freedoms which human kind should enjoy universally. These leaders are the agents of the theofascist movement aiming at imposing hegemonic order on the people of Jammu & Kashmir worse than what Hitler imposed in Germany in the last century. Giving such leadership even semblance of credibility is abhorrent to patriotic Kashmiri Hindus.

The reality of the types of Kashmiri Hindus who constituted the group that met the Hurriyat leaders recently is well known to the entire community. For Kashmiri Hindus they are nothing more than self-seeking bounty hunters who are ready to work for anybody and everybody be it Govt. agencies or the separatist network. The said meeting we apprehend, seems to have taking place at the behest of subversive circuits operating in India whose objectives are similar to those of circuits operated by persons like Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai. We disown the activities of Kashmiri Hindus who met Hurriyat leaders recently. We want to state unambiguously that they represent only themselves or their masters at whose behest they work.

