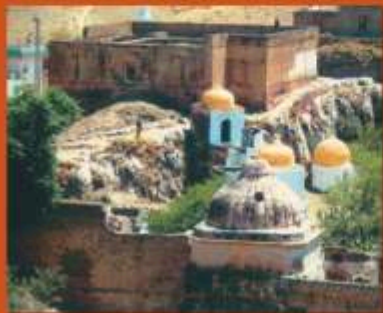
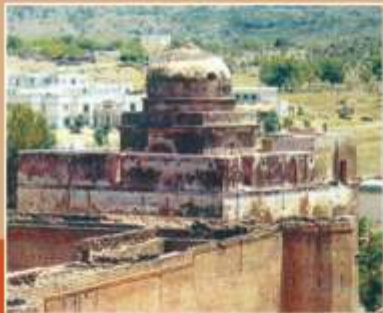


RENOVATION OF DILAPIDATED KATASRAJ TEMPLES IN PAKISTAN



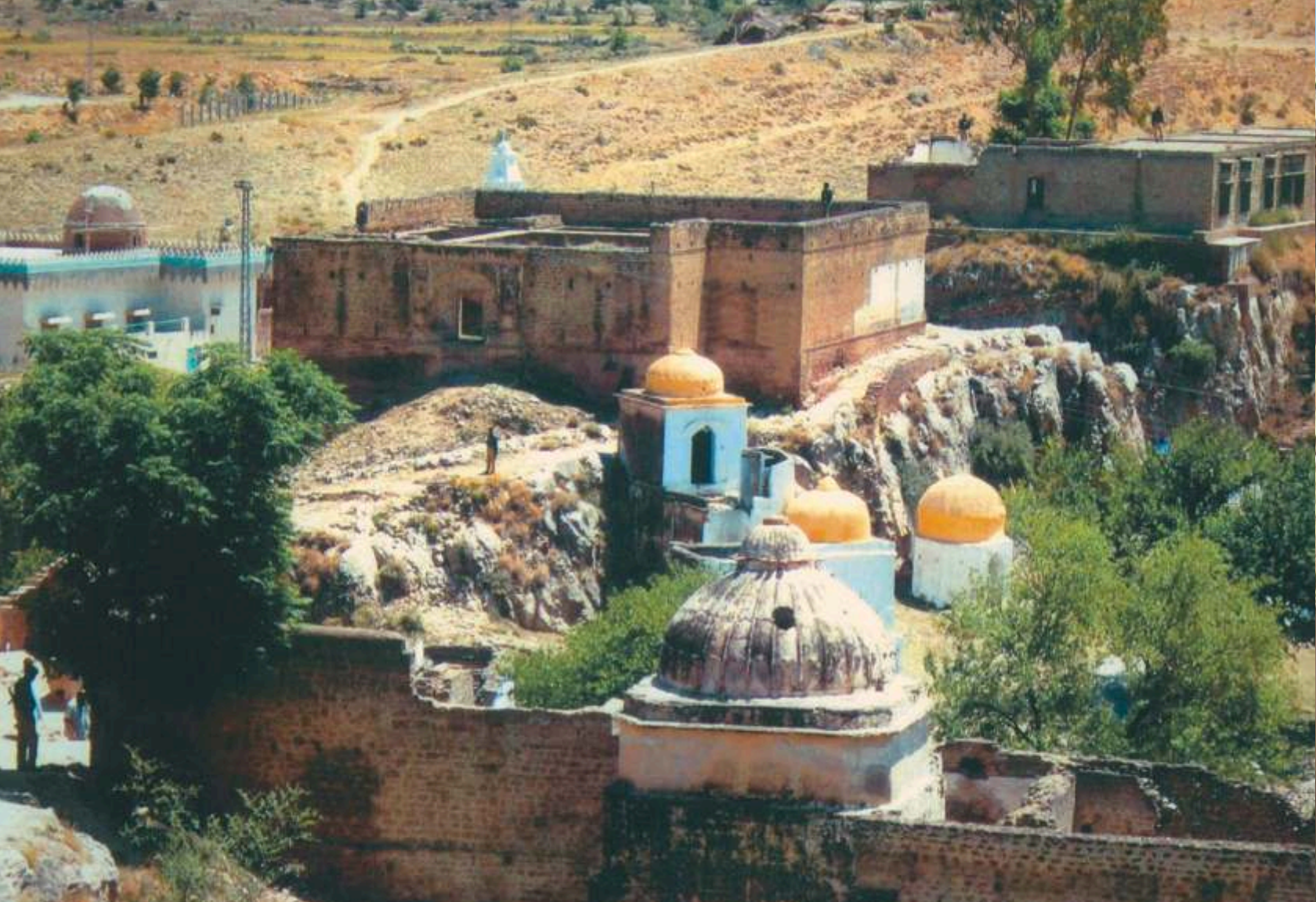
REHABILITATION AND CONSERVATION PROJECT OF KATAS RAJ TEMPLES

INAUGURATED BY

MR. L. K. ADVANI

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION LOK SABHA, INDIA

ON JUNE 2, 2005



KATASRAJ

Katasraj is the second most sacred shrine of Hindus in the erstwhile greater Punjab spanning both India and Pakistan, after the Jwalamukhi temple (now in Himachal Pradesh in India). It is an impressive complex of seven temples, known as Satghare built during the Hindushahiya period (650-950 AD) they are very beautifully carved and conform to the best in temple architecture.

The temple complex is built around a large tank. According to Hindu mythology Lord Shiv wept so profusely on the death of his beloved wife Sati that two holy ponds, one at Pushkar in Ajmer and other at “Katas Shail” meaning incessant flow tears in Sanskrit, came into being with his tears. Katasraj is also held sacred by Hindus for another reason. Legend says that the five Pandava brothers, heroes of the Sanskrit epic Mahabharata, stayed here for long years that they spent in exile.

Located 25 kilometers from the Kalar Kahar exit on the M2 motorway linking Lahore and Islamabad, Katasraj has been the site of holy pilgrimage. The salt ranges around Chakwal are now at the center of new discoveries in archaeology and ancient architecture probably going back three or four millennia.

The Katasraj Complex offers a tremendous potential not only for the Hindu pilgrimage but also a tourist destination of global importance, perhaps even as a world Heritage Site.

*Bhartiya Janta Party
Publication*



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Place of Hindu Heritage in Pakistan

Plans for restoration of Katasraj Temple in Pak mark a positive beginning

—BALBIR K PUNJ

The rancous debate that began after BJP President LK Advani's comment on Mohammed Ali Jinnah has brushed aside an important event. Auspicious beginning of the restoration process on the sites of Katasraj Temple in Pakistan was an important point in the itinerary of Advani which was initiated at the behest of Advani himself. Before the partition, more than one-fourth of total population of the parts which went to Pakistan was Hindu. Too many historical places of pilgrimage of Hindus were also located in those parts. Undivided Punjab, which even included Delhi, had its frontiers upto Afghanistan as it used to be a very large province occupying vast tracts in the north India planes.

Before partition, largest religious fair of Hindus was held at Jwalamukhi in present day Himachal Pradesh. Next largest fair was held at Katasraj, the great place of pilgrimage with history dating back to the era of Pandavas.

Recently I had a chance to visit Katasraj and I could not find a single Hindu family within miles around the temple. The temple complex houses many other sacred Hindu temples, among which temples of Laxminarayan, Hanuman Garhi, Satghar Temple, Sita Garhi and Shiva are prominent. Katasraj temple's condition is so pitiable that it is difficult to call it a temple complex with no idols inside the temple. Now the Pakistan

government has decided to spend two crore Rupees in the first phase of temple restoration. Likewise, there are plans on the anvil for the restoration of many other Hindu temples which are mostly in ruins now. Since the time of partition till date massive plunder has taken place in these temples with gates, doors, windows and other properties looted freely. There are unauthorised-and at some places authorised-encroachment over the buildings and premises of most of these temples. Kataraj is situated in Chakwal district of Pakistan which was separated as a full-fledged district from Rawalpindi in 1985. Pristine natural beauty and resources abound in Chakwal. Minerals like coal, lime, stone, gypsum, salt etc. are mined here on massive scale. Kataraj Temple is situated at a place 30 kilometres north of Chakwal and 30 kilometres south of Pind Dadan mines. Hindus have deep religious

sentiments associated with this temple. As a legend says, Lord Shiva was so sentimentally overwhelmed after Mata Parvati committed sati (self-immolation) that tears flew from his eyes incessantly and collected in two lakes. One of these lakes is Lake Pushkar near Ajmer (Rajasthan) and the other is Lake Katar near Kataraj Temple.

It is believed that the name Katar originated from Sanskrit word kataksha meaning 'flowing tears' or 'tearful eyes'. It is also a hearsay that the five Pandavas had spent long years here during their fourteen years exile. The famous catechism between Yaksha and Yudhishtir had also taken place on the banks of this Katar Lake. A Cunningham had discovered Satgrahas (seven houses) and twelve other temples around them, all some how connected with Pandavas' life in exile. He had ascribed the temples a period of 66 BC.

Before the partition, thousands of Hindu pilgrims used to throng here in March-April months to take a holy dip in the lake. 800 feet below the Katas Lake are Kotehara mountains, which have ancient ramparts and walls. There are many caves also, in which sages and ascetics would perform meditation. Historian and famous traveller Al-Baruni who was contemporary of Mehmood (of Ghazani), had also stayed in Katasraj. He learnt Sanskrit here and calculated the circumference of the Earth. His book 'Kitab-ul-Hind' written in the 11th century contains a vivid description of this temple complex.

Scholars, however, have some controversy over the history of Katasraj. Period of Mahabharata dates back to about 300 BC, and Mahabharat has a description of Katas Lake. Chinese traveller Fa Hyan has also described Katasraj in his

travelogues. He had come to India in the year 403 BC. Juan Jang too, who had visited India in 630, had mentioned Katasraj in his writings. But after the partition, Hindu temples turned into ruins in Pakistan. Their idols were destroyed and the whole lot of material was looted. Moreover, Pakistan government never allowed installation of new idols in their place.

Since 1999, with the ban on entry of Hindu pilgrims groups, condition of remaining temples deteriorated further. Travel of Hindu pilgrims to Katasraj in 1956 was rejected only twelve days before the scheduled date for congregation. Travel was not allowed in 1960 and again in 1979. But neither Jawaharlal Nehru government nor Indira Gandhi government thought it necessary to raise the matter with the Pakistan government seriously. Only in 1982, some front-runner Hindu activists

threatened to stop the trains carrying Pakistan pilgrims at Atari railway station. As a result, first group of Hindu pilgrims crossed the border to visit Katasraj. In 1983, second group of Hindu pilgrims toured Katasraj. But till then, Katasraj Temple had lost its pre-partition splendour and grandeur; and had turned into ruins. Only a small temple houses a Shivalinga, where Advani offered his prayers. But there is no provision of routine worship at the temple. Even rare idols have been looted from the ancient Sheetla Mata Temple in Lahore, which dates back to pre-Alexandrian period. Some of the idols were even taken by Pakistan's archaeological department.

In Lahore again, located between Shah Alami and Lahori Gate is Doodhwali Mata Temple whose only the sanctum sanctorium remains which is also on the verge of destruction. Even the Prahlad

Temple in Multan was demolished under government's protection in the aftermaths of Babri demolition. A Jain Temple has been locked up in Lahore and a madarasa is running in its premises. Grand fair that is held every spring at the sacrificial shrine of Bhagat Hakeekat Rai is still very popular in Pakistan but the shrine itself is in a very dilapidated condition. Pakistan government should take a serious note of it. Indian High Commission in Islamabad issues visas to 1500 Pakistani citizens to visit India but Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi sanctions visas to only 200 Indian nationals to visit Pakistan. In May 1985, Rajya Sabha member Satyapal Mittal had travelled to Katasraj. Pakistan government had then promised to spend two crore Rupees for the development of Katasraj Temple Complex.

In 2004 also, when president of Hindu Rashtriya

Sangathan, Punjab Surender Kumar Billa had led a delegation to Katasraj, he reminded Pakistan's virtually inactive 'Property Board' of the promise for the restoration and development of Katasraj. The Board had assured the delegation of an early commencement but the assurance remained buried in files. It was during Advani's visit to the site that the Pakistan government plunged into action and the process of restoration finally begun. But there are various practical problems also in the path of temple's restoration process. There is no technical knowledge available

in Pakistan about the Hindu temple architecture. India has helped Cambodia in the restoration of Angkorvat Temples there. India should come forward to help Pakistan in the restoration of Katasraj Temple also. As India welcomes the Pakistani citizens to visit the Muslim shrines and pilgrimages with open hearts, Pakistan must also extend the same cordiality to the Hindu pilgrims visiting Hindu shrines in Pakistan. It is hoped that showing due honour for the Hindu heritages, Pakistan too will keep our common culture alive and dynamic.



Speech by

Shri L.K. Advani

BJP President & Leader of the Opposition (Lok Sabha)

At a function organised by The Karachi Council on Foreign Relations, Economic Affairs & Law

Karachi – June 5, 2005

It is always a matter of pleasure when one goes abroad and gets an opportunity to interact with the intellectual elite of that country. But when the country one is visiting is Pakistan, and when the interaction with intellectuals is happening in a city which is one's birthplace, how can that experience be described? "Pleasure"? "Great pleasure"? "Delight"?

I find these words trite on this occasion. The truth is that, I have no words to adequately capture

the feelings that have welled up in me at this meeting in Karachi, which I have been able to visit only for the second time since I left it nearly six decades ago.

Karachi has changed beyond recognition, not only since I left in 1947, but also since I last came here in 1978. The city has of course become immensely more populous – its population in 1947 was a mere 4 lakh; today, I am told, it is nearly 1.4 crore. But Karachi has also become more developed and prosperous.

I compliment the people of Karachi for this achievement and hope that not only Karachi but the whole of Pakistan continues to travel rapidly on the path to prosperity and all-round development.

My return to the roots

Friends, barring the dinner engagement later in the evening, this function happens to mark the conclusion of my weeklong visit to Pakistan. My visit had three parts. The first part, comprising two days in Islamabad, was largely political. The second leg, which meant two days in Lahore, was part political and part religious-cultural, since it included visits to the ancient Katas Raj Temples and to the Nankana Sahib Gurdwara.

But the last part in Karachi, again of two days, is purely sentimental. Before leaving for Pakistan,

I had stated that the primary aim of my visit was to contribute, in my own humble way, to the ongoing peace process between India and Pakistan through my meetings with the leadership of Pakistan and also with representatives of various political parties and civil society organizations in this country. But I had added that the visit is also a kind of “return-to-the-roots” for me and members of my family, who are coming to Pakistan for the first time.

My visit to the school where I studied, to the house where I lived (although it does not now stand in its original shape), to the Sindh Assembly building where I meet legislators belonging to the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), the reception and cultural programme organised by the Hindu Panchayat, and the lunch reception hosted by the Chief Minister of Sindh – all these will remain indelible memories in me.

Jinnah's speech on August 11, 1947

I have many deeply engraved memories of the first twenty years of my life that I lived in Karachi. I shall recall here only one of them, because the person with which that memory is associated, and the philosophy that I learnt from him in Karachi, have a reverential place in my life.

In the last 3-4 years of my life in Karachi, I came in contact with Swami Ranganathananda, who was the head of the Ramakrishna Math here for six years from 1942 until it was closed down in 1948. I used to go to listen to his discourses on the Bhagwad Gita. In later years, I maintained regular contact with this great disciple of Swami Vivekananda, who went on to become the head of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission in India.

Swami Ranganathananda passed away in April

this month. The last time I met him was in Calcutta last year. He was 96 but still very agile in mind and radiant in spirit. Our talk, among other things, turned to his years and my years in Karachi. He asked me, "Have you read Mohammed Ali Jinnah's speech in Pakistan's Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947? It is a classic exposition of a Secular State, one which guarantees every citizen's freedom to practice his or her religion but the State shall not discriminate between one citizen and another on the basis of religion."

He asked me to send him the full text of the speech, which I did.

The reason for my recounting Jinnah's historic speech in the Constituent Assembly is two-fold. Firstly, as I said, it is associated with my last conversation with the Swamiji, who was one of the

towering spiritual personalities in India. The second reason is that its remembrance was triggered by my visit to the ancient Katas Raj Temples in Chakwal district four days ago. The Government of Pakistan was kind enough to invite me to lay the foundation stone for a project to restore these temples, which are now in ruins but whose legend is rooted in the epic story of the Mahabharata.

I feel it appropriate to read out the relevant portion from Jinnah's speech.

“Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and specially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past

and work in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot overemphasise it too much. We shall begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and Muslim community,... will vanish. Indeed, if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain its freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free people long ago.

Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free, you are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the State....You will find that in course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.”

WHAT HAS BEEN STATED IN THIS SPEECH – NAMELY, EQUALITY OF ALL CITIZENS IN THE EYES OF THE STATE AND FREEDOM OF FAITH FOR ALL CITIZENS – IS WHAT WE IN INDIA CALL A **SECULAR OR A NON-THEOCRATIC STATE**. THERE IS NO PLACE

FOR BIGOTRY, HATRED, INTOLERANCE AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE NAME OF RELIGION IN SUCH A STATE. AND THERE CAN CERTAINLY BE NO PLACE, MUCH LESS STATE PROTECTION, FOR RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN SUCH A STATE.

I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS THE IDEAL THAT INDIA, PAKISTAN AS WELL AS BANGLADESH – THE THREE PRESENT-DAY SOVEREIGN AND SEPARATE CONSTITUENTS OF THE UNDIVIDED INDIA OF THE PAST, SHARING A COMMON CIVILISATIONAL HERITAGE – SHOULD FOLLOW.

I HOPE THAT THIS IDEAL IS IMPLEMENTED IN ITS LETTER AND SPIRIT. THE RESTORATION OF THE KATAS RAJ TEMPLES IS A GOOD BEGINNING.

Time to undo the follies of Partition

Esteemed friends from Karachi, people often ask me: “Does this mean that you want to undo the Partition?”

My answer is: “The Partition cannot be undone, because, as I said in Lahore at the SAFMA function, the creation of India and Pakistan as two separate and sovereign nations is an unalterable reality of history. However, some of the follies of Partition can be undone, and they must be undone.”

I dream of the day when divided hearts can be united; when divided families can be reunited; when pilgrims from one country – Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs — can freely go to holy sites located in the other country; and when people can travel and trade freely, while continuing to remain proud and loyal citizens of their respective countries.

Friends, at the end of my visit, if someone were

to ask me to sum up the situation about Indo-Pak relations at present, I would, on the basis of what I have observed and experienced here since my arrival in Pakistan on the evening of May 30, say unequivocally that “Fiza zaroor badli hui hai, bahut badli hui hai.” (The atmosphere has definitely changed, it has changed a lot.)

Yes, it’s true that there is tranquility on the border, which is no mean achievement in itself. True, there are greater people-to-people contacts, which too is a significant step forward. It is also true that the awaam (people) of both India and Pakistan have taken over the peace process.

But the peace and tranquility that exists is still tentative. It is also relative, in the sense that terrorist acts in Jammu & Kashmir have not come to an end. Only last month there was a terrorist strike in Srinagar aimed at innocent school children.

How do we convert this tentative peace into permanent peace? How do we remove all the irrational abnormalities in our bilateral relations to place Indo-Pak ties on a completely normal footing based on the principle of mutual benefit?

I am posing these questions because these need to be discussed in-depth and with an open mind in both our countries. As I have reiterated on several occasions during my visit, I would like to emphasise that we need to seize this historic moment, which is pregnant with hope. We must convert this hope into confidence and resolve that we shall certainly find solutions to all the issues that have estranged our two brother-nations.

There should also be no going back on the realization that dialogue is the only way to resolve every single issue, including the issue of Jammu & Kashmir, between India and Pakistan. Peace cannot be achieved through recourse to non-

peaceful means. This must be clearly understood.

Imperatives of Waging Peace

There is a phrase in English that has always intrigued me – Waging Peace. Normally, one comes across the phrase – Waging War. I have often wondered why the word ‘wage’ is used in the context of peace. It is probably because, if the resolve to win is the aim in any war, the same resolve to win has to be the aim of making peace.

However, there is a crucial difference. In war, strategists look for a quick victory. They have an impatience to achieve their goal. In waging peace, you cannot do that. We need patience. We need to realize that it takes time to minimize differences and to find a mutually acceptable solution, especially to longstanding problems.

It takes time – and I would urge all those who sincerely desire peace between India and Pakistan

to realize this important truth - because not only the painful manner in which the Partition happened in 1947 but also subsequent hostilities have hardened feelings and rigidified mindsets in both India and Pakistan.

After all, the Partition resulted not only in unprecedented violence but also in the largest cross-migration in the history of mankind. In history, including in the history of undivided India, kingdoms and dynasties have come and gone. Power has changed hands either peacefully or violently. But in recent centuries these developments did not destabilize the society very much.

In contrast, when the British left in 1947, not only was there a change of power, but there was also human displacement on a massive scale. This has left behind a trail of tragedy. The wars that followed, the long period of terrorist violence and other events have contributed to the hardening of

positions in certain sections of society both in India and Pakistan.

This is the reason why even well-intentioned moves for peace and normalization are often viewed with suspicion and met with disapproval on both sides.

I therefore strongly submit to one and all involved in the Indo-Pak peace process – to those in governments as well as to those in civil society organizations – that we should give due weightage to these critical viewpoints. Nothing can be achieved by either dismissing or disparaging these critical viewpoints.

This is because, firstly, those who view the peace process with suspicion both here and in India are not insubstantial in number. Secondly, in our endeavour to establish lasting peace between India and Pakistan, it is axiomatic that we should strive to carry with us all sections of society and public opinion in our two countries.

Let us move on all issues in tandem

I shall make one last point before concluding. For us to move towards peace and normalcy, it is necessary to move the dialogue process forward on all issues. This is the reason why we both have called it the Composite Dialogue process. I was happy to know that many people in Pakistan also believe that we should move in tandem on all issues. As I said in Lahore, it is not in the interest of the peace process to let slower progress on some issues become a hurdle in achieving faster progress on others.

Here I shall just flag off a few issues that show how the relations between India and Pakistan suffer from avoidable abnormality. For instance, since coming here I have not been able to watch any of the Indian news channels to see what is happening in India and also, secondarily, to know how my visit to Pakistan is covered. It is ironical

that in Pakistan one can see American CNN, British BBC, Chinese CCTV but not Indian news channels.

The abnormality is also evident in other spheres. India and Pakistan have an official trade of about \$ 250 million, which is meager by any standards in today's age of globalization. But the unofficial trade is at least 4-5 times larger. Isn't it ironical that we buy and sell our products of mutual demand by routing them through Dubai and Singapore, and thereby enriching those countries, but have not been able to regularize this trade right across our borders, thereby creating more employment and business opportunities for own people?

Take another example. Pakistan's economy, like the economies of any country today, has a lot of need for Information Technology solutions. And I am told that, in addition to being met by your local

IT industry, you buy costly IT solutions from several western countries. But right across the border we in India have a flourishing IT industry, which is ready to cooperate with Pakistan and offer cheaper solutions. Ironically, the IT solutions that western companies sell around the world are produced in Bangalore, Hyderabad, Gurgaon and Pune.

I am making this point because Karachi is the commercial capital of Pakistan. And I may add that, historically Sindh was the incubator for global trade. In ancient times our forefathers from Sindh ventured forth to far off lands, in the same way as in modern times Sindhi businessmen have so successfully demonstrated their acumen in Hongkong, Singapore, London and New York.

In the era of globalization, trade and business are not only about money and profit. They also bring

another kind of profit – a stronger stake in peaceful, stable and cooperative relations between two countries.

It is heartening to know that soon we'll have a broad gauge rail link between Munabao and Khokrapar. I suggested to President Musharraf that we should also re-open the sea link between Karachi and Mumbai via Gujarat. He accepted the suggestion. The issue of re-opening of our consulate offices in Karachi and Mumbai is also on the cards.

All these are good signs. But much more can be done. And it should be our mutual resolve to do all the desirable things, and do them quickly.

With these words, I conclude my remarks. I sincerely thank the Karachi Council on Foreign Relations, Economic Affairs and Law for providing this opportunity of interaction with you.



28 फरवरी 2004 को इण्डिया फर्स्ट फाउंडेशन के पुस्तक विमोचन के अवसर पर श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी का भाषण

तीन महीने चार महीने पहले मैं कलकत्ते गया था और कलकत्ते में मैं बेलूर मठ में रामकृष्ण मिशन के जो सार्वदेशिक अध्यक्ष हैं, राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष हैं, स्वामी रंगनाथानन्द, उनसे मिलने गया। अब स्वामीजी, मैं जिन दिनों में कराची में था, तब वो रामकृष्ण मिशन कराची के अध्यक्ष थे। और तब मेरा पहला उनसे परिचय आया। मैं उनके गीता लैक्चर सुनने वहाँ जाता था। तो इस बार कलकत्ते बहुत समय बाद गया, तो उनके दर्शन करने वहाँ पर गया, उनकी आयु 96 वर्ष थी। अब 97 हो गयी होगी और 96-97 वर्ष की आयु में भी बहुत इंटेलिक्चुअल बहुत शार्प और मुझे मिलते ही उन्होंने कहा कि आप आए हैं मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई। आपने कभी जिन्ना का भाषण पढ़ा। जो उन्होंने पहला-पहला भाषण किया था पाकिस्तान बनने के बाद। मैंने कहा हां मैंने पढ़ा है। तब क्या एक प्रति मुझे भिजवा सकते हैं कहीं से खोज करके। मैंने कहा जरूर भिजवाऊँगा और थोड़े दिन बाद आ करके मैंने यहां से भिजवाई थी। लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा कि और लोग भी पढ़ें। उन्होंने 11 अगस्त को जो भाषण

किया उसमें कहा-

If you change your past and work together in the spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first second and last citizen of the state with equal rights privileges and obligation, there will be no end to the progress you will make. I can not emphasize this too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the major and minor communities, the Hindu and the Muslim communities, because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Shias, Punjabis, Sunnis and so on. And among the Hindus you have Brahmins,

Vaishnavas, Khshatriyas, also Bengalis, Madrasis and so on. All these differences will vanish. He added, we have no aggressive designs upon our neighbours. We wish to live in peace and friendship with them and to workout our destiny quietly in our own way and make our rightful contributions in the affairs of the world. He still goes on later and to say, in a way he rejects theocracy by saying you are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in the state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, or caste or creed that have nothing to do with the fundamental principles that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideals and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual but as

in the political sense citizens of the state.

अब ये है जिन्नाह साहब की व्याख्या कि ये पाकिस्तान राज्य जो बनने वाला है 15 अगस्त को वह कैसा राज्य होना चाहिए। अब उनकी कल्पना, वो तो साकार हुई नहीं थियोक्रेटिक स्टेट बन गया और इन कॉन्ट्रास्ट हमारा राज्य जिसको सेक्युलर राज्य कहते हैं वो बना। मैंने सेकुलेरिज्म शायद पहली बार 1948 में ही सुना। उससे पहले मैं परिचित नहीं था और उसकी व्याख्या मैंने उस समय राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के सरसंघ चालक श्री गुरुजी गोलवलकर जी उनसे पूछा कि यह क्या है। मेरी उम्र शायद उस समय 20 की होगी 21 की होगी। उन्होंने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान में राज्य कि कल्पना हमेशा सैक्युलर रही है। हिन्दुस्तान में राज्य जो है **under Hindu polity the concept of state has always been that it will not distinguish between one citizen and another on the grounds of his religion** इसलिए **this is nothing new** वहां Europe as a secularism शब्द का संबन्ध तो **Vatican** और जो **State** के जो झगड़े होते थे उनसे सम्बन्धित था। **But in these terms it should not be identified with any particular form of religion.** वहां कि हमारे यहां अगर कोई

अपवाद थोड़े बहुत हुए तो कुछ बुद्धिस्ट स्टेट जरूर हुए अन्यथा कभी काई अपवाद नहीं हुए। **Generally, it was always a secular state** मैं इस बात का उल्लेख इसलिए कर रहा हूँ कि जो बहस चल रही है उस बहस में इन सब बातों का महत्व है। लेकिन आज की जो 5 ग्रंथ है। उनमें से एक अगर सबसे ज्यादा टोपिकल है तो मैं मानता हूँ कि वो प्रोफेसर काशिकर जी ने जो पुस्तक लिखी **Dialogue with Pakistan** अब ये पुस्तक आज लिखी गयी अन्यथा अगर आज से 2 साल पहले लिखी जाती 3 साल पहले लिखी जाती पहले कभी लिखी जाती क्योंकि इसके **Titles** कई हो सकते थे। ये भी हो सकता था पाक से संघर्ष, ये भी हो सकता था पाक से तनाव या और कुछ नहीं तो कम से कम तो ये हो ही सकता था भारत पाक संबंध, लेकिन उसके स्थान पर अगर ये शीर्षक आज से 5 साल पहले होता तो कोई पूछता **is it possible? Is a dialogue with Pakistan possible with their attitude being what it is. Is it possible.** शायद लोगों को संदेह होता कि ये क्या लिख रहे हैं। क्यों लिख रहे हैं मैं इसी संदर्भ में एक कुछ 10 साल पहले का अपना अनुभव बताना चाहूंगा प्रसंग बताना चाहूंगा। **This is, if I mistake not was the year 1990** उस समय पाकिस्तान में **British High**

Commissioner थे **to Pakistan one Sir Barrington** यहां किसी को ध्यान हो **Hari Kishore Ji** को या कोई और **Foreign Ministry** का कोई हो जिसे ध्यान हो **should correct me if I'm wrong. But this is my recollection. Sir Barrington was the British High Commissioner in Islamabad and he is reputed to be one of the members of the British Foreign Service and was one of the Pakistan expert as well.** तब छठा साल था उसका वहां पर वो **Delhi** आया।

और दिल्ली में मुझे मिलने आया। मैं उस समय पार्टी का अध्यक्ष था। और उन्होंने कहा कि मैं दिल्ली में आया हूँ और भी काम था लेकिन मेरी इच्छा थी आपसे बात करने की। जरूर करिए। उन्होंने कहा कि आपकी पार्टी पिछले साल पहले तो बहुत छोटी थी। लेकिन 1989 में **You have grown from just 2 seats to 86 seats in the Lok Sabha.** आपकी ताकत इतनी बढ़ गई। उन्होंने कहा कि आप क्या सोचते हैं हिन्दुस्तान, पाकिस्तान के सम्बंध ऐसे ही रहेंगे कि कुछ सुधरेंगे, कुछ बदलेंगे। मैंने कहा कि बदलने चाहिए और मैंने उनको पुराना अपना अनुभव भी बताया कि हमारे पार्टी के बहुत बड़े नेता थे, एक प्रकार से हमारे विचार

प्रवर्तक थे। हमारे आइडियोलॉग थे दीनदयाल उपाध्याय। और दीनदयाल उपाध्याय जी का जब सम्बंध आया लोहिया से, तो डॉ० लोहिया ने उनको कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान आपके बारे में संकोच करते हैं आपकी पार्टी बहुत अच्छी पार्टी है। आपकी पार्टी का राष्ट्रवाद का जो आधार है वह मुझे बहुत पसंद है लेकिन आपकी पार्टी जो है, वो उसको देश का इतना बड़ा वर्ग मुस्लिम समाज तो पसंद नहीं करता क्योंकि आप अखण्ड भारत जैसी बात करते हैं। आपने अपने पहले पहले मेनीफेस्टो में ही 1952 के मेनीफेस्टो में कहा कि अगर भारतीय जनसंघ की ताकत आएगी तो हम अखण्ड भारत बनाएंगे। तो ये तो उससे लगता है कि आप तो युद्ध करवाएंगे। आप तो लड़ाई करवाएंगे। तब दीनदयाल जी ने कहा कि ये बात सही नहीं है। उस समय जिस समय लिखा गया होगा, उनकी क्या कल्पना होगी, मैं नहीं जानता हूं। लेकिन मैं आपको कह सकता हूं कि भारत और पाकिस्तान दो **Sovereign States** बन गए हैं। अब उन **Sovereign States** को खत्म करने की बात सोची नहीं जा सकती। लेकिन हम ये जरूर मानते हैं कि भारत अखण्ड भारत, जो पहले था, अविभाजित भारत, जो पहले था, उसके विभाजन से किसी समस्या का हल नहीं हुआ। अगर कोई सोचते थे कि दंगे होते हैं, फसाद होते हैं और एक बार

अगर मुसलमानों का राज्य अलग हो गया, हिन्दुओं का राज्य अलग हो गया तो उसके बाद फसाद बंद हो जाएंगे। दंगे नहीं हुआ करेंगे। तो ये तो गलत बात सिद्ध हुई। ऐसा तो हुआ नहीं। उल्टा आज पहले अगर फसादों का खतरा था, अब युद्ध का खतरा बना रहता था। दो राज्यों के बीच में **perpetual** एक **danger of war** बना रहता है। इसलिए ये तो सही नहीं निकला और इसलिए मेरी मान्यता है कि एक समय आएगा जब दोनों राज्य और दोनों राज्यों की जनता इस बात को मानेगी कि ये भारत और पाकिस्तान का जो विभाजन है, वह दोनों के लिए अहितकर साबित हुआ है और स्वेच्छा से दोनों राज्य एक दूसरे के जुड़ने की इच्छा प्रकट करेंगे। **Confederation** के रूप में। **Somewhere there and a Joint Statement was issued signed by Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia explaining what is the conception of 'Akhanda Bharat' of the Jana Sangh.** जनसंघ जब अखण्ड भारत की बात करता है तो उसका अर्थ है कि हम ये कल्पना करते हैं कि एक समय जरूर आएगा दोनों राज्य और दोनों ही जनताएं स्वेच्छा से इच्छा प्रकट करेंगी कि हम निकट आएंगे। मैंने इस बात का जिक्र कहीं पर चेन्नई में किया था। आज से दो-तीन साल

पहले। और तीन साल पहले जिक्र करते हुए मैंने कहा, दुनिया भर में जितने परिवर्तन हो रहे हैं उन परिवर्तनों को देखेंगे, क्या कुछ कितना बदल गया मामला। यूरोप में कितना बदल गया। वियतनाम में कितना बदल गया। बाकी में कितना बदल गया। और मैंने कहा, मुझे याद है कि मैं जब मोरारजी भाई की सरकार में था, मुझे ईस्ट जर्मनी ने निमंत्रण भेजा था। **Information and Broadcasting Minister** के नाते। और मैं गया ईस्ट जर्मनी। और ईस्ट जर्मनी का अपना टूर पूरा करके **My last stop was in Berlin** और बर्लिन से वापस आना था मुझे भारत। मैंने अपने एम्बेसडर को कहा था कि मैं वापस भारत जाना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैं जाना चाहता हूँ एयर इण्डिया से। और अगर यहां से मेरी व्यवस्था करें, मैं फ्रैंकफर्ट चला जाऊंगा। और फ्रैंकफर्ट से एयर इण्डिया की फ्लाइट ले लूंगा। तो मेरे एम्बेसडर ने कहा कि आप आग्रह करेंगे तो मैं प्रबंध करवाऊंगा। लेकिन मैं इस बात की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा कि आपके जो होस्ट हैं, जिन्होंने आपको दावत देकर यहां बुलाया है, वो इस बात को पसंद नहीं करेंगे कि आप बर्लिन से फ्रैंकफर्ट जाएं। वो इस बात पर आपत्ति नहीं करेंगे कि आप यहां से लंदन चले जाएं। आप यहां से एम्सटरडम चले जाएं। वहां से एयर इण्डिया की फ्लाइट ले लें।

लेकिन बर्लिन से वहां जाएं, फ्रैंकफर्ट जाएं, वैस्ट जर्मनी जाए, ये पसंद नहीं करेंगे। ईस्ट जर्मनी से मैं वैस्ट जर्मनी जाऊं, यह पसंद नहीं करेंगे ये स्थिति थी और वो जो इस बार मैं जब गया था मैंने इस बात का जिक्र जर्मनी में किया था। जर्मन निमंत्रण में गया था। दोनों में एक साथ गया था। तब मैंने कहा कि कितना परिवर्तन हो गया। और इतना परिवर्तन अगर हो गया है तो दीनदयाल जी और राममनोहर लोहिया ने अप्रैल 1964 के संयुक्त वक्तव्य में जिस प्रकार के अखण्ड भारत की कल्पना की थी, वो साकार क्यों नहीं हो सकती ? और वो बहुत सारी चीजें हो रहीं हैं। और वो चीजें ऐसी हैं कि जिसके आधार पर मैं मानता हूँ मैंने आपको कहा बेरिंगटन की बात मैंने वो पूरी नहीं की। वो बेरिंगटन जब यहां पर आए। मेरी सारी बात सुनी कि मैंने क्या क्या कहा, उन्होंने फिर कहा कि मैं आपसे मिलने के लिए इसलिए आया हूँ कि मैं आपको ये कहने आया हूँ कि मेरा कन्विक्शन है और पाकिस्तान में भी एक सेक्शन है इलीट का। जिसका ये कन्विक्शन है कि भारत और पाकिस्तान के सम्बंध सामान्य तब होंगे जब नई दिल्ली में भारतीय जनता पार्टी का शासन आएगा। **This was said in 1990 by a British Diplomat who understood both Pakistan and India** और तब उन्होंने कहा, और इन दिनों में जो डेवलेपमेंट्स

हुए हैं, वो डेवलपमेंट्स किस बात के प्रतीक हैं इस बात की ओर संकेत करते हैं। कौन सोचता था, कि जिस नेता ने आगरा में आकर के कहा, कि ये जो आप आग्रह कर रहे हैं कि लिखो कि कॉस-बोर्ड टेरिज्म बंद होगा, टेरिज्म नहीं होगा, वहां टेरिज्म है ही नहीं। जम्मू काश्मीर में जो कुछ हो रहा है, वह तो आजादी का युद्ध है। आजादी का जंग है। उसको टेरिज्म क्यों कहते हो ? और उन्होंने अभी अभी प्रधानमंत्री वाजपेयी के इस्लामाबाद जाने पर उनके साथ मिलकर के जो संयुक्त वक्तव्य दिया, उसमें उन्होंने कहा कि जहां तक पाकिस्तान का सवाल है पाकिस्तान अपनी ओर से वचन देता है कि वह पाकिस्तान के किसी भी हिस्से को या पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में किसी भी भूमि को उसका उपयोग आतंकवाद के लिए नहीं होने देगी और हमारी तरफ से जो तत्परता आगरा में थी, उसको प्रधानमंत्री ने दोहराया कि हम समझते हैं कि हर समस्या का हल बातचीत से निकल सकता है। और उस बातचीत के लिए हम तैयार हैं। और कम्पोजिट डायलॉग के लिए तैयार हैं। केवल एक विषय नहीं, सब विषयों पर डायलॉग करेंगे। इन्क्लुडिंग द इश्यू ऑफ जम्मू-एण्ड काश्मीर। जम्मू एण्ड काश्मीर के सवाल पर भी हम चर्चा करेंगे। करेंगे और उसके कारण कुल मिलाकर के जैसा वातावरण बना है, देश भर में बना है, पाकिस्तान में बना है, नजमा जी यहां बैठी हैं। नजमा जी अभी अभी गई थीं,

पाकिस्तान। और वो बता रहीं थी कि वहां पर कितनी सद्भावना है और कितना उत्साह है कि अब शायद समस्याओं का कुछ हल हो जाएगा। वैसे तो पचास पचास साल पुरानी समस्याएं उनको अगर ये सोचें कोई कि अभी क्षण में हल हो जाएगा तो ऐसा होता नहीं है। उससे निराशा पैदा होती है। इसलिए बहुत ज्यादा आशाएं जाग्रित करने का भी मेरा कोई इरादा नहीं है। लेकिन मैं ये मानता हूं कि जो विश्लेषण उन ब्रिटिश डिप्लोमैट ने दस साल पहले किया था उसमें वजन था। और उन्होंने उस समय भी बात करते करते कहा कि चीन और अमेरिका के सम्बंध इतने कटु थे, लेकिन उनमें अगर सौहार्द आया तो तब आया, जब निक्सन वहां के राष्ट्रपति बने। जिस निक्सन के बारे में माना जाता था कि सबसे ज्यादा कोई **Bitterly anti Communist** हैं तो वह निक्सन है और सबसे ज्यादा खिलाफ कोई चीन के होगा और फर्मासा के पक्ष में होगा तो वो निक्सन होगा। लेकिन उनके आने पर स्थिति बदली। मैं मानता हूं कि इस प्रकार की पुस्तकें सही विश्लेषण करके, जैसा उन्होंने कहा, काशीकर जी ने, ऑब्जेक्टिव एनालिसिस करके इस सारी बहस को ठीक दिशा में आगे बढ़ाएं और कुल मिलाकर इण्डिया फर्स्ट फाउंडेशन जिस लक्ष्य को अपने सामने रखकर के आरम्भ किया गया है, उसकी पूर्ति करने में यह सफल होगा।

Extracts From The Speech delivered by Shri LK Advani in Parliament on July 26, 2005 about his Pak-visit

It was a very pleasant occasion, pleasant visit of mine, which enabled me to learn a lot and which also gave me an opportunity of telling the people in Pakistan that for the first time in many years you have invited a person from India to inaugurate the renovation and restoration of seven ancient temples in Katas Raj. Katas Raj is about 50, 60 kilometres from Lahore. The belief is that pandavas spent a part of their “agyatwas” there and yaksha prashnas posed to Yudhishtir when he went to take water from the pond was at Katas Raj. That is the belief there. Therefore, they felt that if this is done, every year there can be a Katas Raj mela there, and in that mela, even this water

from the pond can be taken as sacred water. All these things are there. This reminded me that on the 11 th of August, 1947, Mohammed Ali Jinnah in the Constituent Assembly had said, “Now that Pakistan is formed, it is desirable that all of you take this approach. Let the Hindus go to their temples. Let the Muslims go to their mosques. Everyone can go to his place of worship. And for the State, you are all equal citizens of the State.” Now, in the context of their inviting me to open the Katas Raj temples, I recalled the speech which was also drawn to my attention by Swami Ranganathananda when I met him at the age of 96 in Belur Mutt. He asked me, if I had heard about

Jinnah's speech..... This was the approach which made me to refer to the 11 th August speech of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. I feel, there was nothing wrong in that.

The fact is that I felt that the efforts of Vajpaye's Government were to bring India and Pakistan closer and for six years he persisted with it. He made three major attempts but all the while our approach was that our Pakistan policy would have two constituents, two components, two ingredients

-no compromise with cross border terrorism and continuous efforts to bring about normalcy.....

We discussed that also when we discussed terrorism but no compromise with that and at the same time bring peace and normalcy with Pakistan. I felt that this peace and normalcy with Pakistan can be further strengthened if both in Bangladesh as well as in Pakistan, there is no differentiation between one religion and another. And what we describe as secularism is adopted there also.



