Identities Displaced and Misplaced: Aspects of Conflict in Major Post-1989 Works from Jammu and Kashmir

Thesis submitted for the award of the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in
English

By

Masrook Ahmad Dar

Under the Supervision of
Professor Shugufta Shaheen

Department of English
School of Languages Linguistics and Indology
MAULANA AZAD NATIONAL URDU UNIVERSITY
Hyderabad-INDIA

2017

D E C L A R A T I O N

I do hereby declare that this thesis entitled **Identities Displaced and Misplaced: Aspects of Conflict in Major Post-1989 Works from Jammu and Kashmir** is original research carried out by me. No part of this thesis was published, or submitted to any other University/Institution for the award of any Degree/Diploma.

(Masrook Ahmad Dar)

Place:

Date:

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **Identities Displaced and Misplaced: Aspects of Conflict in Major Post-1989 Works from Jammu and Kashmir**, submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, **Department of English**, School of **Languages Linguistics and Indology**, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, is the result of the original research work carried out by Mr. **Masrook Ahmad Dar** under my supervision and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the work embodied in this thesis does not form part of any thesis/dissertation already submitted to any University/Institution for the award of any Degree/Diploma.

Signature of Research Supervisor

Dr. Shugufta Shaheen

Dr. Shugufta Shaheen

Head
Department of English

Prof. Naseemuddin Farees

Dean
School of Languages Linguistics and Indology (SLL&I)

Place:

Date:

Dedicated to

The resistance movements world over

Where people suffer, sacrifice and survive

With resilience and hope!

Acknowledgements

I express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Shugufta Shaheen, without whose guidance and support this thesis would never have been written.

Prof. Gulfishan Habeeb for her encouragement and support when I needed it the most.

I thank all the faculty and office staff of the Department of English for their constant support.

Dr. Shilpaa Anand for her friendship, valuable critique, suggestions and interest in my work; and Ms. Khairunnisa Nakathorige for her suggestions and observations on various occasions.

For their love, support and good humour I thank my friends Zaffer, Mir Showkat, Iqbal, Muzammil, Riyaz, Naseer and Showkat Hassan.

This journey would have been incomplete without Gogo and Didi – my feline friends – whose love, warmth and purring kept me going.

My *Mouj* and *Moul* for their unconditional love and care. Mohsin and Afroz – my brothers – for their support and love.

Ultimately, my wife Kainsa – my best friend and worst critic – without her this journey as well as my life would not have been filled with fun, love and much needed dose of humour and drama.

Thank you all.

Contents

Chapter I

Introduction

> Like some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come into view, a masculine one, of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing to the valleys below. It had a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever- changing, sometime smiling, sometime sad and full of sorrow…I watched this spectacle and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was overpowering and I felt faint…it seemed to me dreamlike and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfillment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on waking.
>
> – Jawahar Lal Nehru (qtd in Ali 228 - 229)

Over recent decades, Jammu and Kashmir has been widely debated in the academic and political circles. Political scientists, sociologist, anthropologists and historians from all over the world have written about the conflict that has now stretched over seven decades; some of these writers wrote about its glorious past while others wrote about its turbulent past. These writers have studied Kashmiri history from ancient

times to modern and have tried to trace the roots of this conflict. While some attribute it to its unstable past others suggest that it is the "unfinished business of partition" (Menon 167). Whatever may be the truth, the conflict in Kashmir shows no signs of an immediate end. Political scientists and academicians have since partition of British India produced a formidable scholarship on this issue. It is important to mention here that most of these scholarships mainly focus on territorial ambiguity of the dispute and leave the crucial strand of it; its humanitarian crisis and the sufferings of people within and outside Kashmir.

Before I go any further, I will formulate the nomenclature that this thesis will use in the chapters that follow. Because I use 'Kashmir', 'Kashmiris', and 'Valley' throughout the thesis, it becomes necessary for me to define these terms. I will tackle the term 'Kashmiris' first and then go on to define the other two as they require a more nuanced interpretation. By 'Kashmiris' I mean the people who are native speakers and speak *Koshur* – the language of the land. The use of 'Kashmir' and 'Valley' refer to the contested geopolitical regions under investigation. I distinguish 'Kashmir', and 'Valley', as separate geographic, regions that form the state within India called "Jammu and Kashmir". I would use the official UN title of POK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir). However, at certain places 'Azad Kashmir' is used because it has been quoted from certain external sources which have been used in this study. I also use the term Pandit(s) for Kashmiri Hindu(s) because they are mostly referred as Pandits within and outside the valley.

The aim of this thesis is to focus mainly on the humane side of the dispute rather than looking at 'how' and 'why' the conflict originated. Whatever, the reasons may

have been, the conflict of Kashmir is a living one; one that has a life of its own and does not show any signs of an end. This thesis will try to examine the different aspects of this conflict that have ravaged the state since the birth of two South Asian neighbours – India and Pakistan. In doing so this thesis will analyse some of the recent literature that has come out of Kashmir or has been written on Kashmir. To name a few literary works that this thesis will look into, are: Mirza Waheed's *The Collaborator* (2011), Sidhartha Gigoo's *Garden of Solitude* (2011), Shahnaz Basheer's *Half Mother* (2014), Basharat Peer's *Curfewed Night* (2008), Rahul Pandita's *Our Moon has Blood Clots* (2013) and Agha Shaid Ali's *The Country without Post Office* (1997). Juxtaposed with this literature, which is now termed as resistance literature (Mishra 6), the thesis will also try to analyse some of the Bollywood movies to see how the narrative changes. The movies that have been selected for the analysis in this thesis have been produced after the armed insurgency started in 1989. Some of them are; Mani Ratnam's *Roja* (1992), Vidhu Vinod Chopra's *Mission Kashmir* (2000), Kunal Kohli's *Fanna* (2006), Rahul Dholakia's *Lamha* (2010) and Vishal Bhardwaj's *Haider* (2014).

Apart from the above primary sources the thesis uses some of the other, concurrent, secondary sources that help to locate the subject under investigation. These sources are taken from both literary and non-literary works. The idea is to bring an analysis of both literary and non-literary works together as 'texts' and 'co-texts' on the basis of poststructuralist theories of literature and culture that harbour little or no difference between literary and non-literary works (Barry 173). The co-texts will be looked into for their historicity and that history will be derived from the literary texts that are part of the examination. Therefore, all sources used in this thesis; fiction, non-

fiction, poetry and films will be treated as texts and these texts will be analysed to understand the conundrum of Kashmir conflict. This complex but important conflict, in this thesis, will be examined using historical archives, cinema, political commentaries and fiction. It is important to mention here that these works are selected deliberately and cautiously so that both communities – Pandits and Muslims – are represented. All of these works are written by men. No women writer or writers from other minorities are included because there are no major works written by women or other minorities

This thesis tries to investigate the representation of Kashmir and Kashmiris within and outside the literature. An attempt is made to understand how the writers from within and outside Valley have represented Kashmir and Kashmiris in their discourse on conflict. And if they are represented they are indeed represented, how are such representations similar or different? A major portion of this thesis will look into the identity formation of Kashmiris irrespective of whether they live inside the geographic boundaries of Kashmir or outside of it. Since the title of this thesis uses the term 'identity' a discussion on Kashmiri identity will be broadened to see how people within and outside Kashmir perceive and receive the identity formation.

The thesis will primarily look at some of the aspects of the conflict and the lives of the inhabitants of Kashmir who are directly and indirectly affected by the conflict and its manifestations. Since the conflict is both historical and political in nature, an attempt will be made to see how Kashmir has been presented in the historical archives. After historicity of the conflict is established the thesis will examine how has the conflict affected the people of the state and how are their sufferings and pain portrayed. The thesis uses certain theoretical backgrounds to analyse and examine the texts

mentioned above. It will use poststructuralist theories and New Historicism to bridge the gap between literary and non-literary texts. It will also use Edward W Said's contribution in understanding the different forms of 'exile', 'refuge' and 'displacement' and also use some of the tools of psychoanalysis to examine the relationship between Kashmir and its rulers and establish how the geographic body of Kashmir becomes important to its rulers. As Jahangir, the famous Mughal King said about Kashmir, *agar firdous bar roo-e-zameen ast* / *hameen ast-o hameen ast-o hameen ast*, (if there is a paradise on earth/ it is this It is this It is this) (Kabir 212). After Jahangir used the *Farsi* couplet by Amir Khusro to describe the beautiful landscape of Kashmir it has become synonym to the idea of Kashmir. A deeper analysis of the couplet reveals that the praise was entirely for the land and not for the inhabitants of the land. It is this 'desire' for the land that becomes important and every commentary on Kashmir falls prey to this 'desire'.

The voices of Kashmiri people today have largely been silenced. Sandwiched between the two powerful neighbours – India and Pakistan, Kashmir and Kashmiris have become the absolute tragedy. For its people who had waited for years for the dawn of freedom (from the Dogra rule) the romance ended very soon after partition. Since then two dominant nationalisms (Indian and Pakistani) have emerged. Within these dominant nationalisms and their disregard to Kashmir and Kashmiris, a third nationalism has emerged – Kashmiri nationalism, although still aspirational. It is because of this aspirational nationalism, which a number of Kashmiris espouse, Kashmir is turned into world's most militarized zone.

Most of the written accounts on the conflict have been written by people who had little to do with Kashmir. In their works, the voices of Kashmiris have been reduced to footnotes. At the turn of the last century, Kashmiris started to realize the need to write and voice their concerns. Although, Agha Shahid Ali started this tradition when he produced a compilation of poems "*The Country Without a Post Office*". Soon, as Pankaj Mishra puts it, "life under political oppression […] began to yield, in the slow bitter way . . . a rich intellectual and artistic harvest … followed … There are more interesting works to come. Kashmiris […] increasingly speak for themselves" (Mishra 6). More and more Kashmiris started to write; their writings were aimed to break the existing narratives about the land and the conflict itself.

The impetus for writing this thesis are these recent works from Kashmir, which have turned the discourse on Kashmir upside down. For they are the stories of experience, longing and belonging and more importantly asserting their resilience and speaking to the power. These writings are a product of deep emotions connected with the homeland. Since most of these writings have come from the writers who constitute the Kashmiri diaspora, for them the homeland is an "imaginary homeland." For example, Shahid laments of Kashmir (siting in a different land) which is torn apart from both state repression and militant insurgency. His voice becomes the voice of Kashmir when he invites its readers for a visit to his country – a country without a post office. The invitation is in the hope that the "entire map of the lost will be candled" (*The Country* 50). And for that 'lost map' he can do anything, go to any extent in the hope that it will be fixed one day. He does not lose hope of a peaceful country and is an optimist, he says, "It rains as I write this. Mad heart, be brave" (51).

Shahid's writings mark the beginning of this phase, and subsequently a number of writers (both Muslims and Pandits) joined the caravan. One thing that is common in these works is that they all seek for aspirations – aspirations of freedom and speech. These works and these writers are reclaiming the space they have lost. It is a collective aspiration of the community to assert their position in the political space where Kashmiris have been mostly ignored. They speak about everything; politics, culture, patriarchy, feminism, loss, pain, the subjects that were in past written by people who had, in reality, nothing to do with Kashmir. Their characters are the ordinary Kashmiris; a shopkeeper, a homemaker, a school girl or a boy who has been pushed to the fence by the system. They speak about the issues which had never been part of Kashmiri discourse, they talk about the marginalized communities who had earlier never found a mention in the works on Kashmir – for Example, the Gujjar community in Waheed's *The Collaborator*.

If the nameless character in *The Collaborator* is forced to do a job that he dreads to do, Haleema in *Half Mother* is a strong woman who does not leave any stone unturned to find her son who has been a victim of enforced disappearance and Sridar in *Garden of Solitude* is a young man who is in a relentless search of his family roots. Juxtaposed with these characters are the testimonies of people (in *Curfewed Night* and *Our Moon has Blood Clots*) that have suffered at the hands of both military and militants. Some have been forced to leave their homeland whereas, others have been rendered, crippled in the interrogation centres. There are women's testimonies who have lost the honour and dignity at the hands of military and hostile people from the alien lands.

In the epigraph of this chapter I invoke Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India. The purpose of invoking Nehru in the epigraph serves two purposes that will be fundamental in understanding the geo-politics of Kashmir in the subsequent chapters. Firstly, it serves the purpose of looking at Kashmir as the 'desired land' – the fetish of the postcolonial India and secondly, how the new postcolonial nation used Kashmir to define its modernity and secularism. Nehru, like emperor Jahangir saw Kashmir as a 'beautiful land', and the beauty is reinforced by employing the feminine traits with the land, leaving aside its original inhabitants. Like Nehru the modern India sees Kashmir as a land they desire, it is this fetish of the territory that the postcolonial India is obsessed with. This thesis will use the psychoanalytical tool of fetish to analyse certain aspects of the conflict. Moreover, I borrow heavily from Edward W Said's scholarship on displacement and exile to understand the identity formation and resistance in the Valley of desire.

A large part of this thesis argues about the subjugation of Kashmiris at the hands of its rulers – from Mughals to Afghans, Sikhs to British and from its last monarchs, Dogras', to postcolonial India. This subjugation of people is a result of oppressive governmental policies. Therefore, to understand this discourse of power and control I will use Michel Foucault's argument that links textual representation and political power. Foucault does not see power and knowledge as independent entities, for him knowledge is an exercise of power and power is always a function of knowledge. Edward Said further takes this argument, in his seminal work *Orientalism,* and applies it to understand the control and subjugating work of Empire. This idea will be used in understanding how subjugation works in the discourse on Kashmir.

To counter the narrative of fetish and subjugation Kashmiris have themselves inserted their narratives of counterfetish and paradisiacal nature of Kashmir to speak back to the power. Since power is not a seamless flow its trajectory has been changed by the counterclaims of Kashmiris who are reclaiming their past. It is this alternate narrative that this thesis is interested in. Alternate narratives are important to understand the conflict as the relationship between knowledge and power is a two-way traffic, that forecloses the hegemony of the power structures.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter two to chapter five are the analysis of the texts and co-texts that are selected for this study while chapter six will try to conclude what has been already established from chapters' two to five. While all the chapters of the thesis are independent but they are not mutually exclusive. A common thread runs across all the chapters and converges them together. Three main important aspect that this thesis analyses in these chapters, are: 1) identity formation and displacement, 2) women and their role in resistance and, 3) memory, pain and suffering of the people that are under investigation. All the chapters of this thesis are connected to each other because these three issues run concurrent throughout the thesis.

Chapter two titled "Revisiting History and Literature: Reclaiming the Past" locates Kashmir and the Kashmir conundrum historically. A thorough historical background is provided to create a discourse that will be employed in the subsequent chapters to analyse the issue. The chapter moves through times periods from Mughals to postcolonial India and establishes that throughout its historical past Kashmir was a site of oppression for its rulers, other than for a relatively short duration when its indigenous king ruled Kashmir. The chapter brings out the struggles and hardships

faced by the people through these turbulent periods. It also talks about the resistances of the people from time to time, howsoever, small in scale they may have been. It establishes that the year 1931 as the tipping point in the recorded history of Kashmir when the Muslims asserted first time as a group that can resist the power.

The chapter also highlights the problems faced by the people during Dogra rule and more importantly throws light on some of the worst displacements after the partition of British India in 1947. The chapter is divided into two sections the first one deals with the historical background and the second section outlines some of the important studies that have come out on the subject of conflict and conflict resolution on Kashmir. This section has a dual function; one, it serves the purpose of literature review, second it forms the basis of understanding and foregrounding the theories that will be employed in chapters two, three and, four. Towards the end an attempt is made to bring out some of the recent studies on Kashmir, from Kashmiris who are breaking the mega narratives of nation building in postcolonial India.

Chapter three, titled "Mapping the terrain: Memory, Exile, and Longing" analyses some of the books (fiction and non-fiction) to understand the identity formation and resistance in the literature from Kashmir. The chapter mostly draws from the theories of Edward Said to analyse the displacement and misplacement of Kashmiris within and outside Kashmir. In this chapter, an attempt is made to define 'exile', 'refuge' and displacement so as to establish a right terminology for the people who have left the homes and live in different places of world that constitute the Kashmiri diaspora community. One of the most important assertions that this chapter makes is that, after the exodus of the minority community from Kashmir a huge body of scholarship has been written on it. However, no such consideration has been given to the Muslims who

migrated at the same time to POK and also to the Gujjar community who constitute a minority within a minority.

The chapter brings out the pain and suffering of Kashmiris living under the shadow of gun. An attempt is made to show how internally displaced people find it difficult to relate with the terms of identity that have been associated with them. This misplacement of identities has changed the nomenclature of some of the relationships; a mother whose son has disappeared struggles with the title that has been given to her – 'half mother' or similarly a woman whose husband is missing becomes 'Half widow'. Both terms are deeply problematic, as they take the agency and identity away from a woman who has suffered for none of her own fault.

Furthermore, this chapter uses certain memoirs to understand the horrors of the conflict. These memoirs are taken as testimonies, they are taken as individual stories. In other words, this thesis considers such stories as survivor narratives. These survivor narratives help us to understand the deep-rooted problems within Kashmir as they are first hand experiences of individuals who have been brutalized. The chapter also deals with the subject of women's experiences and patriarchy that have pushed them to the edges. Although women have been at the forefront in Kashmir but their roles in policy making have largely been ignored by the members of their own community and on the other hand they have become easy targets of state and security forces.

Chapter four is titled "Bollywood and Kashmir: (Mis)representation and Resistance". This chapter deals with the Bollywood cinema and its representation of Kashmir. The chapter in fact claims that Bollywood has misrepresented Kashmir and Kashmiris since its romance with the beautiful valley. As the dialogue in film *Mission*

Kashmir goes, "Wars are not fought with guns, Altaaf, they are fought with cameras" (qtd. In Kabir 31). The chapter argues that Bollywood has always been used as a nation building tool when it comes to its engagement with Kashmir. It has instilled a syndrome of nationalism among the urban middle class population of postcolonial Indian, which sees Kashmir as the land of desire and fetish.

The chapter starts with a discussion on how the landscape has been important to it colonial masters and then goes on to argue that it is the same idea that continues till date. Bollywood's projection of Kashmir is deeply problematic as it not only de-territorializes it but also de-historicizes it. It is this project of Bollywood that has created a hysteria of nationalism in the Indian imagination. The chapter also looks at how women have been represented in these movies. The chapter argues that women, like the territory of Kashmir, become the subjects of desire but are essentially projected as characters that uphold the Indian imagination and therefore, confirming the idea of India. The movies selected for this investigation are chosen carefully, the chapter locates the relationship of Bollywood in a linear historical timeframe and then goes on to analyse the movies like, *Roja* (1992), *Mission Kashmir* (2000), *Fanaa* (2006), *Lamhaa* (2010) and *Haider* (2014).

Chapter five is the penultimate chapter of the thesis. This chapter is titled "Of Memory, Nostalgia and Belonging: Poetry from the territory of Desire." This chapter traces the history of poetry in Kashmir and argues that poetry has been always used as a political voice by the voiceless to speak to power. It makes the case that most of the poetry produced after Habba Khatun can be classified as the poetry of resistance. The chapter thoroughly analyses poetry of Agha Shahid Ali to see how Kashmir has been

depicted in the poems of Ali. It also examines how Ali dealt with the subjects of migration, memory and nostalgia. Towards the end of the chapter it uses rap songs produced by Kashmiri writers and artists to see the difference in representation between mainstream poetry and parallel poetry.

The chapter concludes by arguing that the fundamental difference between the two genres is that while Ali spoke on behalf of Kashmiris cutting across the ethnic and religious lines, rap artists speak mostly on behalf of Kashmiri Muslims who have become worst sufferers of the conflict. The other important observation that the chapter makes is that rap artists use real characters in their poetry as opposed to numbers given by the government. Their characters are real people who have suffered at the hands of security forces. Finally, the chapter observes that in Ali's poetry women are given the due representation and in the rap songs women become the central characters. However, the difference between the two becomes visible in the fact that Ali writes extensively about the exodus and migration of Kashmiri Pandits which is somehow missing in the rap songs.

The last chapter (six) of this thesis is the conclusion. In this chapter, an analysis is carried out to find out how different genres have presented and represented Kashmir and its people. These similarities and differences are brought out keeping in view what has been found in the preceding chapters. It also discusses 'why' and 'how' are the diverse genres important to this thesis, since this is a thesis that is based on multiple genres.

Works Cited:

Ali, Tariq. *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*. Verso, 2003. Print.

Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. Manchester University Press, 2002. Print.

Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.

Menon, Jisha. *The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan, and the Memory of Partition*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. Print.

Mishra, Pankaj. *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom*. Ed. Arundhati Roy et al. New York, N.Y: Verso, 2011. Print.

Chapter II

Revisiting the History and the Literature: Reclaiming the Past

Their fields, their crops, their streams

Even the peasants in the vale

They sold, they sold all, alas!

How cheap was the sale.

- Mohammad Iqbal, cited in Bawa Satinder Singh*, The Jammu Fox 221*

> Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings (6).
>
> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*

The setting of this [Persian] couplet cited above by Dr. Mohammad Iqbal matches the felicitous history of its [Kashmir] inhabitants. Iqbal wrote this couplet to mourn the time and place when in eighteen hundred forty-six (1846) British sold the state of

Jammu and Kashmir to the [d]ogra Maharaja under the treaty of Amritsar. This deal, was a business deal between the two rulers, one who sold individuals; including households and land to other who purchased them.

A through historical study of the Princely state of Jammu and Kashmir signifies it as the area that is landlocked between the territorial boundaries of India, Pakistan and China. It is the place that boasts of the earliest written history. Its written historical archives are in affirmation that mostly outsiders have ruled the Valley of Kashmir. For these 'outsiders' the breath-taking landscape of valley was more important than its local population. This proposition had also made its way into the psyche of Kashmiris as Rai writes, "One of the most enduring dilemmas for Kashmiris has been that while 'outsiders' have their breath taken by the splendour of the landscape, they evince little interest in its people" (Rai 1). The landscape became more important as colonial Europeans writers expressed their admiration for the natural beauty of Kashmir in countless travelogues and histories. As Rai in her book *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects* Writes:

> […] Kashmiris themselves seemed invariably to be wanting in their appraisement. Henry Lawrence, agent to governor-general in Punjab, visiting Kashmir in 1846, found it easy to see much merit in the French traveler Victor Jacquemont's description of it as 'an ugly picture in a magnificent frame'. A sense of paradise lost and bestowed on the wrong people became prevalent in European writing […] Kashmir and Kashmiris seemed absurdly mismatched (Rai 1-3).

European writers and administrators, in this way, followed into the footsteps of Mughals and Afghans – its [Kashmir] previous colonial administrators. For both Mughals and Afghans, the landscape was more important than its residents. In Mughal scholarship Kashmir either appeared in the form of gardens or scenery. Mughals gave it the name 'paradise'. However, Mughals are also responsible for its turbulent past. They overthrew the rule of Kashmiri King Yousuf Shah and started their empire in Kashmir. Needless to say, that despite calling it 'paradise on earth', in Mughal imagination Kashmiris were barely deemed worth waste. What has been clear from these portrayals of history is that it has been easier to depict or speak of Kashmir than Kashmiris.

Kashmir, as one of the important regions of Indian subcontinent has been historically ruled by different kingdoms. Hindus, Buddhists, Zoroastrians and finally Sikhs and Muslims. Historically it was regarded as one of the major centre for Sanskrit Scholars. The references of it being the Centre of Sanskrit studies finds mention in most of the archival records available on Kashmir, even Jawahar Lal Nehru mentioned this in his book *Discovery of India* (Nehru 223). Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir lived in relative harmony, since Sufism is the corner stone of ordinary Kashmiri Muslims and Rishism that of Kashmiri Pandits, these two philosophies blended with each other. It is for this reason till now most of the shrines in Kashmir are equally revered by Muslim and Pandits. If Lal Ded is held in high respect by Pandits so do Muslims respect her and similarly if Sufi saint Sheikhul Alam is respected by Muslims, he is a saint for Pandits who call him Nund Reshi. This Sufi and Reshi tradition of Kashmir is, perhaps, sometimes collectively referred as 'Kashmiriyat'. Kashmiriyat as an idea or philosophy

has in the recent past come under extreme scrutiny. A larger discourse of the term Kashmiryat will be taken in the following chapter of the thesis. Some of the oral accounts from Kashmir suggest that Mughals were the ones who introduced a new life style in Kashmir. This project, of changing the lifestyle, was taken to break the resilience and resistance of Kashmiris. Resistance to any foreign rule has been a continuous phenomenon in Kashmir. However, Mughals were able to supress this resistance.

Prior to European colonialism (British Empire) Mughals ruled the Princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. After Mughals Kashmir was ruled by Afghans. The Afghan rule was one of cruelty and loot. Both Muslims and Pandits were oppressed and subjugated by Afghans. They did not give any concession on the basis of religion but looked at Kashmiris as an ethnic group that they were supposed to rule. Although some writers opine differently but by and large the scholarship on Kashmir has made it clear that it was a cruel rule for both communities. Most of the Afghan governors of Kashmir crushed the people ruthlessly. But there was something worse in store for Kashmiris.

As a Kashmiri oral story goes, during the Afghan rule when Kashmiris were forced to inhuman treatment, a representation (on behalf of Kashmiris) was sent to the Afghan ruler that his governor in the state was cruel. It seems, he listened to the people of Kashmir and then told them to choose anyone from his cabinet as their new governor. The poor Kashmiri people looked around and saw a man who to them looked nice and decided to make him the governor of state. When the new governor accompanied by his Kashmiri subjects reached the border of Kashmir they saw some people carrying a

dead body. The new governor ordered his subjects to bring him down from the vehicle so that he can see the dead body. It is said that when the governor saw the dead man, he leaned towards the dead body and chopped of his ears with his teeth. Horrified at the sight the subjects inquired about it, and the governor said to them, that tell your people that Charagbeg (his name) has come and he will deal with stern actions. He doesn't even spare dead leave aside the living. Till date Chargbeg is used as a metaphor for a deadly disease in Kashmir and is used as a curse in local parlance. After the Afghan rule came the Sikh rule.

The Sikhs conquered the State and made it a colony of theirs, literally a prison for common Kashmiris. Although Sikh rule was of a shorter duration, to be precise twenty-seven years but it was a rule of cruelty, Kashmiris became the slaves in their own country. Since its previous rulers (Mughals and Afghans) had crushed Kashmiris to core they were unable to offer any resistance to Sikh rule. Had British forces not conquered Kashmir the Sikh rule would have continued as there was no resistance to Sikh rule from Kashmiris. With the end of Sikh rule the British empire sold Kashmir to Dogras of Jammu in a transactional deal that continues to be the worst deal in the human history were an entire population was sold by one ruler to another. This transaction of selling and buying is referred to as treaty of Amritsar in the pages of modern history. Dogara's saw Kashmiris as their property. Robert Thorp in his book *Cashmere Misgovernment* wrote about the treaty of Amritsar as

> [I]n no portion of the treaty made with Gulab Singh was the slightest provision made for the just or humane government of the people of

> Cashmere [Kashmir] and others upon whom we forced a government which they detested (Thorp 54).

The Maharaja in the quest of power and expansion brought different and diverse parts of the region together. These parts which were diverse not only ethnically, but also linguistically, culturally and religiously. Maharaja's expansion eventually led to the creation of erstwhile princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, and the most populous part of the state became the region of valley – a densely Muslim populated area. Since then the tensions between its different sub groups are on rise. The Dogra's saw Kashmiri Hindus very near to them because they shared the faith. The result of this association between the ruler and his Hindu subjects created animosity between the two communities. Finally, after the British colonial empire came to an end the tensions rose and the Muslims of the valley started fighting for their rights.

In August 1947, Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, seemed to encapsulate the excitement of a country on the verge of its independence from the foreign colonial rule, Nehru wrote:

> Long years ago, we made a tryst with destiny and now the time has come when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly of in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, while the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step from the old to the new, when an age ends and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting at this solemn moment we take the pledge of

> dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity (Nehru, *Tryst …* 3).

In 1947 when British left Indian subcontinent, two new countries came into being – India and Pakistan. With the birth of these two countries a number of Princely states wich were directly or indirectly controlled by British were encouraged to merge with either of the countries. The basic two parameters of merger were territorial contiguity and the wishes and aspirations of people. Since the Maharaja was Hindu and the greater population was Muslim he could not decide which way to go. His indecision resulted into chaos. Initially, he signed a standstill agreement with Pakistan but wasn't sure to join the new country. With the growing tensions, both countries kept trying to gain the control of the valley. Since no formal decision about the merger with either of the domains was taken by Maharaja, Pakistan saw it as a result of India's interference and eventually on October 22, 1947 days after the independence, Kashmir was invaded by tribals who had the support of Pakistani Military. The intention of Pakistan was to instil fear into the Kashmiris so they would surrender quickly. The narrative of tribal invasion has also come under scrutiny in last few years and historians, like Christopher Snedden, suggest that what is called as tribal invasion was actually the mutiny of Muslim soldiers in Maharaja's troops. He suggests that the mutiny was the result of genocide of Muslims in Jammu days before partition happened. A more discussion on this will be done in the later section of this chapter.

It was also the period when Sheikh Abdullah was the most popular leader of Kashmir. Sheikh's associations with Nehru was based on ideology – both believed in

socialism and secularism. With the popular support, Sheikh had in Kashmir Maharaja could not ignore him. Maharaja approached government of India and in turn signed the 'Statement of Accession' with the help of Sheikh Abdullah. Which till date is contested by many writers who have done extensive research on Kashmir. This invasion led to mass killings, rapes and other forms of violence in Kashmir. Ananya Jahanara Kabir is her book *Territory of Desire* argues that the violence surrounding the event known as partition is now increasingly been acknowledged within academic as well as popular domains. She suggests that

> […] 1947 did not only mean the surgical cut of the Radcliffe Line and a new beginning, however painful, for the masses of the Subcontinent- citizens now either of a secular, multireligious India or of the Muslim nation of Pakistan interspersed within British India were numerous "princely states," nominally ruled by "maharajas" in a feudal relationship to the British Empire that indirectly controlled them. There were further questions about which nation- state they would be part of. Jammu and Kashmir, the largest of the princely states, ruled by the Hindu Dogra dynasty but comprising largely Muslim subjects and territorially abutting both India and Pakistan, could have gone either way. In fact, the Maharaja entertained alternative hopes of an independent nation of Jammu and Kashmir. In this dream, although not in his [Maharaja's] continuing suzerainty, his desires coincided with those of Sheikh Abdullah, the charismatic leader of a populist, anti-Dogra movement that had arisen within Jammu and Kashmir by the

> 1920s. In the heated post-Partition atmosphere, however, any notions of an independent Jammu and Kashmir were completely untenable (Kabir 6).

The instrument of accession that India uses as its right to control the state of Jammu and Kashmir came into existence after relentless negotiations between Maharaja's government and government of India. However, this instrument was signed with certain terms and conditions which both parties agreed to and breach of terms will cease any such agreement between the two parties. As I have already mentioned in one of my articles that "according to the 1948 Indian White Paper, India accepted the accession, provisionally until such time as the will of the people can be ascertained by a plebiscite, since Kashmir was recognized as a disputed territory" (Dar 92). The then Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru spoke on All India Radio and declared:

> We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it not only to the people of Kashmir but the world. We will not, and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just Reference to the people, and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer (*White paper on Jammu & Kashmir* 55).

He not only made such statements in New Delhi but also in Kashmir. Kashmiris welcomed Nehru's statements again when he later reiterated:

> I wish to draw your attention to broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening. I have stated our government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed on impartial international agency like United Nations supervising referendum (*White paper on Jammu & Kashmir* 55).

As territorial expansion is the dream of any country, both India and Pakistan claim the state to be their part. The Kashmir dispute is partly a legacy of British colonial baggage and partly of the historic partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, but more recent issues have also distorted it. India's claim is based on instrument of accession and Pakistan's claim on the geographical and religious affinity with Kashmir. Nothing has changed in last seven decades. Both countries have fought multiple wars on the Kashmir and no meaningful solution has been achieved till date. Since 1949, both countries have fought two full-fledged wars in 1965 and 1971 to absorb the territory of Jammu and Kashmir with either of the domains, [initially] the ceasefire line later [re]named as Line of Control (LoC), monitored by a small force of the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), divides the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan, and remains the de facto border. As Rob Johnson in his book *A Region in Turmoil: South Asian conflicts since 1947* Writes:

> As early as 1916, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Then a lawyer in Muslim League, signed the Lucknow pact with Indian National Congress, and by the terms of the pact League agreed to support Congress in return for

> recognition of separate Muslim electorates. Jinnah's subsequent actions seemed to reinforce the idea that Kashmir 'belonged' to the Muslims. He resigned from Congress in 1920 as a protest at the lack of recognition for the Muslim interests and he continued to press for an independent state, despite British attempts to limit Muslim areas to 'autonomous' provinces. Pakistan was an acronym for the new state, being made up of Punjab, Afghan, Kashmir, Sind and '-stan' (land). Jinnah obtained the Muslim League's support for a separate Pakistan in the Lahore Resolution. (Johnson 93).

However, to understand the socio-political construct of Kashmir, which finally culminated into what is now internationally recognised as a dispute, the hundred years of rule before 1947 is of paramount importance. The state of Jammu and Kashmir, under the leadership of [d]ogra Maharaja went through terrible exploitation. The much-affected populace of this exploitation was the majority population [Muslims]. Contrary to common perception Muslims were not the only sufferers, Hindu population (referred as Kashmiri Pandits) of the state also suffered a lot under the [d]ogra rule; most political commentators on Kashmir unanimously are of the opinion that Muslims were the worst sufferers. As Mirdu Rai in her book *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects* argues that, "by 1921, Kashmiri Pandits were equipped with modern education provided by Christian Mission School and Siri Pratap College, they found avenues to employment in the higher rungs of administration [previously] barred to them" (Rai 250). This can be deduced from the writings of Shahnkar Lal Kaul, a Kashmiri [p]andit who wrote about the [d]ogra state's recruitment policy. He writes,

> Kashmiris are treated as strangers in their own house. In their own country their status is nil. A post of rupees 40 falls vacant in some office … ninety to one an outsider is brought to fill it up […] a good for nothing outsider almost illiterate – but whose qualification is a communal or geographical alliance with some powerful official in the state - is given the post to which a Kashmiri graduate may aspire … the latest civil and military lists of the state represent the miserable spectacle of 5 per cent Kashmiri Hindus, 1 per cent Kashmiri Mussulmans – and less than 7 per cent of the state subjects - and by the state subjects we the mean the children of the soil of the Jammu and Kashmir – whatever the state authorities may mean by it […] the state has encouraged them [Kashmiris] to be ambitious … diverted them from and unfitted them for pursuing humbler occupations – in short, the end is – it has ruined them (qtd. in Rai 250).

However, since the Maharaja and the Pandits had a common faith, some kind of relaxation was given to Pandits. They had better avenues to higher education and jobs. If on the one hand, the Pandits of the valley were reaping the benefits of their associations with Maharaja, the Muslims were being pushed to the margins, which subsequently led to resentment. On the other hand, Muslim opposition became politically organised with the establishment of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference political party in October 1932. The Muslim Conference party maintained that Dogra policies discriminated against Kashmiri Muslims, particularly in denying them educational and employment opportunities. The leadership of the Muslim Conference came from two distinct strains: representatives of Srinagar's traditional

Muslim elite and young people who had returned to the valley after pursuing higher education abroad.

As a result of its previous [colonial] history and post 1989 militant insurgence a formidable body of scholarship has emerged predominantly by political scientists and journalists. It is pertinent to mention here that apart from these political and journalistic writings a large literary scholarship has emerged in the form of literary works such as; Novel, poetry and Short Stories. It is the endeavour of this thesis that an analysis will be carried out on the literary works that emerged after 1989. However, the writings from the political scientists and journalists will also form the background of [this] thesis. Before I move to the central theme of locating Kashmir through the lens of literary discourse I will provide a brief sketch of the political literature so that the discourse on Kashmir can be foregrounded.

A lot of recent recorded history of Kashmir can be credited to the various travellers and historians who visited Kashmir. Abul Fazal has recorded the state of Kashmir during the Mughal period. The Europeans, like Moorcroft, Vigne, Walter Lawrence who visited Kashmir either as government officials or simple travellers have recorded the history of Kashmir in magnified detail during the Sikh and Dogra periods. It is not only the political aspect of the country that they have recorded but rather every aspect of the region, be it its geography, geology, architecture or its people with their cultures and traditions. From the beautiful stone temples during Hindu period, which are still the sight of beauty and are used as tourist attractions, to the great breath taking valleys and Muslim shrines. The forced labour of Muslims at the hands of their rulers to the beautiful mosques in the Muslim period. It was because of this ill-treatment of

the local population and in particular the forced labour and less wages that Kashmir rose in revolt against the [d]ogras for the first time. The movement was anyhow crushed and its leaders sentenced to long imprisonments. This [past and present] situation of Kashmir is beautifully traced in Salman Rushdie's novel *Midnights Children.* Rushdie writes:

> In those days, the radio mast had not been built and the temple of Sankara Acharya, a little black blister on a khaki hill, still dominated the streets and lake of Srinagar. In those days, there was no army camp at the lakeside, no endless snakes of camouflaged trucks and jeeps clogged the narrow mountain roads, no soldiers hid behind the crests of the mountains past Baramulla and Gulmarg. In those days travellers were not shot as spies if they took photographs of bridges, and apart from the Englishmen's houseboats on the lake, the valley had hardly changed since the Mughal Empire (2).

Rushdie's image of Kashmir is both beautiful and dark. Beautiful in the sense that he pictures the rosy part of the valley and dark because the comparison that he makes about present and past is so that it appears both depressing and frightening. If he talks about beautiful mountains he talks about camouflaged army trucks, if he talks about 'streets of Srinagar' he also talks about narrow passes clogged with army jeeps. What Rushdie misses are the struggles of the Kashmiri people that they put every day to live in a place which is both beautiful and gloomy at the same time. Such a scholarship came from historical archives mostly written in the recent years. Scholars like Mridu Rai and

Christopher Snedden have come up with a formidable scholarship that the Muslims of the state were exploited by its rulers who coincidently were non-Muslims.

The major portion of the political literature on Jammu and Kashmir is concerned with the narrow legalistic question of the validity or otherwise of Kashmir's accession to India in 1947. As Alastair Lamb in his book *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* suggests, "At the very heart of the matter … [was] the decision made by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947 to accede to India" (2). Lamb's work is one of its first in the academic circles that examines the colonial past of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, consequently, he ends up demarcating 1947 as an obvious point of departure. The year is of significance because of the independence and partition of erstwhile British India and the subsequent events of mass murders, loot and arson in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and elsewhere in India, that independence brought with it. Some writers claim that up to two hundred thousand Muslims were killed in Jammu Province of Jammu and Kashmir soon after the partition of the Indian subcontinent in August 1947. The allegation is that the Muslims in the Jammu region were brutally killed in a well-planned manner and all this was perfectly executed by the Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh. On this issue, Saeed Naqvi writes:

> There are no official figures, so one has to go by reports in the British press of that period. Horace Alexander's article on 16 January 1948 in The Spectator is much quoted; he put the number killed at 200,000.
>
> To quote a 10 August 1948 report published in The Times, London: 2,37,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated – unless

> they escaped to Pakistan along the border – by the forces of the Dogra State headed by the Maharaja in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs. This happened in October 1947, five days before the Pathan invasion and nine days before the Maharaja's accession to [I]ndia (Naqvi N.Pag.).

Such genocides although have not made to the scholarship on Kashmir but in the recent years' attempts have been made to include some of the darkest phases of history in the modern historical archives of the state. In his article "What happened to Muslims in Jammu Local identity, "the massacre" of 1947 and the roots of the 'Kashmir problem'" Christopher Snedden writes,

> There are two reasons why this massacre, if it occurred, is important. First, the tale of a massacre of Muslims caused a chain of events which produced the Kashmir dispute that still poisons relations between Pakistan and India. Second, the massacre appears to have slipped through the cracks of subcontinental history, overshadowed by the communal slaughter in neighbouring Punjab around the same time (111).

As the news of this massacre (of Jammu Muslims) reached different parts of the Indian Subcontinent, sections of people came in support of Jammu Muslims. These groups included Pukhtoon tribals, from Pakistan, who entered Kashmir Province ostensibly to support their co-religionists in the struggle against non-Muslims. However, the tribals not only ravaged the province, they panicked the Maharaja by tipping the balance of armed forces against him. Maharaja of the state faced a new challenge from his own

Muslim soldiers. Some of these writings even suggest that what we now know as the tribal invasion was basically a mutiny of Muslim soldiers who constituted a considerable number in the troops of [d]ogra king. It was this episode that sow the seeds of dissatisfaction among the local populace and in the coming days turned into a full-fledged war between the two nation states – India and Pakistan.

One the one hand, we have books like Christopher Snedden's *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir* which largely chronicles the events before and after the partition of the state into two. Idrees Kanth in his book review on Snedden's book writes:

> The three major events in the Jammu division in 1947 that divided Jammu and Kashmir [are] . . . The first one was a pro-Pakistan, ant-Maharaja uprising by Muslim Poonchis in western Jammu that 'liberated' large parts of this area from the Maharaja control. Second one was the major inter-religious violence in the province that caused upheaval and death, including a possible massacre of Muslims. The third one was the creation of the Provisional Azad (free) Government in areas liberated or 'freed' by the Poonch uprising (589).

On the other hand, we have books like Sumit Ganguly's *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hope and Peace* which is primarily based on the happenings of the war-ravaged state after the armed militancy started in 1989. His basic argument is that the present situation of the state of Kashmir is a result of wrong policies of the successive governments in India. He goes on to suggests that insurgency was the result of a profoundly paradoxical exercise by the Indian state that if the Muslim majority

state stays with the Indian union it will be a jewel in its head by protecting and projecting the secular nature of the country. Such assertions have been made number of times. Commentators on Kashmir have even gone to the extent that the Indian states bargain with Kashmir was the result of; Nehruvian secularism and his roots in Kashmir. For such an exercise to be executed perfectly Nehru found Sheikh Abdullah's support in Kashmir, who was one of the famous leaders of the state at that time. And given the relation and ideology Nehru shared with Abdullah the two came together to promote Nehruvian socialism.

Most of the writers have travelled the road of pre and post 1947 Kashmir to understand the most complicated issues of the Indian Subcontinent. Some of these writers trace the seeds of a separate nation state of the Valley to 1931 when for the first-time Kashmiris' revolted against the Hindu Maharaja. One such important work is Sumitra Bose's book *The Challenge in Kashmir: Self-Determination and a Just Peace* the books mainly looks at the issues that led to one of the long-lasting conflicts between India and Pakistan. Bose suggests that it was because of the wrong policies of the Dogra king that led to the revolt of 1931. The book argues that the Muslims of the state were subjugated during the period because they belonged to a different faith and at all the levels; be it bureaucracy or at military they were made the subject of oppression. The identity of Muslim subjects was raised to zero. In a similar context, on the issue of religious dimension Rai remarks:

> … the fact that 'Islamic consciousness' had *always* been a prominent and integral component, along with other political ideals and forms of identity, of Kashmir nationalism and its democratic struggles. However,

> aside from the fact that the use of terms 'democratic' and 'nationalism' is a historic in any context … [i]n the resistance against Hindu rulers by Muslim subjects in Kashmir, what was new was not the discovery of religious identities but the transformation, in the period of colonialism, of the political space in which these affinities came to be articulated (Rai 7).

Bose time travels between the past and present of the state and its history. In a different context on Kashmir Bose writes about Kashmir:

> Since 1990 Kashmir has been in the grip of protracted guerrilla war with groups of Muslim insurgents pitted against Indian forces. The tourist brochure image of a vacation paradise – the Mughal monarchs used Kashmir as a summer resort from the sweltering heat of the Indian plains – has been replaced in the subcontinent and across the world for the past seventeen years by daily accounts of gun battles, bombings, body counts, and a traumatized population held ransom by a conflict in which they are subjects and participants but that is also beyond their control. Official Indian estimates cite a toll of at least fifty thousand killed – guerrillas, soldiers, police, and civilians – while parties in Kashmir opposed to Indian rule claim the real toll could be almost double that figure (Bose 154).

The period after the partition of the state and that of the erstwhile British India gave rise to numerous groups who challenged the existing system and wanted to form nation state according to the wishes' and aspirations of their own people. Immediately after that partition Muslim groups in the state assembled under the banner of Muslim

League and raised the question of legitimacy of the Dogra rule on them. Most of these movements even though Muslim in character were deeply influenced by communist ideology. Even the most confidant of the Indian state in Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, raised his voice against the Dogra rule and championed for the cause of independent Kashmir. But soon he shook hands with the Indian Prime Minister to uphold India's claims on Kashmir. The point I am trying to make here is that, after Sheikh and Nehru came together, the first policy that Sheikh introduced in Kashmir and which gained him huge support was the communist idea of equal land distribution. However, the union between the two leaders was based on compromises and did not last long. The period that followed was the most turbulent period in the recorded history of Kashmir, which ultimately led to an armed insurgency after the rigged elections of 1989. This struggle was undertaken by a group of armed militants form Kashmir who came to be known as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). The ideology of the group was a secular ideology not based on religious lines instead based on the idea of Kashmir and Kashmiris. The group took on the mighty state of India and challenged its rule in Kashmir.

This romance of secular Kashmir lasted for some time, as more and more militants groups poured into the valley, and radical changes crept in to the social fabric of the valley – the valley was on the verge of becoming polarised on the religious lines. Unlike other armed groups of Kashmir JKLF considered "Kashmiri Pandits, a minority (about 4 % of the total population) in the valley, an important part of the 'Kashmiri Nation.' Their secular slogan of Kashmiriyat and demand for a secular independent

Kashmir made them acceptable among the larger sections of the population in Jammu and Kashmir" (Hassan N. Pag).

With the rise of armed insurgency in Kashmir and the brutal state repression Kashmir became the site of daily violence. The seeds of this troubled history although were sown a couple decades ago but 1989 became the tipping point of this inevitable tragedy. As the militancy grew, a number of people mostly from minority community were killed by militants on the pretext of their links with the Indian intelligence agencies. These killing marked the beginning of the fear that has since engulfed the Valley. These instances are, for example, well documented in the texts *Garden of Solitude, Curfewed Night* and *Our Moon has Blood Clots*.

As I have already mentioned that most of the people who were associated with the government came from minority community because of their privilege and position in the system. They became the victims of this violence. This fear instilled in the minority community resulted in the exodus and the most tragic chapter in the history of Kashmir. In the first few months of the year 1990 Pandits of the valley started moving out of the valley and what followed was the mass exodus of Pandits and some Muslims who were part of the associations with the Indian state. Soon the conflict grew and a new phase was written in the archives of Kashmir. The people were displaced, rendered homeless at the hands of gun yielding men (uniformed and un-uniformed). The pain that the conflict brought with it continues, and does not show any signs of reconciliation in the near future. This thesis is therefore also an attempt to highlight the migrations, sufferings, pain and displacements that engulfed the state after 1989.

There is a fundamental connection between conflict and displacement. Most armed conflicts of world, like Kashmir, are linked with people leaving their homes to seek refuge, sometimes within territorial borders and sometimes outside them. The most complex issue of conflict in Kashmir after 1947 is that hundreds and thousands of people have been forced to leave their homes. Some took refuge in the plains of Jammu while others within and outside India. Within this displacement are forgotten numerous other migrations and displacements which lie within the valley and have not found any considerable attention till now. This thesis is an attempt to look at these internally displaced people who not only have lost their agency but have no one to support them. Also, the thesis will look into numerous other misplaced identities which common Kashmiris have been forced to accept since and after the armed insurgency.

The history of large scale Kashmiri displacement began en-masse in nineteen nineties'. Those who could fled on their own in the initial phase of armed insurgency left the valley to the plains in Jammu and beyond. There are different theories and conspiracy theories about Pandit migration. However, this thesis does not attempt to rationalise those theories. By 1990, an approximate one hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits had already left the Kashmir Valley. On the other hand, approximately at the same time thousands of Muslims had found refuge in Azad Kashmir (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) either with relatives or in camps. Moreover, these migrants have been treated as second-class citizens in Pakistan controlled Kashmir where they are not allowed to move to other parts of Pakistan where they could find jobs and be safer, away from the volatile Line of Control (LoC).

According to Human Rights watch, in a book titled *The Human Rights Crisis in Kashmir: A Pattern of Impunity*, "despite the escalation of violence, militant groups continue to command popular support throughout the valley, not necessarily for ideological reasons but because they are seen to represent the only alternative to the government's repressive policies and widespread abuses" (2). To curb their activities Indian military has often made no difference between the combatants and civilians. Both the groups are subject to inhuman treatment in military campus and outside. The archives from various human rights organisations have pointed that torture is rampant in the Valley and includes "severe beatings, electric shock, and suspension by the feet or hands, stretching the legs apart, burning with heated objects and sexual molestation" (Gossma et al 3). The government both at state and centre and their police forces have for years imposed night curfew on the towns and villages of the Kashmir valley that has resulted in gross human rights violations. During these night curfews, the movement of hospital staff and ambulances has suffered the most resulting in untimely complications of many patients. Because government security forces do not respect the neutrality of medical transport, ambulances cannot travel at night. These issues have been highlighted in the post 1989 literature of Kashmir. The fictional and non-fictional works like *Curfewed Night*, *The Collaborator* and *The Country Without a Post Office* give us a picture of the suffering, pain, loss of lives, violence, bloodshed and rapes of Kashmiri women. But these works give us the understanding of half of the reality at the ground level. Siddhartha Gigoo's novel *The Garden of Solitude* and Rahul Pandita's *Our Moon Has Blood Clots* make an attempt to highlight the other half of the reality that is the suffering in the form of exile and homelessness, which Kashmiri Pandits

experience from the early 1990s. In fact, Siddhartha Gigoo tries to give a balanced picture of the suffering of both the communities.

Since Kashmir issue is one of the unresolved conflicts of the world, the world community has largely remained silent on the issue. In the initial years of the conflict although the United Nations did pass few resolutions on Kashmir but since then no progress has been made. These resolutions were not binding to either India or Pakistan, hence both countries refused to implement them. Given this as the background of the conflict, number of researchers and scholars have shown interest in Kashmir conflict and have worked extensively on it. These scholars have written endless works about Kashmir and the conflict that has engulfed the state for years now. These works are a mix of fiction and non-fiction. In this chapter, review of literature on Kashmir will be discussed at length. The works of writers from Kashmir and outside Kashmir will form as basis of the arguments in the forthcoming chapters of this thesis. This review of literature presents a glimpse of some important related works about Kashmir. Although, in their discourse about the conflict and its subsequent ramifications authors from Kashmir have written about the Kashmir issue since its first invaders [Afghan's and Mughal's] occupied Kashmir. These works that are now classified and referred to as works of resistance started in 16th-century with Kashmiri poetess, Habbah Khatun. The poetess comes "at an important time, as new political and economic realities put the resistance of the Kashmiri people back on the map of global protest" (Shingavi N.pag). The difference that amounts to these two sets of writings is that on one hand non-Kashmiri writers focus more on the political solution of the issue without going into the arguments of identity, migration, exile and suffering of Kashmiri community.

However, on the other hand the writers from Kashmir focus more on the later. But, before I discuss about these Kashmiri writers I will try to engage with the works of non-Kashmiri writers who wrote about Kashmir conflict.

India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute by Robert G. Wirsing (1994) tries to put the issue on international platform. The work is an attempt to understand and analyse the happenings in the Kashmir valley. The book's sole aim is to recommend some of the arguments that will result in some kind of possible resolution to resolve the stalemate between the South Asian neighbours. It also voices the concerns of the international community towards the conflict which has crippled the people of the state for more than six decades now. The book also provides an insight in post 1989 Kashmir after the armed insurgency started in Kashmir. Similarly, *The Kashmir Tangle: Issues and Options* (1993) by Rajesh Kadian provides its reader an idea about the present situation. The book looks at the various factors that have resulted in the worsening of the situation. It gives a conclusive history of what went wrong during the conflict. Kadian traces the history of the Kashmiri people from 1947(after the partition) to the present times when the militancy is at its heights and an armed struggle has started against the government. Kadian not only looks at Kashmir as a dispute but tries to analyse the processes that have resulted in the bloody conflict. He does that by looking at the relationship between the Indians and the Pakistanis at the time of the Partition. In doing so he traces the roots of the conflict that is a result of 'unfinished baggage of partition'. The author also peeps into the relationship between Srinagar and New Delhi by looking at the historical archives and has a major discussion on the relationship between Sheikh Abdullah And Nehru that most people mark as the beginning of the dispute. The relationship between

the two individuals was used to forge an alliance between two geographical parts which had nothing in common. It does not however, necessarily see the relationship between Srinagar and New Delhi as a strong one but traces its turbulent phases which have deeply affected the political atmosphere of Jammu and Kashmir

However, Both Rajesh Kadian and Wirsing try to explore the complex issue of Kashmir by undermining the complexity of the issue and jumping to the conclusion and providing possible solutions of the problem. Had it been so simple the stalemate would not have continued for seven decades. Both the works try to ignore the past and jump to the present without looking at the complex past of the state vis-à-vis India and Pakistan. In order to understand the present of Kashmir it is important to turn the pages of the archives and look into the past. Any understanding of the present without going into the past will result in "a faulty understanding of the latter has unavoidably jaundiced their understanding of the present" (Jha 207). In his review "India, Pakistan," and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and its Resolution by Robert G. Wirsing; The Kashmir Tangle: Issues and Options by Rajesh Kadian" Prem Shankar Jha argues that Wirsing is more at fault than Kadian, for the starting point of his analysis is an assumption that not only does not correspond with reality, but also prejudices every aspect of his analysis. He says that:

> within the jurisdictionally complex framework of the British Empire Kashmir had retained quasi-autonomous status . . . that placed a Hindu Maharaja in control of an over whelming Muslim principality. This division of Kashmir into two monolithic blocs, based on an essentially foreign (British) definition of religion, pervades his entire analysis. Wirsing accepts the two-nation

> theory, and clearly believes that Kashmir ought to have gone to Pakistan. Thereafter basically nothing the Indian government could do in Kashmir could be morally right, only expedient. By the same token, nothing Pakistan did in l947 or is doing now to annex Kashmiris morally wrong. It is only in expedient" (Jha 207-209).

Wirsing does not mention any reference that takes into account the Sufi culture of the Kashmir, rather the book is too insensitive to the issue of Kashmiriyat as it does not talk about the role of the society that evolved together and aspire to live together. It omits the mention of 'Rishis' and 'Sufis' who have for centuries fought to keep the secular fabric of the society intact. In fact, the first Kashmiri militant outfit JKLF aspires for a separate sovereign state that remains inclusive and secular in character. However, the point is, since the conflict started JKLF is not the only party to fight against the Indian military. More and more militant groups flooded the valley some secular while others hard-core Islamists. For example, Hizbul Mujahedeen, the largest indigenous insurgent group, does not aspire for an independent secular state it wants to merge with Pakistan.

The 'Instrument of Accession' signed by Maharaja of princely state of Jammu and Kashmir with the union of India has been contested by many scholars who have worked on Kashmir. British historian Alastair Lamb contests the authenticity of the document in his book *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1984-90.* He like Victoria Schofield not only contests the authenticity of the documents but also contests the legality of it. Bhashyam Kasturi in an article "The Kashmir Saga" writes:

> It is sad that it took the Centre so long to put out this document on public display, for scholars like Alastair Lamb had already done the damage by

> claiming that the document did not exist and even if it did, Hari Singh may have never signed it. More damaging for India, Lamb claimed that even if Hari Singh did sign any such document, it was done after the first landing of Indian troops at Srinagar on October 27, 1947 (Kasturi N.pag.).

This claim is also made by the author Victoria Schofield in her article "Kashmir: The origins of dispute" where she writes:

> Recent research, from British sources, has indicated that Hari Singh did not reach Jammu until the evening of 26 October and that, due to poor flying conditions, V P Menon was unable to get to Jammu until the morning of 27 October, by which time Indian troops were already arriving in Srinagar.
>
> In order to support the thesis that the Maharaja acceded before Indian troops landed, Indian sources have now suggested that Hari Singh signed an Instrument of Accession before he left Srinagar but that it was not made public until later (Schofield N. Pag.).

The point that Lamb in his book argues is that it was a conspiracy and a well-thought-out strategy between congress leaders of that time and some of the British officials. He argues that these two forces colluded with Maharaja and the army in order to form an agreement which will be later called as 'instrument of accession'. Although the book deals with the genesis of the dispute it leaves aside the idea of self-determination of Kashmiris.

Victoria Schofield's work and mostly her book *Kashmir conflict (1996)* is an important one to understand the conundrum that surrounds Kashmir. Her discussions on the Kashmir issue run concurrent with that of Lamb's; both question the authenticity and legality of the document that serves the link between Indian union and the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Her work is a collection of archives that traverses from politics to socio-cultural aspects of Kashmir. Schofield concludes that 'instrument of accession' as a legal document was fraudulent, therefore, any reference to it by the government of India is fraudulent. It is important to mention here that the whole premise of Kashmir's accession to Indian is based on the 'instrument of accession'.

The rise of right-wing nationalism in the Indian state has also aggravated the situation in Kashmir. Nehru's promises of a 'referendum' and the 'wishes of Kashmiri people' were thrown out with the rise of Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). BJP's stated position on Kashmir is that it is integral part of India. They are opposed to the special position that Kashmir has in the constitution of India. The slogans of 'one nation one flag' and 'one nation one constitution' have been included in the discussions on Kashmir. Bruce Graham's book *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics* tries to unpack this strand of nationalism that has complicated the issue of Kashmir. It is noteworthy to mention here that it is the Sangh Parivar, to which BJP belongs, has a long-standing resolution on Kashmir that states there cannot be two flags and two constitutions in one sovereign country. This reference to two flags and two constitutions is an attack on the article 370 that forges an imaginary yet real relationship between Indian and Kashmir. The Sangh Parivar has also opposed the idea of taking Kashmir to United Nations (UN) which passed different resolutions in order to break a peace deal between India and Pakistan. It is through

these UN mandated resolutions that Kashmiris have been given the right to decide their own future and was time and again promised to them by the Indian state. The political tussle on the issue of article 370 has mostly been fought by BJP through legislature and judiciary and have so far not been able to erode it. Although, it must be noted that even though the article has not been eroded it has largely been diluted by successive governments both in Delhi and Srinagar. The article which BJP is opposed to is the only link that the State and the Centre share to forge a relationship. Commentators on Kashmir have long argued that if the article is eroded by legislature in Delhi it will bring Kashmir back to square one which will, in turn, question the legitimacy of India's hold on the state.

Walter Lawrence in *The Valley of Kashmir* describes in detail the character and disposition of Kashmiris. For he admits that it is the land that has been subjected to atrocities by the ruling powers. The book looks at Kashmir as the beautiful landscape, that has been torn apart because of the fight of asserting control over it. He derives his study from looking into the culture and tradition of the people of the erstwhile state and argues that the people of valley are deeply in love with their culture and land, and can go to any extend to defend it. He however, admits that the people have been subjected to some of the history's worst ill-treatment.

Kashmir: The Case for Freedom, by Tariq Ali, Hilal Bhatt, Angana Chatterji, Pankaj Mishra and Arundhati Roy and selections of poems by the 16th-century Kashmiri poet, Habbah Khatun, The book makes two important contributions about Kashmir issue. The first has to do with the form of the resistance, which has shifted over the years from secular nationalism to Islamist politics and back again and the second has to do with the staggering scale of violence that the Indian state perpetrates against the Kashmiri

population. As Angana Chatterji puts it, "Kashmir is a landscape of internment, where resistance is deemed 'insurgent' by state institutions" (Chatterji 95). The book, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights and the history of Kashmir* by Mridu Rai is the most intrigue in its analysis of historical facts about Kashmir. It traces the history of Kashmir from Afghans to Dogras and then to modern nation state. The book examines the various issues that have otherwise been kept out of most historical accounts. As is commonly perceived that Kashmir has always been a place of communal harmony but the books makes the case that such a perception is not only an exaggeration but also un-true. It argues, that here were widespread human rights violations faced by Muslims during the Dogra rule. As filmmaker Sanjay Kak in one of his lectures says that the assertion that Kashmir's communal tension somehow emerged with the armed uprising is wrong. He makes the point that there had been tensions always between the two communities, since the Dogras were in power and it was monarchy Kashmiri Muslims were treated as second class citizens who had no agency and voice. It was this aspiration, the fight for agency and voice, that was building up during the period when the power shifted from one ruler to another, the Muslims of the state started to assert their majority. These aspirations were the reason of centuries old subjugation of Muslim community in the valley ("La' Resistance – Kashmir").

What is clear from Rai's analysis is that in the early years of Dogra rule, as pointed out by Matthew Jones is that, "there was no attempt to encourage people of all faiths to assume a common identity, which would have promoted 'Kashmiriyat' among all subjects. Rather, the Dogra's projected themselves as being the saviours of the Hindu dharma, which amounted to a desecration of their Muslim subjects" (Jones 651). The

Dogra regime was completely blinded to the pain and suffering of the Muslims, and never tried to address the issue. The Dogra's by not acknowledging the suffering of Muslims were cultivating a population that was running out of patience and found resistance as the only way to fight the monarchy. In subsequent years when the Dogra rulers felt the heat of this "growing disenchantment among Muslims it was too late for them to control the situation, which was deteriorating day by day" (651). The British were leaving the subcontinent and the seeds of resistance against the Maharaja had already picked pace in the state.

Territory of Desire by Ananya Jahanara Kabir questions 'how', and 'why' Kashmir came to be so intensely desired within Indian, Pakistani, and Kashmiri nationalistic imaginations. The book heavily relies on the films and Art forms to analyse how the landscape became important to the postcolonial India. Kashmir has always fascinated it rulers; Mughals, Afghans and British. All these empires had one thing in common, their love for the land. Mughals termed it 'paradise' and that has been a label attached to it since then. What is important to note here is that as Kabir argues in the book that it is this fascination of the landscape that forges a relationship between it and its immediate rulers, in this case India. Kabir's argument is that the desire for the land has been always used to instil the idea of nationalism in the people.

As far as Kashmir is concerned, the historical narratives from the early times have come in different forms and genres that shape the literature and resistance of people of Kashmir; oral, written and theatrical narratives. For example, *Bhand Pather* is a form of traditional Kashmiri theatre that is passed down not just through families, but also through community. The *Bhand Pather* plays are satirical by tradition. Although the unwritten

scripts often go back to the days of the Maharaja, when landlords were the oppressors of peasants, the plays' political commentary still has great resonance today. *Bhand Pather* provides a voice, however small, for a people who would otherwise be silenced. While media outfits in Kashmir will rarely challenge the status quo, *Bhand Pather* is a sort of miniature broadcast media speaking on behalf of the downtrodden.

Apart from such writings which convey the feeling of lost homeland, writers who have Kashmiri roots have also articulated migration, exile and the suffering. Before such a scholarship is built in this chapter I will take a detour and discuss how writers who have written about Kashmir in their works have portrayed Kashmir, and how have they looked at the social and political aspects of it. Rushdie shares a special relationship with Kashmir and his works *Shalimar the Clown, Midnights Children* as well as his short story collection *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* talk about Kashmir in one form or other. He just glances at Kashmir and its politics in *Midnight's Children* but makes it the locale in *Shalimar the Clown.* Rushdie talks about Kashmiriyat, about the syncretic relationships between Pandits and Muslims but does not shy away from questioning those associations. As the political power changed from one ruler to another so did the associations and relationships. As Andrew Teverson writes,

> It is Rushdie's conceit that Kashmir, prior to the political dramas that have transformed it in the twentieth century, was a haven, a paradise of peaceable village traditions, and multi-cultural, multi-faith tolerance. Rushdie demonstrates this by introducing the Shalimar-Boonyi plot with a potential tragedy: Shalimar is a Muslim, Boonyi a Hindu, and they consort in secret because they fear repercussions (Teverson N.pag).

The love affair between a Muslim boy and a Hindu girl, perhaps, raises the curiosity of the reader whether or not such a union is possible. The idea of bringing a Muslim and a Hindu together is an idea of forging a possible resolution of Kashmir. Although the reader thinks that there will be thrill in such a union but these "expectations are dashed, however, when the village decides to overcome its reservations about the conduct of the relationship and to allow their marriage" (Teverson N.pag). This marriage is done on the idea that, we are all Kashmiris, no one is a Hindi or a Muslim here. Ethnicity, therefore in this case becomes more important, the other name for this ethnic union is Kashmiriyat. The fundamental problem, even if this somehow seems to be a nice philosophy, is that Kashmiriyat envisages only ethnic Kashmiris, it does not incorporate other communities who have migrated to Kashmir centuries ago and are equally part of the society. "We are all brothers and sisters here", Shalimar's father says:

> There is no Hindu-Muslim issue. Two Kashmiri - two Pachigami youngsters wish to marry, that's all. A love match is acceptable to both families and so a marriage there will be; both Hindu and Muslim customs will be observed (Rushdie 110).

The problems present in Kashmir are rooted in a long history of antipathies. It is this long history that has led to the making of present situation. The simplistic view of understanding this phenomenon generally leads us to a fraudulent understanding of Kashmiri history.

In, *Shalimar the Clown* the narrative is engaging, the political commentary of the place runs side by side in the fiction. From the names of the characters to the setting of the novel everything looks representational. Perhaps the most striking feature of it is the

representation when the valley is turned into a site of bloody conflict. The Kashmiriyat is shattered when both military and insurgents wreak havoc in the village of Pachigam – a representational miniature village for the Valley. This is shown towards the end when the narrator is helpless and has lost all his capabilities. All he is able do is question – the questions like 'why' and 'who'. The questioning in the novel serves the purpose of being the witness to the atrocities in the valley and also signals the power of speaking back.

> There were six hundred thousand Indian troops in Kashmir but the pogrom of the pandits was not prevented, why was that? Three and a half lakhs of human beings arrived in Jammu as displaced persons and for many months the government did not provide shelters or relief or even register their names, why was that? … and the pandits of Kashmir were left to rot in their slum camps, to rot while the army and the insurgency fought over the bloodied and broken valley, to dream of return, to die while dreaming of return, to die after the dream of return died so that they could not even die dreaming of it, why was that why was that why was that why was that why was that. (297)

If on one hand the issue of Pandits is raised, to question and understand the situation in which Pandits had to leave the valley it also questions the role of the Indian army after they go berserk in the village as an act of revenge. Rushdie questions everything – the questions that are important and make readers think beyond their existing knowledge about Kashmir.

> Who lit that fire? Who burned that orchard? Who shot those brothers who laughed their whole lives long? Who killed the sarpanch? Who broke his hands? Who broke his arms? Who broke his ancient neck? Who shackled those men? Who made those men disappear? Who shot those boys? Who shot those girls? Who smashed that house? Who smashed that house? Who smashed that house? … Who killed the children? Who whipped the parents? Who raped that lazy-eyed woman? Who raped that grey-haired lazy-eyed woman as she screamed about snake vengeance? Who raped that woman again? Who raped that woman again? Who raped that woman again? Who raped that dead woman? Who raped that dead woman again? (308)

It is the power of this questioning that Rushdie uses to make the readers understand the problem. The simple way of looking at Kashmir – animosity between the communities or alienation will lead us nowhere, for things in conflict zones are not always black and white.

Some of the recent studies that have come out on the subject of Kashmir dispute have come out in the form of edited volumes, mostly by Kashmiris. These books have moved away from the historical rhetoric of locating the dispute but are more interested in writing the present of the conflict. These studies talk about the displacement, migration, resistance, resilience etc. of Kashmir and its people. They try to locate Kashmir within the conflict and their aim is to educate the people outside the valley who have for years been fed with a reportage that is far from the reality. Some of those works, which are very important to understand the present Kashmir, are *Until my Freedom Has Come* (2010), *Of Occupation and resistance* (2013) and *Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora? The Story of a Mass Rape*

(2015). All these works are fundamentally different from the ones mentioned till now. Firstly, because they are written by Kashmiris who have survived and lived in the land that is been contested by two nations. Secondly, these books directly speak to the power which has brutalized them from decades. Such questioning, like the Rushdie's protagonist's questioning, becomes important as it breaks the existing narrative that has been woven all these years. If *Until my Freedom Has Come* and *Of Occupation and resistance* seek to find the answers to questions like the brutality and inhumane treatment meted to people of Valley *Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora? The Story of a Mass Rape* presents the horrors of the village where all women were raped by the soldiers.

These studies have broken the existing myths about Kashmir and the conflict, these are the stories of the people who question the very power circles that have enslaved them for centuries. They do not romanticize the valley but show the horrors of the conflict. These works break the boundaries of religion and ethnicity, these are the collective narratives by both Muslims and Pandits of the valley. They break the rhetoric and stereotyping of Kashmiris. They deal with the pain, longing, displacement, they talk about the horrors the women of Kashmir had to go through during the years of conflict. They look for the roots, the roots that they have lost and such works are also a project of reconciliation by both the communities who have become the worst victims of the rivalries between India and Pakistan.

To conclude this chapter, I argue that most of these 'historical' books have looked at the conflict per se and not at the struggles of the people they are writing about. For such books, when they mention the exodus of the people from Kashmir is a symptom of the conflict whereas, for Kashmiri writers it is deeply personal. Similarly, the women's

agencies and voices are largely erased from the historical books where as they form a considerable scholarship in the studies that have come from the valley. The pain, suffering are just outcomes of the conflict in the historical books whereas, they are the major subject for Kashmiri writers.

Works Cited:

Bose, Sumantra. *Contested Lands*. Harvard University Press, 2009. Print.

Dar, Masrook. "Negotiations on Kashmir: A Concealed Story of Kashmir." *ThirdFront Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 1.1 (2013): 191–205. *thirdfrontjhss.com*. Web. 24 Jan. 2017.

Gossman, Patricia, Vincent Iacopino, and Physicians for Human Rights (U.S.). *The Crackdown in Kashmir: Torture of Detainees and Assaults on the Medical Community*. Human Rights Watch, 1993. Print.

Hassan, Azadi. "Migration of Kashmiri Pandits: Kashmiriyat Challenged?" n. pag. *www.academia.edu*. Web. 10 Jan. 2017.

Human Rights Watch, of Impunity 1045. *The Human Rights Crisis in Kashmir: A Pattern of Impunity*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996. Print.

India, and India (Dominion). *White Paper on Jammu & Kashmir*. Government of India, 1948. Print.

Jha, Prem Shankar. "Review of India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution; The Kashmir Tangle: Issues and Options." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55.1 (1996): 207–209. *JSTOR*. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Johnson, Rob. *A Region in Turmoil: South Asian Conflicts Since 1947*. Reaktion Books, 2005. Print.

Jones, Matthew. "Review of British Documents on the End of Empire. East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-1971. Part I: East of Suez, , ; British Documents on the End of Empire. East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-1971. Part II: Europe, Rhodesia, Commonwealth, S. R. Ashton, Wm. Roger Louis; British Documents on the End of Empire. East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-1971. Part III: Dependent Territories, Africa, Economics, Race, S. R. Ashton, Wm. Roger Louis." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 81.3 (2005): 651–653. *JSTOR*. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.

Kanth, Idrees. "The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir." *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 14.4 (2013): 589–591. *Taylor and Francis*. Web. 24 Feb. 2017.

Kasturi, Bhashyam. "The Kashmir Saga." *The Hindu* 18 Sept. 2005. Web.

La' Resistance - Kashmir. N.p. Film.

Lamb, Alastair. *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990*. New edition. Hertingford, Great Britain: Roxford Books, 1991. Print.

Mishra, Pankaj. *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom*. Ed. Arundhati Roy et al. New York: Verso, 2011. Print.

Naqvi, Saeed. "The Killing Fields of Jammu: How Muslims Become a Minority in the Region." Text. *Scroll.in*. N.p., n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2017.

Nehru, Jawahar Lal. "Tryst with Destiny Speech Made by Pt Jawaharlal Nehru." *Indian National Congress*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Jul. 2016.

---. *Discovery of India*. Penguin UK, 2008. Print.

Rai, Mridu. *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2004. Print.

Rushdie, Salman. *Midnight's Children*. Random House, 2010. Print.

---. *Shalimar The Clown*. Random House, 2008. Print.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. Random House, 2014. Print.

Schofield, Victoria. "Kashmir: The Origins of the Dispute." *BBC News* 16 Jan. 2012. Web.

Shingavi, Snehal. "Understanding Kashmir's Struggle for Independence." *International Socialist Review*. N.p., n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2a15.

Singh, Bawa Satinder. *The Jammu Fox: A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792-1857*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ Pr, 1974. Print.

Snedden, Christopher. "What Happened to Muslims in Jammu? Local Identity, '"the Massacre" of 1947' and the Roots of the 'Kashmir Problem.'" *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 24.2 (2001): 111–134. *Taylor and Francis*. Web. 14 Feb. 2014.

Teverson, Andrew. *Salman Rushdie*. Manchester University Press, 2013. Print.

Thorp, Robert. *Cashmere Misgovernment*. Longmans, Green, and Company, 1870. Print.

Chapter III

Mapping the Terrain: Memory, Exile, and Longing

> *Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted* (173).
>
> - Edward W Said, *Reflections on Exile*

> *I'm everything you lost. You won't forgive me.*
> *My memory keeps getting in the way of your history.*
> *There is nothing to forgive. You won't forgive me.*
> *I hid my pain even from myself; I revealed my pain only to myself.*
> *There is everything to forgive. You can't forgive me.*
> *If only somehow you could have been mine,*
> *what would not have been possible in the world?*
>
> - Agha Shahid Ali, *A Country without a Post Office*

In the making of modern states, a sense of exile may be produced through the discourse and agency of inclusion as well as exclusion. In the 1940s, after the British

left Indian subcontinent two dominant national identities emerged (India and Pakistan). Within these two dominant, national identities, emerged multiple regional identities (in this case Jammu and Kashmir) that have, since, been in conflict with these dominant national identities. These regional identities, or 'nationalities', constructed the great family of these dominant national identities by linguistic, cultural, and political determinants. However, Kashmiris found themselves in a state of exile from their own form of self-referencing, dispossessed from their own interpretation of origin, history, and identity.

The transition from empire to modern nation-state in the postcolonial world has not occurred only in those regions which were formerly dominated by European powers but also in the regions that got independence from European powers. In South Asia, this transition after the British left resulted in territorial disputes between the member states that were once part of the empire. These disputes have since partition turned into disasters between these countries. Kashmir is an example of such a dispute that is seen primarily territorial by India and Pakistan.

In Indian subcontinent the year 1947, not only resurrected a war-ravaged economy and society, but also formulated a national narrative to describe its demographic inheritance and convince those in the frontier lands that they belonged to it. The parameters of the narrative's demographic dimension were built around the terms nationality, ethnicity, or ethnic groups. As citizens, whose national boundaries are contested, internationally, could not be seen from a one-dimensional view of geographic dislocation, except for those who left the valley to become refugees in plains or more distant countries.

State-imposed exile, as banishment of Kashmiri people to remote regions, has been practiced regularly and on a large scale throughout history, often as a combined mechanism for punishment and often for empire building. Even though displacement of people in the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been a continuous process over centuries, so has the resilience and resistance to counter such punishments been ever present in the state. The purpose of this chapter is not to see the displacement of people in Kashmir as only state imposed, as there are other factors that led to this displacement, but to analyse and foreground this displacement within the larger context of Kashmir conflict. This chapter will examine the displacement of Kashmiri people equally from the prism of state and religious lines. To put this in perspective, I would like to formulate some sort of definition that will help us understand the difference between displacement, exile and refuge. Although 'exile' in practice is similar to being in 'refuge' but what differentiates the two is that in case of former displacement can be either self-imposed or forced, whereas, in later displacement is, mostly, forced. Unlike exile and refuge, which have a political background, displacement may or may not have politics involved. As John D. Barbour in his essay "Edward Said and the Space of Exile" argues:

> […] exile is banishment, the political action that forces a person to depart from his country. Exile resembles but is not the same as being a refugee, expatriot or member of a diaspora. In practice, however, these terms are now often used interchangeably to refer to people displaced from their original home, even when they leave it willingly. Exile is a way of

> dwelling in space with a constant awareness that one is not at home (Barbour 293).

However, to return to my previous discussion on dominant and regional nationalism and their conflicts within and outside, it contributed majorly to the displacement of people. To understand the relation between nationalisms and exile it becomes necessary that they should be looked together rather than in isolation. Any reading or looking at them, separately, will result in a fraudulent understanding of both. "Nationalisms are about groups" (Said 177) but so is displacement and exile. This thesis does not look at exile from an individualistic point of view; because in case of Kashmir the exile isn't individualistic rather it is related to social groups, religious groups, and ethnic groups. The competing nationalisms and displacement [exile] in Kashmir are rooted in collective memories and sentiments of its people. As Said argues, "there is certainly nothing about nationalism's public and all-inclusive ambitions that touches the core of the exile's predicament" (177). What fundamentally differentiates nationalism from exile is that whereas nationalism is a state of being; exile is "discontinuous state of being" (177).

This chapter will therefore make an attempt to examine the displacement, exile, and being a refuge from the writings that have come from Kashmir since past two decades. Some of these writings are the products of exile, while; others are products of displacement if not exile per se. Therefore, I would argue on the lines of Edward Said that literature produced in exile or displacement shapes some of the episodes of communities' permanent loss – memory, identity and cultural cohesion. I agree with Said, that exile can shape intellectual's thinking. He uses the examples of Theodor

Adorno and Erich Auerbach, both of whom went into exile after the rise of Nazism to prove his point and I will venture to say that only after exile (forced or self-imposed) writers from Kashmir came up with a body of scholarship that explored issues which were otherwise written by the outsiders.

The point of departure in this chapter is that it does not make an attempt to show whether the migration of Kashmiris (mostly Hindu's but nonetheless Muslims and other religious groups) was forced, coerced or voluntary. However, whether forced, coerced or voluntary this study considers it as displacement and would not fall in the different contradictory narratives on Kashmiri migration. Neither would it be wise to discuss the reasons behind the migration, as the scope of this chapter is limited, nor is there any such intention of doing so, because there is already a huge scholarship available that has come up with different narratives on migration. Moreover, this study looks at Kashmiri as 'ethnic identity' rather than a 'religious identity'. Therefore, term Kashmiri will mean ethnic Kashmiris irrespective of their religion.

As part of the problem, and as often the case is, one falls into the discourse of whether the migration of the population is voluntary or involuntary, one cannot with certainty demonstrate that in case of Kashmir – because of the multiple narratives surrounding the exodus. However, as Mike Parnwell points out that political refugee either fall under 'anticipatory' or 'acute' categories and these categories leave little choice to the individuals to leave their places of origin. What essentially differentiates between the two is that while in former refugees are able to prepare in advance, to leave, and in later it leaves them, practically, no chance to prepare (Parnwell 24-27). In other words, 'acute' refugee is spontaneous. Nevertheless, what connects the two movements

is that in both the scenarios the population ideally prefers not to leave their places of origin.

I would examine few texts from Kashmir and try to analyse how exile, migration, nostalgia and culture is depicted in these works. In doing so the plight of the exile and its other manifestations such as 'memory' and 'nostalgia' will be highlighted. Such an understanding will also help in analysing the cultural identities of the Kashmiri nationalism. The attempt is to locate such manifestations in the literature after insurgency started in the state. However, I believe looking at such a complex issue needs a thorough analysis of the decades before the eruption of militancy in Kashmir. I will use, wherever, necessary references from the literature before 1990 to show how migration has been an integral dimension to Kashmiri identity after the colonial India was divided on the religious lines in 1947. This division not only divided people on the lines of religious extremism but also foregrounded the never-ending conflict in the postcolonial colony of Kashmir.

Kashmir, like other states of Indian subcontinent saw massive migration after the British left the Indian subcontinent. The migration in that period was mostly on the religious lines between the 'secular India' and 'Islamic Pakistan'. Thousands of people migrated across the borders according to the religious and political affiliations they held. Hindus had to migrate from Pakistani Kashmir to Indian Kashmir and Muslims had to migrate from Indian Kashmir to Pakistani Kashmir. What is interesting in this migration is that neither of the groups have since then been accommodated by the successive governments in either parts of the Indian subcontinent. The history of contours of migration in Jammu and Kashmir can be traced back in the complex history

of Kashmir conflict, cross-border migration, development induced displacement and natural disasters. Some of these displacements/migrations were voluntary and some were forced. During 1947, people migrated, mostly, involuntary. However, the years after 1947 saw massive voluntary migrations from both sides of Kashmir. This chapter will not only look at the state of Jammu and Kashmir that continues to be part of India but a certain discussion on the issues related to the migrants of Kashmir that live on the other side of the de facto border, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, will be undertaken.

In the aftermath of partition of 1947, after the massive flow of migrants from both the parts of Jammu and Kashmir, the environment of polarization was high in the Jammu region of the state. People not only migrated across the border in order to sustain and survive some of them migrated internally to the communities they found would respect them. These internally displaced people have since been ignored and their collective memory is erased from the history of Kashmiri nationalism. The years after the partition saw a period of trauma and turbulence in Kashmir. Not only religious minorities had to suffer but also there were individuals who suffered because of their political ideologies. In the valley, the people who opposed Sheikh Abdullah's ideology had to leave the valley and settle down in parts of Pakistan, mostly. Nevertheless, some of these people settled in other parts of India. Ved Bhasin in an interview with Ishita Dey recalls people were pushed across from Kashmir valley because they were not supporting Sheikh Abdullah, Secretary of National Conference at that time. Some of them fled on their own because they had the apprehension that they will be targeted because of the association with Muslims and therefore large number of them went across to the other side. He says:

> After this, the ceasefire was announced in 1948. Large number of families was divided particularly in Jammu region; in Poonch and Rajouri districts. There are cases where families have been clandestinely coming, meeting each other and even there have been marriages across the border. Nevertheless, they were separated; they could not meet. After LOC was drawn, they could not even travel because Pakistani troops were on that side and Indian troops were on this side.
>
> Subsequently, another migration took place in Jammu and Kashmir, in 1965. In 1965, Pakistanis entered some areas of Rajouri and Poonch; particularly in Jammu region and there were atrocities by the Indian security forces. They were forced to go. They were considered to be suspects by Indian security force. They fled to Azad Kashmir and their number is very substantive (Dey).

Such migrations in the state of Jammu and Kashmir have been ignored by the dominant competing nationalisms of both India and Pakistan. Unlike the migration in the regions like East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and Punjab which has been explored extensively by researchers the migration in Jammu and Kashmir has so far not been represented in the historical context of the state. This absence of history has rendered these migrants voiceless and in a perpetual state of non-existence. The migration in the state came to fore after armed insurgency started in Kashmir and has since been debated extensively only after the ‘Pandits’ left valley towards the end of the twentieth century.

The reasons for bringing the Pandit migration to forefront is to foreclose all other possibilities and also to pitch one community against other. The reasons may or may not be accurate but there have been number of theories that originated in order to see what led to this internationalisation of this issue, whereas, some of the similar episodes of the past have been left out completely. One of the reasons at least that many in Kashmir, mainly Muslims and youth, believe is that it gave the government of India a chance to demonise Kashmiri Muslims by making Pandits as reference points.

Political scientists, whose affiliations are often with the dominant political discourse, have mostly explored the studies on Kashmiri Pandit displacement and migration in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. These studies have mainly focused on the [P]andit migration and have not mentioned the local displacement and migration of other communities. For example, the displacement of locals from the regions of Poonch and Rajouri has not been explored at all. Kashmiri Pandits have been subject of all the studies on displacement, exile and migration in Jammu and Kashmir, whereas the internally displaced migrants irrespective of their relationship with communities with the state have remained largely unexplored. One reason perhaps can be the Pandits of the valley shaped the national narrative of India in showing the badness of Kashmiri Muslims and such a narrative in India helped the nation in producing a nationalistic narrative to exploit its citizens to fight the war against Pakistan – the bad country.

Apart from other reasons the migration (of minority sections) has not been studied because most of these sections are marginalised in the imagination of Kashmiri nationalism. For example, the Gujjar community is not considered Kashmiri by its dominant ethnic Muslim and Hindu population. This neglect of Gujjar community is

not based on religious lines but on ethnic basis. Such migrations and violations did not become the narrative in the studies on Kashmir. However, in the recent times they have become a subject of writers particularly those who write fiction. The beautifully captured portrait of Gujjar community by Mirza Waheed in his novel *The Collaborator* is the start of such discourse. He writes how the townsfolk (People from urban and semi-urban backgrounds of the valley) looked at the Gujjar community of the state. This is made public through the introspection, the protagonist who suddenly sees the community attaining an important place in the minds of these townsfolk, says, "when we were mosque-less and imam-less, people seldom prayed. Some almost never did ('these *Kafir Gujjars,* they don't even know their namaz' was the taunt often tossed in our direction by many a townsfolk" (Waheed 30). Although less has been written about their displacement and migration but such migrations do find a mention in Waheed's novel and other political commentaries. In one instant when the protagonist is fighting with his inner soul to tell her mother or not about his association with the Army commander, he takes a walk into the streets of his town and narrates about how people had left from the town to safer places:

> Months have passed since I was last in the village street, back when everyone left, leaving us all alone in the militarized wilderness. It's not that I haven't meant to spend sometime there – but it just hasn't happened. I want to see everything again, to check how it looks, feels, in desertion, in abandonment – and yet I dread doing it. Even now, some weight presses on me as I step out on this late morning when the light is a clear blue and the sun is not yet glaring on my head… as I walk towards

> the shops in the middle, I feel someone is walking behind me. I do not look back. It is always disappointing. The dust on the street has not seen any footprints for ages … at the centre, just above the padlock, are two words written in blue: God's Gift. Chechi's parting note (Waheed).

By making the young boy (the narrator of the story) to say this Waheed perhaps is trying to not only show how Gujjar's were affected by the insurgency and militarization but also talks about their psyche by showing the brutality Gujjar's face in Nowgam (the locale of the novel). In this case, the narrator is employed, rather forced, to take a job that he does not enjoy for the simple reason that his consciousness does not allow him to work for the military that is ruling the place and are seen as anti-people. In doing so the transformation of an individual is depicted who has lost his agency to see what is right and what is wrong. He is afraid of revealing his identity (his new job) to his mother for he himself does not like it. He like his friends who have crossed over to other side of the border to fight for the land that he sees as contested between the two countries.

At the time when the world was busy writing about the pundit exodus from the valley many other similar episodes were taking place simultaneously in the remote parts of Kashmir which were not covered by the mainstream media. This chapter does not intend to discuss the migration, exile and displacement after the partition of British India, rather the focus will be on these issues that emerged after the armed struggle started in the state. This armed struggle as many commentators argue resulted not only in the mass exodus of Kashmir Pandits and many other minority groups including Muslims from the valley, to the rest of the country and beyond, but also gave birth to a range of issues – by-products of militarization. This chapter will use the fictional works

– Sidhartha Gigoo's *The Garden of Solitude,* Mirza Waheed's *The Collaborator,* Shahnaz Bashir's *Half Mother* and non-fictional works viz. Basharat Peer's *Curfewed Night* and Rahul Pandita's *Our Moon has Blood Clots* to show the horrors of exile, displacement, migration, memory and belonging in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Although, *The Garden of Solitude* deals with the migration of Kashmiri Pandits in general but it is not necessarily the story about exodus of Pandits only, similarly, *The Collaborator* is not just about the migration of Gujjar's. These are the texts that brought, among many other things, displacements and migrations into the common discourse which were overshadowed earlier. Similarly, Peer's *Curfewed Night* and Pandita's *Our Moon has Blood Clots* are not just the texts about displacement but are the narratives of the larger discourse on Kashmir. These texts talk about the horrors of war. These are the stories of ordinary people who have been ravaged by the conflict.

These texts that will be examined and analysed not only to see how Kashmir is presented in them but will also highlight the everyday struggles which Kashmiri people go through. These texts are about militarization, violence, trauma, polarization etc. and it is for these reasons these texts will be analysed, textually, by pacing them alongside history to see how these struggles form the resistance of Kashmiris.

One the one hand, *The Garden of Solitude* unfurls the events after the armed struggle started in Jammu and Kashmir. The book is the presentation of events in Kashmir valley from pre-militancy to post militancy. It not only brings about the events and happenings of that period to fore but also brings the events that resulted in the mass exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits after armed militancy broke out in 1989. The text is about the sufferings of the Kashmiri people in general and Kashmiri Pandits in

particular who left the valley only to become refugees in their own country. The text mainly focuses on Pandit migration and does not talk about the exodus of the Muslim community and minority Gujjar community. On the other hand, Mirza Waheed's book *The Collaborator* portrays the accounts of the lesser-known migrations in the valley after the armed militancy started towards the end of 1980's. These migrations haven't caught the attention of any scholarship in the academic circles and it is the endeavour of this chapter to try and attempt a chronicle of these lesser-known migrations so that the area of migration, either forced or coerced, is broadened in the narratives and to break certain existing myths about such narratives.

As I already mentioned these books are not just about migrations they are about the larger discourse – conflict. *The Garden of Solitude* depicts the syncretic relationship of Hindi-Muslim identities and unity before armed insurgency started in the valley. This syncretic relationship has over the years come to be known as Kashmiriyat. Scholars like Mirdu Rai and Neil Aggarwal have argued that the term Kashmiriyat is a 'hallow signifier'. Rai argues that this narrative of syncretic relationship serves the purpose of secure nation building. She writes "[t]o a certain extent what is involved in this equation is nothing more or less than an acknowledgement of the necessity of allaying minority fears in the interests of building a secure nation" (Rai 285).

This religious harmony and cultural syncretism has always remained a 'resonant' theme in the narratives on Kashmir. Rai argues [although] "the term is vague and adaptable, but nonetheless resonant" (224). The concept therefore has been always a subject of narratives based on Kashmir. This syncretic relationship has been the subject of Kashmiri culture since the partition of India. The reasons can be many, but

one that stands out among others is, Sheikh Abdullah's association with Nehru and the subsequent influence of Nehruvian socialism and secularism. Sheikh infused the idea of syncretic past as a myth to gain control over the local population and forged the unity between Pandits and Muslims of the state.

Some of the works that carried the theme of Kashmiriyat in depicting Kashmir are, for example, Salman Rushdie's *Shalimar the Clown.* The text not only presents but also celebrates the idea of Kashmiriyat. Rushdie invokes Kashmiriyat in the romance between Shalimar the clown and Boonyi. Shalimar the clown's Muslim identity and Boonyi's Hindu identity is inconsequential to the community that overlooks their love affair and eventually marries them in the name of Kashmiriyat. It is worth to mention here that the love affair between them is 'overlooked' and should not be confused with acceptance. This love affair is an example of national romance that is used to bridge the gap between ethnic and religious differences to create an atmosphere of syncretic nationalism. If in this case, love affair between a Hindi girl and a Muslim boy takes the form of Kashmiriyat, in other instances the term changes it meaning to suit the will of the dominant discourse. As Neil Agarwal in his essay "Kashmiriyat as empty signifier" writes, "'Kashmiriyat' is an abstract noun that signifies 'origin or affiliation to Kashmir', literally referring to the ethos of being Kashmiri. However, little agreement exists over the precise groups covered by the term" (227). He goes on to suggest that the term means different things to different people. For some Kashmiriyat is "the symbol of a common culture devoid of religious connotations" others characterize it as "intangible cultural matrix that binds all Kashmiris, notwithstanding religion, [which]

still holds strong" and for many others "it epitomizes the shared religiosity between Hindus and Muslims" (227).

My assertion is that this syncretic nationalism is a myth injected into the modern narrative of Kashmiri nationalism by politicians across the spectrum. If this syncretic cultural/nationalism was a reality, then ideally, valley should have been less susceptible to forced and coerced migrations from centuries and particularly in last six decades. Some of the worst migrations in the state of Jammu and Kashmir have been the victim of this myth called "Kashmiriyat."

Rushdie's novel *Shalimar the Clown* suggests that the philosophy, Kashmiriyat, has been used as an innate inclination of storytelling from different communities. For him it is this failure of syncretic story telling that presents the crisis in present Kashmir valley. He writes:

> He was even questioning the anticommunalist principles embodied in the notion of Kashmiriyat, and beginning to wonder if discord were not a more powerful principle than harmony. Communal violence everywhere was an intimate crime. When it burst out one was not murdered by strangers. It was your neighbors, the people with whom you had shared the high and low points of life, the people whose children your own children had been playing with just yesterday. These were the people in whom the fire of hatred would suddenly light up, who would hammer on your door in the middle of the night with burning torches in their hands.

> Maybe Kashmiriyat was an illusion. Maybe all those children learning one another's stories in the panchayat room in winter, all those children becoming a single family, were an illusion. Maybe … norms and peaceful coexistence was an illusion (Rushdie 239).

It is this innate art of different narratives that makes the crisis in Kashmir complicated. Although the *Garden of Solitude* focuses on the community that had to leave their homeland, and are in a perpetual wait and longing for their return, it does not even mention the other migrations and exodus that shook the valley after the partition of India. The dedication of the book evokes the representation of memory and loss. It also invokes the longing for the native land:

> 'All I dream of now is a garden if solitude,
>
> where I get a morsel of rice in the
>
> morning and a morsel of rice in the evening' (Gigoo n. Pag.).

Gigoo's protagonist all through the book is longing for this solitude, the solitude that he and other members of his community [Pandits] have lost. It's a longing to get back to the roots. If on one hand, a particular exodus is highlighted, on the other hand, Agha Shahid echoes the same (memory, solitude and exile) in his poetry when he writes:

> Kashmir shrinks into my mailbox,
>
> my home a neat four by six inches.
>
> I always loved neatness.

Now I hold the half-inch Himalayas in my hand.

This is home. And this is the closest

I'll ever be to home (*The Veiled* 29).

The difference between the two is evident from the presentation of the two works. Gigoo in his dedication becomes the voice of the Pandit community and writes about the pain the community goes through, Shahid becomes the voice of Kashmir. He longs for the Kashmir that that has been torn apart. For Shahid Kashmir is not homogenous place, it is a place of multiple cultures, religions and ethnicities. Shahid's writings portray the elements of loss of homeland and loss of national identity. In his writings, mostly written outside Kashmir, Shahid shows that being away from the homeland has faded the memories of native land. Partly the attempt is to bring out the anxieties of the people who have migrated (either voluntary, forced or coerced) from the valley post 1989 in particular and post 1947 in general. In his later years Shahid wrote poems about Kashmir that depict the contemporary situation of Kashmir valley. In *Contemporary Poets*, critic Bruce King noted that Shahid's poetry revolves around insecurity and "obsessions … memory, death, history, family ancestors, nostalgia for a past he never knew, dreams, …,friendships, and self-consciousness about being a poet" (qtd. Sarkar 1-2). In his book, *Asian-American Writers Bloom's modern critical views,* Harold Bloom writes about his poetry:

> Agha's [Shahid] poems explore and contain the anguish of displacement and exile through memories, history… often painful, bagful of the bones of memory from other homes and

> distant locales, Agha recreates an imaginative simultaneity of place and time, of history and geography. The very loss of "home" inspires in Agha's poems a very strongly felt sense of space and location—acutely observed geographical locations that exist in history and return to life through his imaginative recreation (Bloom 17).

Gigoo's protagonist, Sridar lives in a state of continuous longing for his motherland – Kashmir. He remembers the past when he with his family and community lived in the valley and it is this past that he is trying to reclaim. Sridar and his family live a miserable life in the new land where they have taken refuge. The miseries and pain that he goes through reminds him of the blissful years he lived in Kashmir. Sridar is the representational voice of the Pandit community who lives are shattered between the hope and yearning of the homeland, although he has understood the wait is a long one but in that wait, is the hope of reconciliation.

Sridar's journey from Valley to Jammu is a journey of pain and agony, for he shows us the journey of Pandits from Kashmir to Jammu where they live in tents and find it extremely difficult to survive. He takes us through the courses of struggles which the community battles every day. He becomes the voice of Pandits and their difficulties are narrated through their conversations with Sridar;

> Every day I lead the life of a centipede. I crawl. I lick. I hide. I sting. I wake up to the fumes of kerosene in the morning and the sting of speeding ants, feeding ravenously on the sugar spilled on the floor of the tent. It feels as if I have never had a morsel of rice for ages. I wake up

> hungry and go to bed hungry. I lead the life of a centipede, I crawl (Gigoo 97).

The text is not only about the exodus but about the identities and new identities that the Pandits are forging. It talks about the new neighbours (Hindu's of Jammu) of Pandits and their associations with them. He longs for the Kashmir and Kashmiri Muslims, even though they have been driven away from Kashmir. Most of these new and old relations are revealed through Sridar's father. He takes us down the memory lane when they lived in Kashmir. He remembers the war-torn Kashmir which has lost its peace for which it was once known, but he stills misses Kashmir,

> In Kashmir there was a fearsome curfew, crossfire, gun battles, killings and horror. Here we are at war with our own selves. We despise everything. Our relationships have turned us into ugly creatures. We eat and we defecate. . . . He tried to figure out if he was happy in Kashmir or in the new place. He pretended to like Dogras, but missed his Kashmiri friends (104).

This pretention of love for Dogra's (the Hindu's of Jammu) is perhaps an escape mechanism of his father to forget his past which time and again comes to haunt him. Gigoo's portrayal of this relationship is based on the idea of syncretic relationship which the two communities held so dear. Even though they have left Kashmir but their associations with the land have not broken. This association is brought through the letters between Sridar's father and his Muslim friend and neighbour in Kashmir. This

love is expressed in one of the letters which Lassa, father of the protagonist receives from his friend. His Muslim friend writes:

> Years have passed since you left your home. Even today when I walk past your home, I look at the window of your living room and imagine you living there. I wait at the door of your house and knock, hoping that your wife would call you to open the door. . . . I return home without seeing you. The sun looks like a drop of blood in the decaying firmament (135).

Gigoo, tries to bridge the gap between the two communities by showing the memories both communities attach to the past. The memories even though faded by the separation are not completely lost. Sridar's father's letters to his Muslim friend are a remainder of this memory. He writes:

> My old house is no longer mine. In exile I have seen myself die many times. I have fallen in love with the wretched smile on the face of the woman whose face has lost the ability to smile. I have learnt to love the four walls of the rented room in live in. . . . Longing and nostalgia will keep us sane and rooted and if we ever return, we will stay in houseboats and hotels and take pictures of our lost homes. We will tell our children the stories of who we were. . . . this parting is not forever. We will meet. We will re-live the lost time. Till then, we must continue to hate and love (178 - 180).

The text laments on the state of the Pandits in exile, but also is hopeful about the reunion. This lament and hope are the features of the infusion of Kashmiriyat in the body politic of the Valley. Added to this infusion is the love of land which is described in the pictorial description of 'houseboats' and the pictures of 'mountains'.

Not only does the text look at the migration but a large part of it deals with the conditions of the migrants in the other parts of India, particularly Jammu where they settled after fleeing Valley. The pain and the loss are thrown open by writing the condition of the people who live their lives in miserable condition. With this pain are produced the accounts of the hardships and sufferings of women.

> My mother and sister wash the clothes and the utensils in a puddle of water outside our tent. They line up for the hours in the morning to use the make shift toilet made of torn shreds of canvas, pieces of cardboard and tin. They wait their turn at the filthy and stinking toilets while the loitering men watch the women to relieve themselves. Many women prefer to go to the stinking latrines in the midnight away from the stare of the men. Sometimes I hear women shriek fall silent and then cry… my grandfather…scratches the wound with a knife. The old man looks at my sister change clothes at bedtime. She puts out the light. There are no curtains to hide behind. She sleeps in snatches, sandwiched like an insect between her mother and grandmother. The old man wants to touch her clothes hanging from the hook. He smells the clothes of his own granddaughter. And he relishes their putrid smell (Gigoo 98-99).

The text brings out clearly the problems faced by the Pandit women in exile. But the Point I want to make here is that the book cannot be read without the parallel reading of history. Since the text is very political in nature we have to understand some aspects through which women are portrayed. As writers do bring the dark side of the society and it is there job to do so, Gigoo does that job beautifully. But the flip side of the story is that, the condition of the women in these tents is sometimes used as a tool for the vilification of Muslim community at the hands of political bureaucracy, and at times used to counter the alternate narratives from the valley. The attempt here is to depict a women's account to show a pluralistic and holistic narrative that will help us understand the complex Kashmir conundrum. Conflicts are mostly narratives of claims and counterclaims and these claims and counterclaims are the tools of the powerful to falsify the truth of the oppressed. This thesis does not intend to pit one claim against other. But I will venture out to say, to find the truth, if there exists one, we have to look at different stories, different accounts of sexual harassment of women in Kashmir – both Muslim and otherwise. Noted Nigerian novelist and political commentator Chimmamanda Ngozi Adiche describes the erasure of events as one of the dangerous steps in political conflicts. She argues that multiple stories of one narrative provide a different interpretation whereas the danger of a single story is that it creates stereotypes (Adiche n.Pag.). This thesis therefore will try to take different narratives into consideration and try to analyse what is wrong or right with the political and sociological representation of Jammu and Kashmir.

Gigoo also talks about the polarization between the communities as a result and consequence of conflict. If Islamization seeped into Kashmiri Muslims, Hindutva found

its way in penetrating the Pandit community. The influence of right wing Hindu organisations in Jammu penetrated the Pandit community to wage a war against the Muslims of Kashmir. Sridar's meeting with one of the ideologues of Panun Kashmir, a right-wing organisation, is reproduced here to see how Hindutva was trying to radicalise the Pandit community.

> Don't you wish to do something meaningful for your community which is living in exile? Are you not driven to revolt at the way many innocent Pandits were killed and the community banished from their homes by terrorists . . . I feel pain. But who do we wage our war against? The militants, the separatists, the Government of India, or the world that remained silent when we were forced to leave our homes (125 – 126).

The narrative in text tries to balance the relationships between Muslim and Pandits. Sridar's memories of childhood are always shown as to draw a rosy picture of the land and somehow of the communities. However, there are instances when these narratives change from syncretic relationship to hostile relationship. For example, in one instance when the Pandits in Delhi are gathered and having coffee, one Pandit says, "Good that we left Kashmir long back, another man blurted indignantly, what did we have there that belonged to us anyway? There was no beauty at all. It was a wretched darkness. This had to happen one day. There was no trust between the Pandits and Muslims; only pretence" (89). Such narratives of admission and pretence bring us back to the question which I raised in the beginning of this chapter, that the syncretic relationship is a myth. As Somjyoti Mridha writes in her article "Memories of home and Persecution: A study of Recent Kashmiri Pandit narratives", that:

> One of the key features of Pandit narratives is to posit the Kashmiri Muslims not only as the 'Other' but also as the enemy of the Hindu community. The armed conflict since 1989 widened the gulf between the communities further but even earlier the notion of Muslims as the enemy appears to be very much a part and parcel of Pandit psyche (51).

Gigoo's book is mainly about the Kashmiri Pandits, located in Jammu, who have lost their homeland and are now living alongside their new neighbours in other parts they have not forgot the memories of the homeland. This homeland is sometimes sketched as a beautiful picture and sometimes an unbearable place. Both the descriptions of Kashmir are apt about what Kashmir is. It is a beautiful land full of horrors, this is reinforced in almost every page of the text by the protagonist Sridar who time travels from past to present.

Contrary to *Garden of Solitude*, based on the exile and nostalgia of Kashmiri Pandits, Mirza Waheed's *The Collaborator* is set in the early 1990s Kashmir valley. The book is first of its kind that started a narrative about a lesser known community – Gujjar community, who have been ill-treated by both Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits over the years, intertwined with the Gujjar story are the sufferings of majority Muslim community and minority Hindu community. The text oscillates between the psyche of the un-named protagonist, representing the Gujjars of Kashmir and the greater Muslim community of Kashmir. Perhaps the reason of not naming the protagonist is a deliberate attempt to highlight the condition of Gujjar's and the identity formation of Muslims living under the shadow of the gun. The text reminds the readers that if a Kashmiri does not have an identification card he/she simply does not exist. As the protagonist says,

"At first I was surprised that they should carry identification, but then, everyone in Kashmir has to, even the militants. You simply do not exist if you don't have an ID card on you" (14). By making 'Nowgam' the locale of the novel, Waheed, perhaps is tries to peep into both parts of the Kashmir that are divided by the Line of Control. Nowgam is not an ordinary Kashmiri village, it is a village of Gujjar's, who were nomads a few decades ago, but have now become the settlers in the land which lies on the mountainous terrain between India and Pakistan.

Nowgam becomes an important village because of its geographical location. Thus, the protagonist who lives in the village becomes the victim of the system; not because he wants to do the job he is assigned, to collect the identity cards of people killed while crossing the line, but because he has no other option but to collaborate with the system that he hates. Through him we come to know the past and the present condition of Kashmir. He tries to reason with self to figure out why he has been chosen for the job that he dreads to do. He says:

> No one bothered us then, probably no one ever noticed. It was like our own private patch; during summer vacations we would play cricket and fool around all day in this scheduled playground of ours. You could see many pickets on either side of the valley even then, far off, like outline sketches on a school drawing, but that was all you could see. Anyhow, it is not like the Army wants to send me down only because they know I have been there before, they'd do it anyway (Waheed 4).

This description of past and present is the nostalgia of the peace, the peace that has been ruined by the insurgency and the militarization. It also acts as a foreground to the fact

that the Kashmiri identity has become irrelevant to the past. The new rulers of the land have the capacity to change the identity by making a poor boy do a job that his consciousness does not allow. He speaks about the inabilities of the people to do what they want to do and on the contrary talks about what they are supposed to do. His decision is irrelevant but what is relevant are the words of Captain Kadian under whose jurisdiction Nowgam falls.

Like Gigoo, Waheed bring the elements of longing and past memories. These memories of past are reflected through the Bollywood songs in the text. Hussain's songs, the protagonist's childhood friend, bring the association of people who used to live together in past and are now divided between the two parts of erstwhile Jammu and Kashmir. The Bollywood songs used in the text are the celebration of the beauty of the landscape and the movements of peace when fear and loathing was not the norm. Hussain's songs are the reminders of the past. Hussain is used as an example of thousands of those people who left the valley and went for arms training to fight against the Indian military. Such stories of friends crossing over to other side are used as manifestations of resistance that the young took as a challenge in the initial years of militancy. These stories are also the reminder of the fact that these young men were mostly forced to take such steps, it was the compulsion but not the choice, as he narrates:

> I'd heard the stories of how hundreds of young men – excited, idealistic teenagers; hurt, angry boys wronged by police or army action; vengeful brothers with raped sisters and mothers at home . . . had been leaving home everywhere and joining Movement by walking the perilous walk

> across the border to receive arms training and return as militants, as freedom fighters (24).

Although there is some kind of glorification associated with becoming a freedom fighter but the protagonist's friends who have travelled the line of control for arms training, makes him sick. He always lives in a perpetual fear that one day he will see their dead bodies. Hussain, becomes the embodiment of this pain after his crossing over the line that divides the two countries. His songs, are the only solace for the protagonist who looks for a day that he sees Hussain alive. The songs of mutual friendship, of mutual trust and a shared history by the members of the community.

The sense of longing – longing of the lost friends, the sense of nostalgia – the loss of losing the neighbours and friends and the desire of getting back to the good olden days is equally shown with the suffering and hardships the community and communities neighbours experience on day to day basis. There are instances in the text where the violence is depicted as gruesome. The site of the violence becomes a Kashmiri body. Though such instances of violence are well document in the historical archives, the text mentions the un-marked graves found in northern parts of Kashmir. Along with these are the instances where the text looks at the disappearances of Kashmiris. For example, in the words of the narrator:

> But I do want to ask him if he's ever been down there. And I really wonder sometimes how many there are? Thousands, two there five thousand… so this is where all the missing go, all the disappeared go? That is where they can all be found, then? I find myself mustering the courage to ask … one could say that, but

> remember, this is not the only pass they use to cross the border…. These people need burials and that is what we give them (Waheed 9).

Recent scholarship has found that the instances of violence, torture and enforced disappearances are wide spread in Kashmir. However, it is worth mentioning here that all such allegations are rejected by the Indian state. These cases have been documented by different human rights groups and independent organisations. According to report published by Jammu Kashmir Collation of Civil Society (JKCCS), The government has been in a mode of denial regarding the allegations of Human rights in Kashmir. Its report published on its website mentions:

> The Indian State has remained in denial of the ongoing international movement against enforced disappearances. Following the commission of widespread and systematic enforced disappearances, the Indian State has chosen to protect itself and its own forces by disregarding the very existence of the crime itself. The number of fully documented cases today in Jammu and Kashmir stands at 1519. According to conservative estimates, and extrapolating from existing documentation, more than 8000 people have been subject to enforced disappearances in Jammu and Kashmir since 1989. There are 7000+ unmarked and mass graves in Jammu and Kashmir ("Indian State and J&K Government in Denial of Phenomenon of Enforced Disappearances in Jammu and Kashmir").

Waheed's protagonist is held between his association with Captain Kadian and his loyalty to Kashmir. He lives in a perpetual dilemma of choosing between the two.

At times, he thinks of Killing Captain Kadian but soon realises that he cannot kill a human being. He hates Captain Kadian but still continues to work for him. He tries to flee from Captian Kadian's captivity but fails. Captivity here is used as an exaggeration for the choicelessness. Even though the protagonist is not in the physical captivity but he feels chained in the system whose master is Kadian, he says:

> My friends, all my friends, went away too, and God only knows if they will ever come back. Not many do, you see, and those who do, don't live very long here. Because the Army people, the protectors of the land, have decided that there is only one way of dealing with the boys: catch and kill, catch and kill. I therefore ended up staying with my parents and their cattle. I stayed on in the valley, and in the end came to own it all by myself (Waheed 7).

The text also mentions what the women of Kashmir went through in these hard times. For example, we see women beggars in the novel, but these women are not begging for money. They have a different request to make to the people who can help them. They beg for milk for feeding their children. The text makes it clear that it is because of the long curfews that these women are unable to procure any baby food. The scarcity of the food forces them to beg, beg in the land that is known for its generosity.

> There were ten or twelve of them, all the same colour, a jaundiced pale. They were certainly not from the neighbourhood. Their clothes had the distinct stamp of a relatively prosperous life. Baba put his hand on one

> of the younger girl's shoulders and said, . . . I will do everything to help. . . . the first women whispered . . . we have come from far, far away, we have been in curfew for more than three months now, the Army is everywhere and all around, there's nothing to eat. . . . we don't need anything for ourselves . . . it is for our children that we have come this far (179 - 180).

The description of the scene is horrific yet looks real, for long curfews are a norm in Kashmir.

The text takes us to all those areas which have faced repression during the last three decades. The fear, the loathing is vivid in description so are the instances of memory and longing. Longing for a peace that Kashmiris are yearning for years. However, the last scene of the texts is chilling when the narrator stands around a pile of bodies, bodies of young teenage youth who lost their lives not to the conflict but because of the conflict. As he approaches them he feels a chill in his spine but all he can think of is how to overcome his fear. He tries to give them a decent burial but fails to do so, as there are many of them which he can't bury alone. So, he decides to cremate them. He gathers them all, sprinkles kerosene on them and puts them on fire, and then gathers the courage to offer them ritualistic prayer that Muslims give to dead people, he says: "I stand up at once then, and gently, piously, raise my hands in front of me, spread sideways and joined together in the middle, side to side, little finger to little finger, forming a large, arching cusp. My hands tremble a little . . . the eyes burn" (303). One can read this as an instance of substitution of identities. For he being Muslim

does not bury the dead but cremates them. Or perhaps Waheed in his end wants to say that the fire that has engulfed the beautiful landscape is burning and continues to burn.

The Collaborator does provide an alternate narrative on Kashmir, as opposed to the writings on Kashmir from either side of the border. Kashmir as seen in Indian writings comes out to be an enemy within the country whereas, it is depicted as a strategic asset from a Pakistani point of view. The novel breaks these dominant narratives of enemy/terrorist and strategic asset through which Kashmir has been disseminated through the years post the division of British India. It shows the pain, the anger, the compassion that the people of the land have for the resilience and resistance. It throws away the rhetorical posturing of both nation states to look into what is happening in Kashmir. Nevertheless, Waheed's novel remains a masculinized story of Kashmir where women are mere spectators and don't have a role to play. The fact is that only the mother of the protagonist is a continuous character of the novel, however, she has been muted throughout. All she does is lament at the loss of her motherland. She seldom speaks in the novel and as per the protagonist's narration she does not venture out of the house. He says, "Ma hasn't gone out in the last couple of years, apart from collecting firewood.… I can't believe it—all these months and she's perfectly at peace with this life" (Waheed 43).

The role of Patriarchy is so evident in the novel that there is hardly a mention where women have an agency of their own. Even all the people who die in the bloody battle between Captain Kadian's forces and Kashmiri Militants are men. This assumption suggests that women have not been the causality in the bloody war of Kashmir and also furthermore suggests as if they have not been part of the struggle

which every common Kashmiri does on a regular basis. If India and its manifestations have oppressed the Kashmir and Kashmiris, women are doubly burdened by oppression and patriarchy. Even though if the women's issues are raised in the novel they are raised in relation to the men folks. The women of Poshpur, who have been raped by Indian Army find a mention only in relation to the men of Poshpur.

> "All the boys…are gone, gone, no one left in the village, it's empty now, all empty! It's all happening, dear, happening everywhere….the story of the sixteen boys (some said twenty, some thirty) who had apparently disappeared together…soon after all the women there had been raped in a night-long raid by Indian soldiers" (Waheed 24-25).

If they find mention they do so only after men folks of the village. The government officials soon declare that such an incident never happened, they even go further and maintain such a village does not exist in Kashmir.

> [P]erhaps a little annoyed for the first time I'd read this in newspaper report, and had then also listened to the Government's blanket denial that any such incident had ever taken place. A brand new Minister for Kashmir Affairs from Delhi was also quoted as saying that no place by the name of Poshpur ever existed on the map! (Waheed 26).

The fictional village of Poshpur in the novel can well be the actual village of Kunan Poshpora in Kupwara where women were en-masse raped and not a single Army man has been punished till date. The portrayal of protagonists' mother also throws light at

the misplacement of women in the society through the military apparatus and patriarchy. His mother does not feel the same as she used to before the bloody war started. She does not go out, mostly remains silent and indoor. She remains as a mute spectator to the events that unfold in front of her eyes but she has no agency to voice her voice. Her voicelessness becomes more evident when all the folks in the village decide to migrate for a better future. Her husband, who is also the Headman of the villages decides against. Even though she desperately wants to leave the village for the safety of her son her plea falls on the deaf ears of her husband.

> When everyone left, Baba had made his decision known ever so firmly, and neither Ma nor I could question it. But now may be it's time to quit, may be that's what Ma also wants, to leave, to runaway, to escape her prison of loneliness. She hasn't seen another woman for more than a year now. Ma's stories dried up sometime ago (Waheed 113).

The treatment of women in both Waheed's *The Colloborator* and Gigoo's *The Garden of Solitude* remains almost same. Women characters are very marginal, they always remain at the periphery where they have not much of a say in the society or at home. Although both the writers have captured the pain and agony they had to undergo in the turmoil but both of them have made them inconsequential characters in their respective novels.

On the other hand, Shahnaz Bashir's novel, *The Half Mother* is the struggle of a mother to find his son who disappears after the security forces take him into their

custody. The novel revolves round Haleema who is forced to take a new identity, a new name, a new term – 'Half Mother' by her constant effort to find his missing son. Haleema's quest for her missing son is the quest of a mother and that of not a 'half mother'. Haleema, becomes the persona who everyone looks to when they have a relative missing. She becomes the symbol of resistance, of courage and in becoming so she becomes the ambassador of all those people who have lost their kin to this bloody conflict. Writing about the enforced disappearances and *Half Mother* Natasha Kaul writes:

> The women of Kashmir are in the tens of thousands of widows and half-widows; wives of killed and disappeared men; as well as mothers and grandmothers of missing children. Vulnerable, often impoverished, the sorrows, struggles and humiliation of these women of Kashmir are a catalogue of charges against the occupation of Kashmir (Kaul 253).

Haleema's struggle is representative of the struggles of common Kashmiri women who have been the worst victims of the turmoil. Haleema's struggles continue from the moment she is married; first through the patriarchy then through the manifestations of Indian Military state. Haleema is divorced just after three months of her marriage and she soon finds out that she is pregnant. Her struggle starts as a single mother and ends as a mother in search of her missing son. Her struggle continues as she isn't sure whether her son is alive or dead. Unlike *The collaborator* and *The Garden of Solititude,* Shahnaz's *the Half Mother* does not deal with the migration or exodus of any community. But commits to bring out the troubles faced by the women folk of Kashmir.

Even though she does not get any news about her son but the hope of reunion never ceases. In his Book review "The Half Mother is a story Kashmiris Know" Fahad shah writes:

> She moves, runs, walks, prays, and lives hoping that Imran will be with her again. Then one day, she looks into a mirror and realises that time has passed and she is getting old: Imran hasn't returned; perhaps, he never will; perhaps life was just a dream; perhaps it was not her life but a nightmare that she couldn't have imagined when Imran's infant babble had made her smile (Shah n.p).

In comparison, the novel makes an attempt to show that women have equally suffered and fought for the rights, as have men. We are soon told about the first women who was beaten by security forces in her own compound, "Shafiq's Daughter Rukhsana became the first women in the neighbourhood to be beaten, in her own compound. Her parents were tied with ropes and made to see their daughter being stripped by a trooper" (Bashir 32).

The novel does bring to fore the struggles that women play in everyday turmoil hit Kashmir. They fight and resist in the same way as men yet their stories are hidden. The novel highlights the plight and the struggle of the women of Kashmir valley.

Apart from the fictional narratives an archive has been produced in the forms of documentaries, arts, music and memoirs. These archives bring out the horrors of the people who live in Kashmir. Their pain, suffering, agony etc. I will look here at one such book which came out in 2009. The book documents mostly the survivor narratives

and therefore tends to become a bit authentic. *Curfewed Night*, the first of its kind in non-fictional genre came from Kashmiri author Basharat Peer. Peer's books peeps into the lives of ordinary Kashmiris and bring in the accounts of daily humiliation, torture, repression in the war-torn state. The book can be taken as a testimony of a survivor who went on to show the ugly face of war in Kashmir. This section looks at memoirs as survivor narratives as they are written by people who speak of the memories of occurrences that have 'traumatically fractured what people new to be their life' (Nayar 15). The idea to incorporate these narratives with the section of fictional work so as to bring out and document pain as collective condition of the society.

Peers book is set in the early 1990s when the armed struggle starts in the Jammu and Kashmir. Peer, unlike *Our Moon has Blood Clots* by Rahul Pandita does not go deep into the historicity of the Kashmir to prove his point. What he does instead is that he brings out the ugly face of the manifestations of the bloody conflict. Pandita on the other hand gives us the fractured history of Kashmir to prove his point of good and bad Kashmiris. The history reproduced in *Our Moon has Blood Clots* is a contested one and does not find resonance in most historical studies on Kashmir. For Peer, chronicles of everyday life are more important than anything else. For him, individual stories are more important as these stories are that of experience and subjugation. He not only writes about the physical torture of the people but documents mental torture that the people have to go through. Peer's text becomes more important because of two reasons; firstly, it came at a time when no Kashmiri had written a chronicle of Kashmiri experiences. He opened the discourse on so many issues which had remained sealed under the carpet, some for the simple reason of societal shame and some because the

state never wanted those narratives to come out. Secondly, Peer writes about the spectrum of issues, bureaucracy, militancy, militarization which had not till then come under one book. He writes about politicians, about torture centres, about beautiful villages and about Sufi shrines decimated in bomb blasts. His narrative is a compilation of thousands of testimonies of rape and torture of ordinary Kashmiris. In his testimony of Hussein, Peer writes:

> [We] were taken to tiny tin sheds lit by bright electric lamps for interrogation. 'I was asked to undress, be naked/ the first time I resisted I was beaten . . . They tied copper wire to my arms and gave me electric shocks, I could not even scream… 'you cannot bear pain beyond a point (Peer 150).

Peer just does not stop at the torture Hussein was given in the camp but goes on to say that he became impotent and could not marry afterwards. Such stories have been rampant in the valley post 1989. These physiological trauma stories remain closed under the four walls of house. His interviews with people who became impotent at the hands of state are chilling and a reminder to the civil society that Kashmir is not just a body to inflict pain but it is; a body of a human who has every right to live a dignified life.

In any conflict zone women are the worst victims. Women of Kashmir are no exception to the victimization. They faced wrath from the state and non-state actors. Peer documents on such story where a bride was raped by paramilitary soldiers. While talking to Mubeena, Peer pens down her story:

> No more bullets were fired to the bus fifteen minutes later… Mubeena stood along with her bridesmaid and others by the roadside. She was bleeding when a group of soldiers dragged her and the chambermaid to the mustard fields beside the road. An unknown number of BSF men raped the two injured women. 'I could not even remember how many they were. I had lost my senses,' Mubeena said (Peer 158).

In documenting the rape of women Peer does not stop but goes on and collects the stories from nooks and corners of Kashmir. Such testimonies have a power to alter the narrative that has been built mostly by state sponsored propaganda. Such a propaganda has denied women any voice in the valley and no one has heard their cries. By erasing the truth what state achieves is a false narrative that shams the victim but not the perpetrator.

Curfewed Night is the account that majorly talks about the hardships, the fights that Kashmiris are fighting every day. Rahul Pandita's book *Our Moon Has Blood Clots* outlines the struggles, the problems and the pain of Kashmiri Pandits living in Jammu. Although they are representative texts of individual communities but there are instances where this pain is sketched as a commonality between both communities. If Muslim Kashmir women were subjected to pain so were the Pandit women, similarly if Muslims of Kashmir were killed in the conflict so were the Pandits. One can argue, and make a case about the number of killings or rapes both the communities suffered and get a different picture. But as I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter that quantifying pain and troubles on the basis of statistical data is not only ethically wrong but morally

wrong. For pain and suffering are to be taken as they are and not what is the amount of pain a body receives.

If there are similarities between these narratives, there are differences too. The beauty of the truth lies in it pluralism and not in its singularity. All these works therefore are a collective effort of the community to show to the world the horrors of conflict. These are the instances which these writers have decided to write in order not to bring a homogenous reality but to show the realities that lie within this conflict. For example, Both Gigoo and Pandita are of the opinion that if Islamization was one of the reasons of their exodus from Kashmir, Pandits soon fell to right-wing ideology when they took refuge in the plains. These narratives, therefore are taken as the narratives of history, keeping their historical background in mind.

Works Cited:

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. "Transcript of 'The Danger of a Single Story.'" N.p., n.d. Web. 18 Dec. 2016.

Aggarwal, Neil. "Kashmiriyat as Empty Signifier." *Interventions* 10.2 (2008): 222–235. *Taylor and Francis*. Web. 12 Jun. 2015.

Agha, Shahid Ali. *The Country Without a Post Office: Poems 1991-1995*. Orient Blackswan, 2000. Print

---. *The Veiled Suite: The Collected Poems*. Penguin Books India, 2009. Print.

Barbour, John D. "Edward Said and The Space of Exile." *Literature and Theology* 21.3 (2007): 293–301. Print.

Bashir, Shahnaz. *The Half Mother: A Novel*. Hachette India, 2014. Print.

Bloom, Harold. *Asian-American Writers*. Infobase Publishing, 2009. Print.

Dey, Ishita. "An Interview with Ved Bhasin on Forced Migration in Jammu and Kashmir." *Refugee Watch*. Dec. 2010. N.p., n.d. Web. 15 Feb. 2015.

Kaul. "Everything I Cannot Tell You About the Women of Kashmir." *Of Occupation and Resistance*. Ed. Fahad Shah. Westland, 2013. Print.

Nayar. "The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence." *The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence*. Ed. Om Prakash Dwivedi. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. Print.

Parnwell, Mike. *Population Movements and the Third World*. Routledge, 2006. Print.

Peer, Basharat. *Curfewed Night*. Random House India, 2011. Print.

Rai, Mridu. *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2004. Print.

Rushdie, Salman. *Shalimar The Clown*. Random House, 2008. Print.

Said, Edward W. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Harvard University Press, 2000. Print.

Sarkar, Saurav. "Crisis of National Identity in Agha Shahid Ali's Postcard from Kashmir." n. pag. *www.academia.edu*. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Shah, Fahad. "Book Review: The Half Mother Is a Story Kashmiris Know." *http://www.hindustantimes.com/*. N.p., 11 Oct. 2014. Web.

Waheed, Mirza. *The Collaborator*. Penguin UK, 2011. Print.

.

Chapter IV

Bollywood and Kashmir: (Mis)Representation and Resistance

When on the secret highways of young blood we set out

Clutching at our garments, how many laid their hands;

From the adobe of beauty's impatient dreamlands

How many arms beckoned, bodies called out

- Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Tanslated by Sarvat Rahman.

The Indian mainstream cinema or more precisely Bollywood has for long, now, projected Kashmir as a beautiful, idyllic, and more importantly an eroticized landscape. This projection or eroticization has for years shaped the minds and socio-political imagination of Indian population. This representation has "trapped the Kashmir Valley in the amber of cinematic excess, thickened by subsequent nostalgia" (Kabir, 84). This cinematic representation has also reaffirmed and reproduced a relationship between the Indian cine goers and Kashmir even if it is "increasingly tortured" (84). While the eroticised landscape has been the major subject of Indian cinema since 1960s the trend changed after 1990. As Shoba Shard Rajgopal in her article "Bollywood and

neonationalism: The emergence of nativism as the norm in Indian conventional cinema" argues that '[t]he 1990s have gone down in history as the decade of the resurgence of nationalism – both in Europe and in South Asia – of the Balkan wars, and the communal riots that turned large parts of northern India into an inferno, through horrific images seared into the consciousness of viewers' (237). It is against this backdrop of nationalism and neonationalism I will be looking at some of the prominent Bollywood movies after 1989 to analyse and access how they have shaped the popular imagination in the psyche of Indian nation state. These movies will also be analysed to understand how has the projection or representation been received within and outside Kashmir and also how have these movies treated the subject of Migration, exile, nostalgia and violence.

This chapter, therefore, engages with Bollywood's representation of Kashmir and Kashmiris over the last five decades in general and in last two decades in particular, and Kashmir's resistance to those representations. This chapter argues that these historical and current representations of Kashmir can also be viewed through the lens of cultural studies which covers a broad spectrum of diverse areas including popular culture. This chapter would, therefore, look at this "turbulent and tragic history" through the ways Bollywood has represented Kashmir and Kashmiris over the years and the ways Kashmiris have perceived themselves within and outside this representation This then entails a parallel interpretation of "texts" and "co-texts" [i] for such an interpretation not only uncovers the hidden and the apparent but also what is represented, unrepresented and misrepresented as well. Since representations are not innocent reflections of the real but are cultural constructions, they could be otherwise than how they appear to us. Here representations are intrinsically bound up with

questions of power through the process of selection and organization that must inevitably be a part of the formation of representations (Barker 177). And it is precisely what is involved in this 'politics of representation' that I intend to locate in the Bollywood's representations of both Kashmir and Kashmiris.

This chapter is primarily concerned with the study of cinematic texts. They are the films produced primarily after 1989, however references will be made to the films produced during the decades of the 1960s to 1980, which depict Kashmir/Kashmiri and deal directly or indirectly with the political situation in Jammu and Kashmir. These texts will be analysed in order to study how they construct Kashmir(i). This will be done by employing conceptual framework drawn from various fields such as New Historicism and cultural studies. The New Historicist idea of the "co-text' shall help me read the movies within their historicity that could be located in the different historical documents of and about Kashmir. I draw the notion of the "text" and the "co-text" from the late twentieth century literary moment called New Historicism: a "Method based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts" (Barry 9) without the traditional foregrounding of the one against the other. This is to say that the New Historicists do not acknowledge an apparent difference between the literary and the non-literary, which is consciously reflected in the definition of New Historicism offered by the American critic Louis Montrose; he defines it as a combined interest in the "textuality of history, the historicity of texts" (qtd. in Barry 9). It involves "an intensified willingness to read all of the textual traces of the past with the attention traditionally conferred only on the literary texts" (qtd in McDonald 18). Since these historical texts are not subordinate, they are analysed in their own right, Barry calls

them "co-texts". The "texts" in this research would include the Kashmir movies of Bollywood[ii] produced during the last six decades; the "co-texts" would be the local narratives of self-expression and representation embedded in social, cultural but more markedly in political expressions at self-representation by Kashmiris particularly during the last six decades of Kashmir history.

Since its controversial[iii] integration within the Indian nation state in 1947, Kashmir has been an intensely debated topic in many spheres of national activity. Fascinated by Kashmir's beauty and the temperate climate that it offered against the scorching heat of central India, Mughals turned the Valley into their summer capital. Jahangir, the famous Mughal Emperor, was so fascinated and moved by the bewitching landscape of Kashmir that he built 600 gardens during his reign in Kashmir. Consequently, Kashmir became famous as a "happy land" and as the "Paradise on Earth" (Rai 23) which consequently became a primary motivation for "others"[iv] to invade Kashmir. The beauty of Kashmir was, however, not commodified into tourist images until the famous colonial photographers Bourne and Burke, through their travelogues which carried visual description of the Kashmir Valley, disseminated it into the vast British Empire (Khan N.pag.). This imaginary depiction of Kashmir from the colonial past to the neo-colonial present has thus far remained same even though "Kashmir has actually moved from a romanticised space of the colonial past to a 'strange confined space' of the 'neo-colonial' present" (Ahmad, 168). Interest in Kashmir was further complicated by the intervention of colonial Indologists who discovered in Kashmir an antique Sanskrit land and culture. It was to this pastoral, yet antique land that Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, turned to discover his sense of the new found Indian nation. He began and ended his

The Discovery of India by references to Kashmir and how important it was for him to imagine Kashmir the way he did in line, probably, with the famous Mughal Emperor Jahangir's appellation about Kashmir being a "Paradise on Earth" and the colonial ascription of it as antique land rich in Sanskrit culture.

It was this discourse about Kashmir that Bollywood inherited and carried forward in presenting Kashmir as an idyllic pastoral fantasy for "others". Bollywood's "Kashmir Movies"[v] of the 1960s and the 1970s are a visual manifestation of this inheritance in which the ordinary Kashmiri[vi], although not always marked by religious markers which is in line with the Nehruvian vision of secular India, is presented as a bumpkin who must fall for a girl-from-the-plains (for example, *Jab Jab Phool Khile*, dir. Suraj Prakash, 1965) and then live perpetually in pain when she returns back to the plains. What is important in these movies is the romance plot being played out in the "Paradise on Earth". During the late 1970s and 1980s, the Valley was reduced by Bollywood to a visual backdrop for its romantic song sequences. From the 1990s onwards, however, Bollywood's renewed interest in Kashmir manifests a remarkable change in the way both Kashmir and Kashmiris are presented for national consumption. A visible index of this difference between the 1960s films and the recent Kashmir films of the 1990s (for example *Mission Kashmir*, dir. Vidhu Vinod Chopra, 2000) onwards is the latter's foregrounding of the Kashmiri as Muslim, engaged in a dialectic relationship with both Islam within India and the Indian nation-state. It is this dualistic representation of Kashmiris that this chapter sets out to interrogate. I would argue how these practices constructed the paradisiacal beauty of Kashmir for the pleasure of others and consequently for the tourism economy. My point of departure, however, would be

that this paradise has always been presented as fetish[vii], thereby averting the gaze from the fundamental lack that has always been dangerous to face. The objective is to undo the fetishisation of Kashmir and return the gaze to what lacks in the discourse around Kashmir.

Before I move further, it seems necessary to give a brief background of some interrelated issues, the understanding of which is crucial for my arguments: how media representations influence our perception of reality through creating a visual discourse; how Bollywood has been an instrument in forging a national identity and has also been influenced by dominant political ideologies; how Bollywood's obsession with Kashmir has been the consequence of some historically complicated issues like the colonial photographic adventure, indological research, collaborative discursive practices by the colonial and Dogra rulers, and Nehru's sense of modern Indian nation and how he projected Kashmir in that image. I will explain how these diverse areas get yoked together in Bollywood's appropriation of Kashmir in the movies of 1960s and onward.

Indian cinema has dominated the imagination of subcontinent since last seventy years are so. The Indian cinema industry, most commonly known as Bollywood (although Bollywood represents Hindi film industry alone which was formerly called Hindi Cinema), is the world's largest film industry in terms of the number of films produced, though not for its financial returns (Dwyer N.pag.).

The Bollywood cinema is one of the powerful media institutions not only in India but in the whole subcontinent. Sudhir Kakar calls Bollywood as the "major shaper of an emerging Pan-Indian popular culture" (26). Such writers have often focused on how Bollywood not just constructed but also fuelled a sense of secular national identity.

Visvanathan, for instance, refers to the first "Bombay Talkies" as relief from the divisiveness of the Partition, allowing Hindus and Muslims to claim Indian identity: "Our films were not a modernist appeal to liberty, equality and fraternity but to its more collective variant of unity, diversity and integrity not within a closed universe, but with a cosmopolitan vision of the world" ("Popcorn Nationalism"). Not all agree though. Another critic, Shahnaz Khan argues that Bollywood has long projected a "strategic sense of nationalism" (85-99) which has created a linear narrative of Hindu supremacy and individual class struggles which overlap with social constructions of religious differences identified in communal terms. She gives the example of the way in which the Muslim minority is articulated in Bollywood and the country's relationship with Pakistan (where incidentally, Bollywood movies are a big craze) mark crucial components of this uneasy and complex process.

One cannot deny that some Bollywood movies are totally nationalistic in their tone, which includes movies like *Border, Pukaar Gadar, LOC, Hindustan Ki Kasam, Maa Tujhe Salaam, Sarfarosh*. Nationalism in these movies is often presented as being anti-Pakistan. Nayar is not wrong when he says that these movies use "the form and style of a war movie and evoke a strong emotional response from the audience for its virulent Pak-bashing" (N.pag). In the 1990s, then, this "Pak-bashing" was clearly evident through use of provocative dialogues against Pakistan by the actors of these movies. While *LOC* and *Border* were nationalist with "subtle" tendencies of anti-Pak sentiments, Sarfarosh*, Maa Tujhe Salaam, Hindustan Ki Kasam* and *Gadar* were openly anti-Pakistan. While in earlier movies, there was no mention of Pakistan, in these movies Pakistan was unambiguously shown as the other. A perfect illustration of

the nationalistic tone of the movie was the dialogue from *Gadar*, "*Beta baap se nikalta hai. Hindustan Pakistan ka baap hai"* (A son is the creation of his father. India is the father of Pakistan). In *Maa Tujhe Salaam*, there is a dialogue "*Dhoodh maango gey to kheer denge, Kashmir maango gey to cheer denge.*" (If you ask for rice we'll give you rice pudding, if you ask for Kashmir we'll cut you into pieces). Interestingly enough, these movies seem to have been backed by the then BJP government. The then Deputy Prime Minister of India, L.K. Advani personally intervened to ensure that certain dialogues remained a part of the *Pukaar* movie such as the one which allude to finishing of Pakistan within seven days[viii] Similarly, *Sarfarosh,* first movie to name Pakistan as the enemy, got tax exemptions from the BJP government as did *Roja*. Both L. K. Advani, and A. B. Vajpayee, the then Prime Minister also made it a point to go for the premiere of the movie *LOC Kargil* (2003) based on the Kargil war. If these movies defined the contours of nationalism, they also defined Muslim as the new threat of this nationalism by depicting them as terrorists and Pro-Pakistani. If, as Arun Venugopal opines, "In Indian movies, the terrorist isn't some veiled abstraction: He's your brother (*Fiza,* 2000) or house guest (*Black and White*, 2008) or the woman you couldn't live without (*Dil Se*, 1998)" (Venugopal, "The Terror of Bollywood"), "it should be added that in all these "terrorist" films, apart from *Dil Se*, the terrorist protagonist is Muslim" (Kabir, 374). This othering of Muslims becomes doubly visible in the way Bollywood has been representing Kashmiri Muslims. It is evident, however, that media not only influences our perception of the world outside, but also influences the way we decide or take positions on what is being represented. As a dominating media institution in India, Bollywood's influence cannot be underestimated. Also, the way Bollywood

fosters nationalism, and the way politics and cinema are intertwined in India suggest that Bollywood's representation cannot be neutral and objective. This will also be evident in how Bollywood has represented Kashmir/i over the years.

While Bollywood has long projected Kashmir as the "eroticized landscape of the mind in the social imaginary of Indians" (Chakravarty 209), it was, as I mentioned earlier, an inheritance they shared with the larger nation state of India via her legacy of British Colonialism. If cinema is made up of a series of individual still images, then, it is worthwhile to invoke the history of the photographic gaze in Kashmir itself to throw light on not merely Indian's then emergent modernity but also on the antecedents to her discrepant modernities, and thereby of Bollywood's assimilation of those counter modernities in its construction of Kashmir/i.

The Valley of Kashmir has been the earliest and the most frequently photographed landscape in South Asia (Khan). During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the politics of British imperial adventure known as the Great Game[ix] combined with Kashmir's location at the demographic, cultural and geographic heart of the newly cobbled together princely state, to make it particularly appropriate to the "allied adventure of photography" (Khan, 61). In the 1860s, the adventurer-photographers Samuel Bourne and John Burke first entered the Valley with an unwieldy yet heroic assortment of glass plates, chemicals, portable darkrooms, and other essentials of the photographic endeavour, thus inaugurating the imperial fascination with photographing of Kashmir. Bourne writes of the first glimpse of the valley thus:

> My first glimpse of the Vale of Kashmir, which stretched away to the north like a level plain, with here and there a bright shining patch shining through the haze, like silver, the reflections from

> the sheets of water. Bounding the Valley on the west were seen the snowy slopes of the great pir panjal range, forming almost from the spot where I stood, an unbroken line of snow-clad peaks till hidden from view by the haze of distance. To the right, other pyramids of snow rose on the view in glorious and boundless succession…What a scene was the whole to look upon; and what a puny thing I felt standing of that crest of snow!- a mere atom, and scarcely that, in so splendid a world! (qtd in Kabir 63).

Bourne took hundreds of photographs in the Valley and sent them to England and to the vast colonial British Empire and soon this 'so splendid a world', together with John Burke's dynamic photographs of the 'remnants of Kashmir's ancient civilization, art and artifacts', was to become a territory of desire for most Europeans and their colonial subjects as they encountered the 'witchery of lake and mountains' and remains of the ancient civilization it offered through travel catalogues, published by these photographer's respective firms which carried long visual descriptions supported by the photographs of the Valley. Although, they were not the first to send dispatches of the Kashmir beauty to the outside world, the Mughals had done it before through their widely acknowledged landscape paintings and travel writings. It is this value which turned Kashmir into a coveted tourist destination worldwide. Soon, as Mridu Rai reminds us, the British started visiting Kashmir for recreation and Gulmarg became their particular centre of attraction as well as administration. After Kashmir acceded with India in 1947, this "witchery of the Lake and the Mountains" was transformed into visual value through Bollywood starting in the 1960s with a series of "Kashmir films", which not only highlighted this "Paradise" as a jewel in the national crown, staging

national pride and fame. This is needless to add that soon after the Kashmir movies of 1960s, a lot of tourists from all parts of the India flocked into Kashmir (Thomas N.pag). However, there seems more to the Indian fascination and desire for Kashmir than its mimetic capital, soothing weather and its visual scenery.

During 1940s, the future Prime Minister of independent India and the "architect of her postcolonial modernity" (Khan 28), Jawaharlal Nehru turned to Kashmir to discover his "native land":

> All of us, I suppose have varying pictures of our native land and no two persons will think exactly alike. When I think of India, I think of many things: of broad fields dotted with innumerable small villages; of towns and cities I have visited; of the magic of the rainy season which pours like into the dry parched-up land and converts it suddenly into a glistening expanse of beauty and greenery of great rivers and following water; of the Khyber Pass in all its bleak surroundings, of the southern tip of India; of people individually and in the mass; and, above all, of the Himalayas, snowcapped, of some mountain valley in Kashmir in the spring, covered with new flowers and with a brook bubbling and gurgling through it. We make and preserve the pictures of our choice, and so I have chosen this mountain background rather than the more normal pictures of a hot, sub-tropical country. (Nehru 61-62)

Nehru's articulation of modern-yet-ancient India pivoted on the image of Kashmir in springtime framed by the snow-capped Himalayas as derived from the first

photographers of Kashmir. Thus, Nehru's candid admission that "we make and preserve pictures of our choice" reiterates not only the contractedness of writing the modern nation but also, in the case of his dream for India, the reliance of this process on the visualization of the Valley. Underlying Nehru's invocations of Kashmir in *The Discovery of India* is the powerful perception of a landscape whose desirability is intimately "connected to its organic relationship with an ancient culture" (Kabir 81), a legacy that he, again, inherited from the colonial scholarship on Kashmir: a product of collaboration between the Dogra Maharaja of Kashmir and a veritable army of European scholars who visited Kashmir from the 1870s.

This new-found scholarship was disseminated by means of Royal Dogra and Imperial publishers into the world that lay outside the boundaries of Kashmir, thereby not only adding to the desire for Kashmir in a holistic way, but also helping shape [India's] postcolonial nation's sense of self in grounding its modernity in the antiquity of Kashmir (Akbar N.pag). A necessary link in this seems Nehru's invocation to Kashmir in his *The Discovery of India* that I quoted above. This book is driven by the urgent anticolonial need to possess a vibrant concept of India that could swirl together its "physical and geographic aspects", its "past" and its place in "the modern world" (Nehru 61). An inherited idea of Kashmir manifests itself as an essential building block within this metanarrative, a Kashmir where Nehru saw "not only the life and vigour and beauty of the present, but also the memoried loveliness of the ages past"(51)… a place where "loveliness dwells and an enchantment steals over the senses" (555), a place which was soon to become the archetype of Indian's remaining spots where "we may still sense the mystery of nature, listen to the song of love and beauty, and draw vitality from it" (555). As Kabir tacitly remarks, "as postcolonial nation (India) was to

incorporate Kashmir into its geo-body of *Mother India* (Bharat Mata) by curving its borders around it, so too does Nehru discover his India by wrapping his first and final chapters of his book (Referring to *The Discovery of India*) around references to the Valley of Kashmir" (Kabir 100).

Although, amenable to all the influences including the Mughal, the Dogra, the British, and to Nehru's secularism and to the political Hinduism of various shades, the Valley of Kashmir has also been variously internalized and contested by Kashmiris who always sought to dialogue on equal terms with these outside influences. It's a historical fact that the first rebellion in Kashmir began through a subtle verbal resistance soon after Kashmir's last native king Yousuf Shah Chak was tricked by the Mughals to come for negotiations to Delhi, only to be imprisoned and exiled to Patna in Bihar ("Kashmir: a history of revolt"), where he later died. Chak's painful exile and then the poetry of loss and pain written by his peasant queen, Habba Khatoon wandering across the beautiful landscape of the valley, have always sowed the seeds of revolt and thereby of self-expression. Habba's songs, lamenting the pain and loss of Kashmir during the Mughal rule, have framed almost every indigenous discourse including the successful peasant rebellion against Dogra autocratic rule led by Sheikh Mohamamd Abdullah and his National Conference party in the 1930s and the 1940s. Kashmir's response to the Mughal rule was to use contemptuous terms like "*pogi-Mughal*, *shinhay-e-Mughal"* (ominous/ inauspicious Mughal) and ridicule their rule. This trend of self-representation through resistance and lamenting continued during the infamous Dogra, the British rule, and it still continues in the contemporary Indian rule over the Valley. However, the oral songs of Habba have taken many forms during these years – forms ranging from the street-theatre of Bhand Pather[x], to the poetry of Rehman Rahi, Dina

Nath Nadim, and Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, and to the first digital movie, Akh *Daleel Lolich* (*A Love Story*, dir. Parvez Mustaq, 2006). These forms are not only manifest in the traditional and contemporary Kashmiri poetry but also in the contemporary uses of conflict photography, in the rap songs of M.C. Kash, and in the conflict-graffiti of Kashmir. It is by invocation to these native "forms" of resistance and self-expression that I seek to interrogate the cinematic representations of the Valley: as escapist pastoral in the 1960s and the 1970s that offered "instant magic" (Kabir 45); as background for a song sequence throughout the 1980s, and finally as the troubled land of Muslim anti-national separatists from the1990s onwards.

The central questions permeating this interrogation are exactly how was that 'instant magic' concocted? How has the camera negotiated the relationship between voyeurism and tourism, between "tourists and terrorists" (Niranjana 79)? How may we calibrate Bollywood's changing relationship with the Kashmir Valley against generational changes in Kashmir's history and politics? And how may we respond to Bollywood's neglect of Kashmiris from the 1960s to the 1980s, only to cast them as Muslim terrorists and anti-nationals and pro-Pakistanis. Such questions suggest that scholarship on Bollywood's "imagined communities" requires a thorough historicization of Bollywood's Kashmir obsession. It is not enough to observe that "Kashmir as the place for honeymooners and lovers, arising no doubt from its scenic beauty, has been translated by the Bollywood film into a symbol of purity and unspoiled nature and as visual therapy for audiences coping with life in overcrowded cities and towns" (Chakravarty 209). What would have made the early 1960s a ripe moment for such "translation"? Was it the Nehruvian political ideology of a secular India that needed Kashmir not only for the manifestation of a rich ancient Hindu culture, but also

a reaffirmation of socialist Indian self by shunning its capitalist excess in the soothing influence of nature, and by projecting to the world that a Muslim dominated state can exist peacefully within the secular democracy of India. An answer lies in the disjunction between the "pure and unspoilt" Kashmir presented in films from *Junglee* onwards, and the contemporary depiction of Kashmir and its political (un)realities. Rather than assert "Kashmir's transformation of the Junglee-as-uncivilized, lacking social graces or emotions, to the junglee-as-naturally-exuberant" (Chakravarty 209) and other, I seek to interrogate the Valley's own transformation by the legacy of the movies Bollywood has produced on and about Kashmir during the last five decades.

New Historicism as a method based on the "parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts usually of the same historical period" (Barry 172) involves "an intensified willingness to read all of the textual traces of the past with the attention traditionally conferred only on literary texts" (Barry 172). As such, New Historicism is interested in history as represented and recorded in written documents, in history as text. The idea of "texts" in New Historicism is inherited and akin to Michel Foucault's idea of discourse as all pervasive. Gillian Rose defines discourse as "groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking" (136). This methodology offers a wide range of taxonomy to help engage with cinematic texts. Intertextuality is one of them, again defined by Rose as "the way that the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text or image, but also on the meanings carried by other images and texts" (191) Thus, the images of an exclusive Kashmir as pastoral idyllic land and Kashmiris as rustic buffoons in the movies of 1960s and 1970s is created by projecting the landscape of Kashmir as fetish[xi] through visual discursive practices for national consumption against

the dangerously ever growing resentment of Kashmiri people from which the cinematic gaze is averted. There is another aspect to this representation. Nationality in India is defined, within most of the cinematic texts as I discussed above, by being anti-Pakistan. As one text informs the other, associating discourse with power, Foucault identified contesting discourses within a society, all aiming for power and dominance. He regarded the dominant discourse powerful not only on the basis of its location in socially powerful institutions, but also because of their "claims about absolute truth" (qtd. in Rose 136) This claim, as Foucault suggests, lies at the intersection of power and knowledge. He considers all knowledge to be discursive, and therefore all discourse as saturated with power. Contesting claims to truth is perhaps the most prominent feature of the fascist discourse. Hitler once said: "The greater the lie, the more people believe it" (qtd. In (Read and Read N.pag).

Bollywood's extensive interest with Kashmir starts in 1961, although, as I have argued above, it has its roots elsewhere in the colonial and postcolonial India's desire of the Kashmir and the unwritten role that India ascribed to it in founding her postcolonial modernity. It was this ideologically national role that Bollywood took over in its first relationship with Kashmir. This first manifested in a protracted yell, "yahoo", and a "body-turned-projectile hurling down the snowy slopes" (Kabir 38) of the Kashmir Valley, thus inaugurating pop culture in and for India[xii]. The body and the yell belonged to the "Indian Elvis", Shammi Kapoor (Kabir, 38). The film that began it all, *Junglee* (dir. Subodh Mukherji, 1961), captured, for the first time and in colour, the Kashmir Valley and the antics of a robust Shammi Kapoor and a gamine Saira Bano. Eastmancolor provided a heightening filter for this new simultaneity of two different

pleasures: the long-acknowledged beauty of the Kashmir Valley, celebrated by North Indian plains dwellers since the Mughal Emperors (Zutshi and Rai), and the more contemporary excitements of hula-hoops, rock-and-roll and tennis whites. Several similar films followed *Junglee* during this decade and the first half of the next decade; their highly-patterned nature reminds one today of the pleasures and anxieties they solicited in order to bring forth a national audience through the affective use of the topography and landscape of the Valley. Close-ups of snow, cascading water, and meadow flowers, and panoramic panned shots of mountain ranges and pine forests, worked with songs ranging from traditional Urdu songs to the modern rock-and-roll to evoke an entire world of romance mood. Through repetition across films, views of particular Valley locations came to signify different stages of courtship: the meadows of Gulmarg and Pahalgam emerged as settings for declaration of love, while a *Shikara* ride on Dal Lake was the reciprocation of that love by the beloved. By merging love with the modern trends in clothes, hair-styles, and leisure-time-activities, these movies merged love with the creation of a cosmopolitan space for an emergent middle class where they could get the unusual ability to do a thing that they desire. By locating the Valley as the pastoral space for an entire generation to transform into a new modern youthful identity, the cinema rendered the Valley as a place where this new idea of Indian modernity would materialize.

The Kashmir movies of the 1960s are typical in a few aspects that complicate a simple boy-meets-a-girl love story: escape from conventions, and from an over-authoritative system in metropolitan cities manifested often in the character of mother, plot twists, mistaken, and concealed identities, missing children, changelings, and substituted fathers. Together these complex concoctions implicate the Valley in the

articulation of a totalizing modern subjectivity centred in the cities of the plains. A new postcolonial identity is thereby created through these films emphasizing the Valley's magical powers, and at the same time Nehru's former belief about its transformative potential for metropolitan youth. Through the heterosexual couples that are formed through these encounters on the pastoral are projected as "cleaned-out subjectivities" that must return to the plains (Kabir 40). This "cleaned-out-subjectivity" is akin to a neo-capitalist version formed by an ideal marriage between Gandhian agrarian and Nehruvian socialist impulse. While the cities of these movies are modern and westernized versions of the world, the Valley becomes a metaphor for the purity and rusticity or the pre-modern world which not only refashion the couples but also, through them when they return back to the plains, the metropolitan city and the nation as well. But while the Valley was transforming the nation in positive terms, it was ironically, at the same time, erased from its own landscape as Kashmiris never figure in these movies in their own right. When they are depicted, they are "either fools or jokers" (Waheed N.pag.) who do not possess any sense of *Kashmiriyat*[xiii] or any sense of individual identity at all.

This treatment of the Valley as space for proclamation of love for others continues till late 1980s when the Valley becomes inhospitable due to the political turmoil to Bollywood's long romance with it. When in the 1960s the future Indian audiences of popular Hindi cinema were forging a long-lasting relationship with that reaffirmed space where Jawaharlal Nehru thought, "loveliness reigns and an enchantment steals over the senses" (Nehru 20), P. N. Bazaz, the Kashmiri political activist, in a letter dated January 1962, a year after *Junglee's* release, warned Nehru

himself that "remaining complacent and reposing almost fatalistic trust in the seeming tranquillity of the [Kashmir] Valley [is] I daresay dangerously deceptive" (Bazaz 216).

However, as has been perceived in common understanding that these films are simple boy-meets-girl love stories, or a nostalgia among common Indian masses about the beauty of Kashmir valley, to me, seems problematic. I will therefore try to problematize this simple understanding and try to foreground these films as a deep project of nation building. It therefore becomes important to analyse these films through a "political, textual and symptomatic reading" (Kabir, "Nipped …" 85) The Kashmir films of 1960s not only made Kashmir as a place of 'paradise and exotica' but also increased India's 'urbanized and westernized' movie goer audience. Films like *Junglee*, *Jab Jab Phool Khile*, and *Kashmir ki Kali* not only articulated Kashmir as 'pastoral idyll' but also propagate the "myth of the nation in love with Kashmir" (Kabir, 40). Pascal Zinck notes that all this was done by recycling the "simulacra of Dal Lake's mirrored surface, Shikaras with heart shaped oars, regal Chinar tress, Gulmarg's flowering meadows and snow-capped Pir Panjal range" (Zinck, 144). Such visual representation of landscape not only produces and promotes the fetish and fantasy of India's "upwardly mobile and sexually liberated youth" (Zinck, 144), but their fantasy also disfigures Kashmir through "sanitization, de-politicization and de-historicization" (Kabir 17-18). These movies erase the Kashmiri from the gaze of Indian imagination. In other words, the fetish of exotic landscape does not require the presence of Kashmiris on celluloid.

Bollywood not only does "sanitization, de-politicization and de-historicization" of Kashmir but also engages in the project of de-territoralizing Kashmir as the locus of exoticism and innocence by shooting movies in European countries to

create the fetish of exotic landscape. It must be noted that a number of such movies have nothing to do with Kashmir as such but what is important is the fact that it does not let its audience forget the landscape which had become inaccessible to Bollywood in 1990s. The recreation of the landscape (although European) reinforces the fetish of Kashmir in the imaginary imagination of India.

What is prominent about these movies is that Kashmiri characters are more or less erased from the main plot, their presence is limited to the tourist economy gaze. These characters take the role of docile bodies who become representative images of innocence of the landscape; be it the house boat owner Raja (Shashi Kapoor) in *Jab Jab Phool Khile* or Mangloo (Mehmood) in *Aarzoo* (1965), a houseboat owner and caretaker. Raja, in *Jab Jab Phool Khile,* is portrayed as an innocent village guy who falls in love with an urban girl Rita from plains. Raja who is a poor boy, a boatman in Kashmir, falls in love with a rich Indian girl. Raja's religion is never shown overtly even though it is implied that he is a Hindu. When Rita talks about her love affair to her father and proposes that she wants to marry Raja, her father rejects the proposal on the grounds that Raja is "different." Rita, in turn, adamant to marry Raja asks him [Raja] to change his appearance and habits which Raja agrees to. The difference between Raja and Rita undercuts the idea of modernity in the imagination of nation state. Raja's simplicity, fetishized as purity, must be preserved even if Rita forces him to mould into an 'urban' citizen who can marry a big city girl. Commenting on this representation and association between the two characters Kabir in her essay "Nipped in the bud" writes:

> Unable to countenance Rita's drinking and dancing at a Bombay

> party, Raja boards a train to Kashmir; repentant Rita dashes after him, clinging on to the moving train. In what turns out to be the final shot, he scoops her up into it: an improbably swift end that highlights those very contradictions it tries to resolve. The modern Indian subject constructs and reaffirms its modernity through a Valley which itself must remain non-modern. The divergence between Kashmir and the rest of India must be emphasised and contained within nationalist discourses of 'Indianess'. While India experiments with modernity, the Kashmir Valley, and by extension, the Kashmiri indigene must of necessity remain not only the corrective measures against this modernity, but, in fact, quintessentially Indian (91).

The makeover of Raja from an innocent villager to an urbanized youth is the symptomatic assertion of assimilation of Kashmir into the Nation State. If Raja in *Jab Jab Phool Khile* has to go under transformation in order to acquire the Indianess, so that he becomes acceptable in the general imagination of Indian state, *Aarzoo's* Mangloo has been reduced to a character who has a funny accent and therefore acts as comic relief, rather as a device for furthering the plot of the story. However, what is more important in both movies is that the lead characters come for holidaying to Kashmir and instantly fall in love with the beauty of valley. It is this 'love for landscape' that forges a [mythical] relationship with Kashmir.

In contrast the 1964 film *Kashmir ki Kali* produces the first Kashmiri heroine, Champa (played by Sharmila Tagore), in the Bombay cinema[xiv]. Champa, a flower

seller is dressed in Kashmiri clothes throughout the movie. Rajiv (Shami Kapoor) who arrives in Kashmir after he leaves his Delhi home to evade a marriage that his mother has arranged immediately falls in love with Champa. Unlike *Jab Jab Phool Khile's* Raj who is "an 'authentic' Kashmiri hero, presents him as a country bumpkin and a simpleton; in the education of Raja, 'memsahib' – as he addresses Rita" (Kabir 92), *Kashmir ki Kali's* Rajiv is "hyper-masculine, aggressively confident star persona (sic) emphatically not Kashmiri, but Bollywood's generic North Indian, urban, upper-caste, male; to supplement his performative masculinity" (92).

These films expose the mutual relationship between ethnicity, gender and power relations through which Bombay cinema has disseminated the body politic of Kashmiri landscape. If the authentic Kashmiri hero in *Jab Jab Phool Khile* is portrayed as bumpkin his counterpart in *Kashmir Ki Kali* is the acceptable hero in Indian imagination. Similarly, the authentic Kashmiri heroine and North Indian hero in *Kashmir ki Kali* soon turn out to be unauthentic, as the film progresses it is revealed that it is the hero who is actually Kashmiri whereas the heroine is from the plains. *Kashmir Ki Kali*, therefore, undermines the heroine's Kashmiriness; if that is represented by dress alone, only to expose it as inauthentic. As the final revelations unfold, Rajiv turns out as indigenous Kashmiri, the son of Champa's father, and Champa turns out to be the daughter of Rajiv's supposed father. One can therefore read this production and reproduction of authentic and original as displacement and misplacement of Kashmir and Kashmiri in the imagination of Indian State. Moreover, the Kashmiri heroine in *Kashmir ki kali* is given an authentic Kashmiri costume where are the aspects of her Kashmiriness, such as language and religion are erased. This

deliberate erasure of more significant attributes not only disempower the Kashmiri body politic but also solves the issues surrounding 'national integration'. That is to say that if Raja and Champa were given their mother tongue it will somehow stand as a counter narrative to the idea of Indianess.

The cinema of 1970s to some extent continued the trend of 1960s. However, a greater difference between the two periods is that while as in 1960s some of the lead characters were presented as authentic Kashmir heroes and heroines in 1970s Kashmir surfaces more as a 'lush green paradise' with snow clapped mountains in the song sequences. Most of these films had hardly anything to offer on Kashmir, but were instrumental in the imagination of the nation state to forge a long-lasting association with the Kashmiri landscape. The scenic beauty of Kashmir is used as backdrop to most of the romantic songs of the era that reinforces the idea of 'paradise' and essentially an important part, '*Atoot Ang*' of the geo-politics of Indian nation state. For example, *Roti* (1974) starring Rajesh Khanna and Mumtaz is the story of a criminal, who escapes from jail and comes to Kashmir after apparently killing a person on the train. He takes shelter in home of the man he killed in the train to hide himself from the police, where he meets Bijli (Mumtaz) and falls in love her. *Roti* replicates the authentic Kashmiri traditional dress, *pheran*, for the lead actor Rajesh Khanna and gave Mumtaz a head scarf that is supposed to be traditional Kashmiri head dress. But like *Kashmir ki Kali* the representation turns out to be inauthentic as the *pheran,* a long clock used by Kashmiris in winter, is made into a trendy Kurta. As I have already touched upon this, such representations of displacement and misplacement of what is authentic Kashmiri and what is not is a way of influencing the imagination of people within and outside

Kashmir. It is the idea of Indian modernity that plays the detrimental role transforming, thus misplacing, the cultural dress into a trendy *Kurta* so as to fit the middle-class imagination of Indian nation state and in turn becomes acceptable to wider Indian public.

From the 1990s onwards, Bollywood's interest in Kashmir resurfaces when *Roja* (Rose, dir. Mani Ratnam, 1992), a widely-debated movie in both political and academic circles, tries a failed attempt at simulating the landscape of Kashmir but succeeded in creation of the Valley as a site for a new 'cinepatriotism' for the 'new romance of Indo-Pak war' rather than the battle of the sexes. Shot in Tamil Naidu, the movies depicts Kashmir/i as the other: a territory inhabited by the Indian army and Kashmiri terrorists, who disrupt with their heavy boots and automatic weapons its very essence. Yet critics like Niranjana, (1994) continue to take for granted that:

> The romantic song-sequence–snow-capped mountains, placid lake, green fields functions as a double allusion – allusion to loss, evoking previous Hindi films set in Kashmir (the industry now being deprived of a locale that could be used in any film to create instant magic); and indicating to the middle class tourists from other parts of India that they can no longer visit Kashmir, a place of ravishing natural beauty – as the camera insistently points out – that should be rightfully 'ours' but has now been made inaccessible by the activity of anti-nationals (80).

The religious identity becomes an essential element in depicting Kashmiri as terrorists and as anti-national. The terrorists in *Roja* are all Muslims, offering *Namaz*

(the Islamic prayer), shouting Islamic slogans and burning the national Tri-colour. This change has not only led to the marginalization of Kashmiri Muslims in India as the "doubly other" as they are Muslim as well as secessionist, together with Kashmiri demand for *Azaadi* (Freedom), but also undermined the very concept of *Kashmiriyat* (Kashmiriness) in the discourses around Kashmir, and thus presented Kashmir not only as a threat to the national integrity of the Indian nation but also to its communal harmony. As Kabir comments in a different context, any discussion of Kashmir must consider the ways in which the "interplay between the ethnic and religious identities are either erased [in the movies of 1960s and 70s][xv] or foregrounded in representing Kashmir" (376) in the movies that came after *Roja*. While the movies of the 1960s airbrushed the religious identities of Kashmiris and relied heavily on their ethnic makeup, which also, ironically enough, was a concoction of different north Indian cultures, in marked contrast the later movies are not at all coy about admitting the possibility of Kashmiri protagonists who are Muslims, terrorists, Pro-Pakistani and thus antinational. Indeed, their very Muslimness becomes the engine of narrative complications of the recent movies on Kashmir. While the Kashmiri Muslim male becomes a demonized figure in the later movies, it is very interesting to note that the female characters remain pro-India. They are meek, rustic, innocent and naturalized in the way that they become synonymous with Kashmiri culture and landscape which has been hospitable to all influences like *Kashmiriyat* itself. This, although true of male characters of the earlier movies, marks a real contrast when they are projected in the later movies as demonized while their female counterparts remain emblematic signifiers of *Kashmiriyat*. Sofi (Preity Zinta) in *Mission Kashmir* is an example.

Writing on *Roja*, Tejaswani Niranjan argues that the production and decimation of films such as Mani Rantanm's *Roja* is an attempt to erase certain minorities – Dalits and Muslims from the discourse. The erasure of minorities is the agenda of Hindutva politics in India. It furthermore creates a nationalistic fervour of the new middle class in Indian politics. She writes:

> … A cinema Hall in Hyderabad. A Telugu version of Maniratnam's *Roja* is being shown. Every show displays the 'Houseful' board and every seat in the theatre is occupied. From the opening minutes of the film, the morning-show audience (mostly male, middle and lower-middle class, possibly college-going) indulges in loud cheering and shouting, the slogans calculated to strike a special chord after the destruction of the Babri [M]asjid just a few weeks previously: Jai Shiri Ram, Pakistan Murdabad, Bharat Mata ki jai (Niranjan 79).

She furthermore writes:

> … Another cinema Hall in Hyderabad, *Roja* which has won the National Integration Award, is showing its dubbed Hindi version. The houseful board has been put up. The film [] is now build as "patriotic love story". Perhaps it is just a coincidence that the Hindi version has been released just after the Hazratbal Siege, during the parliamentary elections in northern states and just before the first anniversary of Babri masjid's demolition (79).

Roja unlike other movies on Kashmir, which highlighted its scenic beauty, tried to show it as a site of Muslim terrorists, seeking separate nation state – a nation state that will fracture the Indian secularism. It changed the imagination of Indian cine-goers, who by now had seen Kashmir as 'land of eroticism', to 'cine-patriots'. The heroine of the film *roja* does not invoke the same whistling and jeering which is norm but instead the heroine become a symbol of nationalism, "who is the alternatively [seen as] motherland and lover/devoted wife" (79) it also successfully changed the imagination of hero who is now seen as "truly Indian" to whom the middle class Indian men don't see as "someone to emulate but someone who is *us"* (79).

The story of the film *Roja* revolves around one Man's love for his motherland and a wife's unfailing love for her husband. As Sonia Benjamin in her paper "A rose by any other name: exploring the politics of Mani Ratnam's Roja" argues that "*Roja* juxtaposes the personal story of Rishi Kumar, a young Tamil cryptologist kidnapped by Kashmiri militants, and the desperate struggle to free him by his wife, the eponymous Roja, with fundamental political questions that India faced in the 1990s: Who is an Indian? What defines him/her? What is the state of the Indian nation?" (424). It is this questions that I will try to find out and see how Maniratnam transformed the Indian imagination of Kashmir as an idyllic pastoral to a site of new cine-patriotism and an emergence of vibrant Hindutva. As already argued that the Hindi version of the movie was released just after the demolition of Babri masjid which is the starting point of re-emergence of Hindu Nationalism in the nation state, that boasts of secular traditions. The film begins with the idea that Kashmir is the 'Other' the land which is infected by violence and terrorism. The story begins with as Benjamin writes:

> … cacophony of sounds; the whirring of helicopters, the barking of dogs and the tramping of boots are coupled with the sounds of the forest and a muted azaan, the Muslim call to prayer, before the screen clears to reveal the familiar uniforms of soldiers of the Indian Army who seem to be engaged in some sort of military operation. Within a few minutes, the audience is drawn into a tense gun battle between the army and a group of men the film soon identifies as Kashmiri militants. The film then shifts to the pastoral allure of rural Tamil Nadu and shows its heroine, Roja, prancing onto the screen, singing its most famous song … (424).

For a commoner, the film from the very beginning establishes clear difference between Kashmir and Tamil Nadu. Kashmir is the land, which is otherwise eroticised, inhabited by gun yielding Indian Army soldiers and Kashmiri militants who are there to disrupt everything that is normal otherwise - its essence. It doesn't take long when it goes on to establish that it is the Indian Army that is there to protect the land against the natives who are terrorising everyone to form a separate state at the behest of some external source. This understanding that the Kashmiri can be easily manipulated by an external source is an attempt to erase the political and social aspirations of the natives. The film then very soon moves to rural Tamil Nadu which is shown as a space whose normalcy is inviting and warm. Its fields are occupied by beautiful women in colourful saris as opposed to Kashmir which is a space of gun trotting Muslims. In an essay that skewers Roja's purported nationalism, Niranjana contends that *Roja* deifies a new middle class that is distinctly Hindu at heart with Hindutva (Hinduness) in its soul, and does so by consistently othering Muslims.

From the beginning till the end the movie depicts Kashmiris as terrorists, it does not offer an alternative way of looking at Kashmir and its people. There is no mention of sub groups living with the majority Kashmiri Muslims. This deliberate erasure of other Kashmiri groups blocks any other possibility of looking at Kashmir. The women characters in the film are less important other than the heroine, Roja, who is the symbol of Indian motherland and needs to be protected every time. The only other women character is Liyaqat's (a Kashmiri terrorist) sister, who is portrayed as a kind women who goes against the aspirations of her people and forges an alliance with the Indian nation state, which results in the release of Rishi from the Kashmiri militants. The theme of weak and amiable women from Kashmir has been a hallmark of Bollywood cinema that has erased the women's agency from the struggle they engage on daily basis on the streets of Kashmir. If Roja is seen as motherland Liyaqat's sister is the fetish of Indian imagination. Writing on the characters and their roles in *Roja* Benjamin writes:

> If Rishi, with his modern education and outlook, symbolises the ordinary, middle-class Hindu male on whom the Indian nation must now rely for protection and Roja, his high-spirited but still traditional Hindu wife, signifies why it must be protected, then Liaqat Khan, Rishi's main captor, denotes the danger that separation from the actual Indian state holds for the imagined Indian nation. In order to preserve that imagined nation that is unquestionably Hindu, this separation must be prevented and those who champion it be recognised for who they really are; that is, enemies of the state and the nation and Muslim (425).

The Brahmin middle class hero, Rishi, is shown as a man who can change the ideology of Kashmir by his relentless love for the country and patriotism which he always wears on his sleeve. Rishi in one scene is shown putting himself into danger when the militants set the Indian flag on fire. The hero risks his life and saves the flag from being burned by the misguided people of Kashmir. His patriotism is shown as a tool that he uses to convince Liyaqat and his friends, who are fighting for the freedom of Kashmir, in his conversations with the members of the group. In every such conversation Liyaqat is shown using religion as a guiding principle of his fight against the Indian nation state. At the end when Rishi run from his captivator with the help of Liyaqat's sister who is otherwise depicted mute throughout the film but is always shown as distressed at the treatment of Kashmiri militants of their captive.

Even though the movie primarily sees Kashmir as a space full of violent people who are there to break the social and national fabric of India's Imagination the gaze of the camera does not stop short of producing Kashmir as the space of fetish of Indian middle class imagination. In the song *roja janeman* the rose which Rishi sees outside his cell merges with the image of his bride. "The beauty of Kashmiri landscape blends into the physical beauty of the heroine, who appears in this song-sequence dressed in Kashmiri clothes and jewellery, followed by little children also wearing Kashmiri clothes" (Niranjan 81). It is the cinematic gaze that has produced and reproduced Kashmir as the fetish of Indian imagination.

The movie evoked mixed reactions from its critics, while some of them went on to argue that the film is a project of fascism. If fascism is a stretch but the movie can be viewed as a project of right wing Hindu nationalism. Its Brahmin middle class hero

and heroine, catchy locales, music and cinematography pleased the Indian masses at a time when the Hindutva was gaining momentum in Indian politics. It therefore is no surprise that a regional movie became a national movie, dubbed in multiple languages including Hindi and went on to become a movie that received an award on national integration.

Roja paved a way for a number of Bollywood films that had stories based on militancy, violence and politics in Kashmir. Vidhu Vinod Chopra's *Mission Kashmir*, Kunal Kohli's *Fanna* and Farhan Akhtar's *Lakshya* are some of the important films to mention. These films made the uniformed men as heroes, for example Sanjay Dutt in *Mission Kashmir,* and portrayed Kashmiris as violent, misguided, enraged, disillusioned etc. It was these attributes of Kashmiris that became the rallying point of the new-found love of Bollywood with Kashmir. All these films produced a nostalgia in the Indian imagination – the nostalgia of Kashmiri landscape which is under threat from Muslim Kashmiris. In almost all these movies women are shown as the weak characters who do not have an agency of their own. They blend with the imagination of the landscape and are therefore eroticized as the earlier films did with the snow-capped mountains. Whether it is an Army solider falling in love with a Kashmiri girl in *Yahan* or whether an Indian policeman who adopts a Kashmir boy in *Mission Kashmir* these are the symptomatic representations of Kashmir's otherness which is of no value unless it blends with the Indian imagination. I will explore two more movies in this chapter to see how Bollywood produced and reproduced Kashmir in the imagination of the Indian nation state. The two movies that will follow for an analysis are *Mission Kashmir* and *Haider* because both films had a different take on the Kashmir issue. If

Mission Kashmir was described by its critics as a prototype of Indian cinema's depiction of Kashmir and its allegiance to nationalistic cinema *Haider* came under considerable criticism; some labelled it as pro Kashmir movie whereas others categorized it as a departure from the existing norms. My contention is to see how these movies are similar or different and do they follow a trend that Bollywood, as a nation building machine, has followed since its romance with Kashmir.

The underlying fact, of all the Bombay cinema on Kashmir, is that the landscape has remained as a 'territory of desire' even though there have been varied subjects that these movies dealt with – from romance to idyllic pastoral and finally a violent space inhabited by violent people, what remains as the common thread is the fetish of the landscape. Even though films like *Mission Kashmir* and *Fanna* are politically charged the fetish fabrication that Kabir identifies in *Roja* could equally apply to most Kashmir films:

> [the] film thus offer a textbook illustration of commodity fetishism as "mystification (or levelling out) of historical experience; imagined access to the cultural other through the process of consumption; reification of the people and the places into exchangeable aesthetic objects." It also submits to a psychoanalytical explication pf the fetish as "the simultaneous play between metaphor as substitution (masking absence and difference) and metonymy (which contiguously registers the perceived lack)," giving access thereby to an "identity which is predicated as much as mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defence" (Kabir 123)

The substitution which Kabir talks is the substitution of Kashmir landscape so as to reproduce the fetish of imagined nation state. For example, the opening scene of *Fanna opens* with a grey shikara traversing the screen. The shikara is the is the symbolic representation of the imagined Kashmir in the minds of Indian nation state. Although the scene sequence is shot in Poland the landscape is reproduced as the beautiful Himalayan retreat. Such substitutions have been common in most Kashmir films to keep the memory of the territory which an Indian subject should never forget. While both *Mission Kashmir* and *Fanna* open with a shikara rowing in Dal Lake, the former shows a bomb blast ripping apart the shikara within seconds, which in turn triggers the arrival of violence that is characteristic and intrinsic to all these movies. What is common in both the movies that the heroine is taken as a representation of 'Kashmiri's virginity' or 'lost innocence'. *Mission Kashmir's* Sufi (Preity Zinta) is "a 'good' Kashmiri girlfriend who mirrors and safeguards "an ideal version of the secular nation."" (Zinck 146) whereas, *Fanna's* Zooni (Kajol) is an "unchaperoned body [that] reflects the purity of an eroticized landscape" (Zinck 147).

The love affair between Sufi and Altaf (Hritik Roshan) in *Mission Kashmir* and their attempt to bridge any gap is doomed to destruction as the childhood paramour of Sufi is transformed into a terrorist. The rose that Altaf gives as gift to Sufi is, for Kabir an 'intervisual reference' to *Kashmir ki Kali* and *Roja.* For Kabir it highlights the significance of "meta-memory" it also, for Kabir, echoes the plastic rose and doll that a Kashmiri houseboat owner presents to a modern Bombay girl in *Jab Jab Phool Khile.* In her critique to *Mission Kashmir* Kabir writes:

> It is an awareness of the inescapable politics of representation that colors the double vision of *Mission Kashmir* – what we may now term its "rose-tainted lens." *Mission Kashmir's* problems with seeing emerge intrinsically related to its cinematic metamemory. The rose that Altaaf, momentarily succumbing to Sufi's plea of love in Kashmir, presents to her alludes to both the 1960s *Kashmir ki Kali* and Mani Ratnama's *Roja.* But the thorn that pricks Sufi's thumb passes silent commentary on those earlier fims. The … rose contrasts with its plastic counterpart depicted in 1965 superhit, *Jab Jab Phool Khile* … The plastic rose stands in for the real rose, which stands in for the gardens of the paradise on earth, which stands for nation's collective desire. The same chain of substitutions reified by its plastic-ness is demystified, forty years later by *Mission Kashmir's* thorny rose: a counterfetish that tries to reinstate the Kashmir within the landscape of desire (Kabir 47).

The landscape is so intrinsic to all Kashmir movies that they de-territorialize Kashmir by substituting the landscape from different parts of the world. *Fanna* for example, substitutes Poland with Kashmir and in many other movies it is either Switzerland or New Zealand. The cine-patriotism in *Fanna* reaches to a new height when the film begins with the unfurling of Indian flag and a visually impaired Zooni salutes the flag in the wrong direction, it doesn't take a second when her mother corrects her and redirects her in the direction of the flag. Such acts are shown as a confirmation of Kashmir and Kashmiris with the body politic of Indian nation state. The meta-

memory which Kabir explains as important can be also seen in the films *Fanna* and *Roja.* If Rishi in *Roja* can put his life in danger for saving the Indian tricolor *Fanna's* Zooni embraces it without seeing it. Her's is more of a confirmation of being a part of the nation state than Rishi's who is the embodiment of the nation state. *Fanna,* however, not only de-territorializes Kashmir but also de-historicizes it. In the scene when the young girls from Kashmir perform at the Republic day parade in New Delhi, Zooni starts her song by wrongly attributing Jahangir's famous Persian couplet, "if ever there is paradise on earth, This is it! This is it! This is it!" to his father Shah Jehan.

In *Mission Kashmir* Altaaf is sandwiched between his two father figures: one Kashmiri and one non-Kashmiri. The film portrays the struggle of Altaaf between good and bad father. Altaaf lives in a constant fear and his fear competes with the fear of the landscape. The film and its producers try to portray a traumatized Kashmiri and look at him sympathetically. This fear, Kabir suggests "emerges as the nation's feared loss of its territory of desire, the idyllic Kashmir of 1960s Bollywood" (Kabir 48).

In the movies that followed *Mission Kashmir* and *Fanna* the landscape of Kashmir remains the geo-political body of desire, A desire that perhaps every Kashmir movie has reproduced so as to forge a relationship of the Indian State with that of the contested state of Jammu and Kashmir. For example, *Yahan* and Farhan Akhter's *Lakshya* used uniformed men as heroes who fall in love with innocent Kashmir girl to forge the relationship with the union of India. Among most of Kashmir movies; there were two departures; one in the film *Lamhaa* (Rahul Dholakia 2010) and *Haider* (Vishal Bhardwaaj 2014). Both these films went a step ahead in presenting and producing Kashmir for the national and commercial consumption. Whereas, both films

put light on the inhuman treatment meted to Kashmiris at the hands of Indian Army but failed to propagate an alternate lens of looking at the land of desire. While *Lamhaa* made headlines in June 2010 when Dholkia took the movie to Sri Lankan International Film Festival. The Government of India and the Censor board had some reservation in promoting the movie at International Film Festival (Srilanka), But Dholakia and his crew stood firm and took the movie to Srilanka.

Lamhaa is about the highest militarized zone and conflict hit region Kashmir. The movie opens in 2009 and tells all about what was the condition in 1989 when the Natives of Kashmir turned refugees in their own country. Contrary to other movies based on Kashmir, in which Pakistan is depicted as villain (promoting insurgency and destabilizing not only the region but whole India) and India as hero (upholding its democratic principles and fighting for the noble cause), *Lamhaa* takes a middle route. *Lamhaa* ridicules all political leadership (across the borders), Military agencies, corrupt Businessmen, and Militant and Moderate factions. We are shown the miseries of Kashmiri people – Muslims and Pundits at surface level. Although the migration of Hindus from Kashmiri and the disappearances of Kashmiri Muslims at the hands of security agencies has nothing to do with the plot of the movie still it forms the essential part of the movie. It also shows us Dardpora village of Northern Kashmir where a large chunk of the women are half widows.

Vikram (Sanjay Dutt) is sent as an undercover agent on a high-profile secret mission to Kashmir when the Indian intelligence gets information of a probable big terror attack in the valley. Separatist leader Haji (Anupam Kher) has been fighting against the Indian government since 1989 for freedom of Kashmir. Aziza (Bipasha

Basu) supports her mentor (Haji) in his mission and Aatif (Kunal Kapoor), who is now a reformed militant, wants to contest elections from the valley to win his people and province.

Like in any conventional Hindi movie, for the protagonist Vikram, his job seems to be a child's play. Vikram easily sneaks into much guarded police commissioner's office in broad daylight and has easy access to all the information. He in no time finds a local tailor who has all the information about Kashmir- from politicians to intelligence agencies to separatists. Vikram, like any hero can easily convince anybody be it Peer Baba (Mahesh Majrekar) or Aziza (Bipasha Basu) and in this way, he comes close to Aziza in unearthing the plot. Aziza is therefore again the reproduction of Sufi in *Mission Kashmir*, Zooni in *Fanna* or any other heroine of a Kashmir movie. While as Atif like *Mission Kashmi's* Altaaf is a misguided young man who towards the end holds on to the Indian Nation state therefore confirming the secularist and democratic idea of India.

Haider as opposed to most of the Kashmir films is both hailed and condemned to be a political film. Although the film was cleared by Indian censor board after forty cuts it was banned in Pakistan (Chakravarti n.pag). the film is both adaptation of Shakespeare's play *Hamlet* as well as a political film about Kashmir; its insurgency, brutality and violence at the hands of both security forces and militants. The film is set in 1990s Kashmir when the landscape is transformed into the scenes of violence and destruction. It talks about the disappeared youth of Kashmir which was a subject not shown openly in Indian movies, in fact not even acknowledged. Hamlet becomes Haider (played by Shahid Kapoor): a young student and poet who returns home to

Kashmir to investigate the disappearance of his father. Gertrude becomes Ghazala (played by Tabu) and Claudius becomes Khurram (played by Kay Kay Menon). Much like Hamlet, Haider becomes concerned about the burgeoning relationship between Ghazala and Khurram, and after he learns of the circumstances behind his father's disappearance, he seeks vengeance and the death of Khurram. *Haider* uses certain historical contexts to highlight the issue, for example, in the scene where Haider makes the audience aware about the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir and the promise of referendum promised to Kashmiris by first Indian Prime Minister. Even though the movie does offer an alternative to look into Kashmir issue but falls short. The film outlines Haider's oedipal relationship with his mother and her desperate attempts to keep him away from guns and radical politics. Even the Ghost is corporealized and given a past in Haider—a doctor in life, picked up by the Indian army for helping "militants," he returns after death as the mysterious Roohdaar, literally the "soul holder," (Chakravarti n.pag). *Haider* undoubtedly is radical by Bollywood standards. The movie avoids the great nationalist arguments like the famous dialogue in *Ma Tujhe Salaam* "Tum doodh mangoge hum kheer denge … tum Kashmir mangoge hum cheer denge" which roughly translates as "ask for the milk we will give you pudding, but ask Kashmir we will cut your throat." The film portrays the tragic human cost of the conflict; its disappearances, military torture and extrajudicial killings. In almost every scene the pain and confusion of the ordinary Kashmiri comes out strongly, peeping through layers of anger and hostility against authority and military structures.

Kashmir, as I have already explored above has always been a site of power struggle through competing discursive practices. This was further vitiated in recent

decades as India witnessed an aggressive campaign by the *Hindutva* (Hinduness) forces to deny history, and propagate their version of it in order to consolidate a Hindu constituency. When, in the 1990s, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was in power, a project to rewrite history textbooks was undertaken by the government, inviting strong resistance from other political and academic groups. Even the earlier version of history, patronized by the Indian National Congress, had its own biases and official truths. The movie *Roja* got so much promotion and acknowledgement under the BJP that it was given the coveted *Nargis Dutt Award for Best Feature Film on National Integration, 1993.* Thus, we can see a reflection of India's discourses on Kashmir in Foucault's model.

Coming back to the cinematic representation of Kashmir/i as *fetish,* I argue, borrowing from Freud that fetish symbolizes the absence of a founding lack. This lack, I argue, in the nationalistic and cinematic discourses on Kashmir has been an absence of a wilful accession of Kashmir into the geo-body of the nation state. This fundamental lack reflected through what has been happening in the political life of Kashmir since 1947 and earlier is *fetishized* by the popular discourses by averting the gaze from the "disturbing real", and later by appropriating it through metonymic illusions to Kashmiri Muslims being anti-national, pro-Pakistani and terrorist through discourses on *Jihad* and Islamophobia.

Notes:

[i] My definition of "texts" and "co-texts" is informed by Poststructuralist theories of literature and culture which harbour little or no difference between literary and non-literary. This is particularly manifest in New Historicism. See Barry, *Beginning Theory*.

[ii] By this phrase, I mean the movies Bollywood has produced which directly or indirectly deal with and depict Kashmir and Kashmiris.

[iii] I call this controversial because there are lots of subject positions around this integration. See M.J. Akbar's *Kashmir Behind The Veil.*

[iv] After Mughals, Kashmir was ruled by the Afghans, the Sikhs, and the Dogras until 1947 when it acceded with India.

[v] A phrase used by Kabir for the Movies that were shot in lush green valley of Kashmir during 1960s and 1970s. See Kabir*, Territory*, 2009

[vi] An interesting thing that I noted is the way female characters in Kashmir movies are depicted. They are meek, rustic, innocent and naturalized in the way that they become synonymous with Kashmiri culture and landscape which has been hospitable to all influences like *Kashmiriyat* itself. This, although true of male characters of the earlier movies, marks a real contrast with the way they are projected in the later movies as demonized while their female counterparts continue to serve as symbols of *Kashmiriyat*.

[vii] Borrowing Freud's idea of sexual fetish, I use this with a similar meaning but different context.

[viii] This claim is made by an unpublished paper by Trivedesh

[ix] Term for the strategic rivalry and conflict between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy in Central Asia. For a non-critical introduction, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Great_Game, accessed 25-06-2012.

[x] The folk theatre of Kashmir called Bhand Pather is probably the oldest theatre in the subcontinent. See Bhat, Javaid.

[xi] For a detailed discussion on Freud's Fetish*, see Fetishism - Overview - Psychoanalytic Interventions.*

[xii] *Junglee* is accredited with inaugurating pop and hip-hop culture in India. See Mukherjee, *"Junglee"*

[xiii] *Kashmiriyat* is the ethno-national and social consciousness and cultural values of the Kashmiri people. Emerging approximately around the 16th century, it is characterised by religious and cultural harmony, patriotism and pride for their mountainous homeland of Kashmir. To many Kashmiris, *Kashmiriyat* demanded religious and social harmony and brotherhood. It has been strongly influenced by Shaivism, Buddhism, Sikhism Islam and Sufism, carrying a long-standing conviction that any and every religion will lead to the same divine goal. For a basic understanding, see Akbar, 2000. For more complex discussion, see Zutshi, 2003.

[xiv] I use Bombay cinema and Bollywood interchangeably in this chapter. It is important to mention here that the films which are under study in this chapter are mostly produced by Bollywood, which was previously called as Hindi cinema. One should not confuse Bollywood/Bombay cinema with Indian cinema as the later compromises of multiple regional cinemas.

Works Cited:

Ahmad, Rafiq. "Orientalist Imaginaries of Travels in Kashmir: Western Representations of the Place and People." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9.3 (2011): 167–182. Taylor and Francis. Web. 11 Dec. 2015.

Akbar, M. J. *Kashmir, Behind the Vale*. Roli, 2002. Print.

Barker, Chris. *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies*. SAGE, 2004. Print.

Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. Manchester University Press, 2002. Print.

Bazaz, Prem Nath. *Kashmir in Crucible*. Pamposh Publications, 1967. Print.

Benjamin, Sonia. "A Rose by Any Other Name: Exploring the Politics of Mani Ratnam's Roja." *Contemporary South Asia* 15.4 (2006): 423–435. Taylor and Francis. Web. 10 Jan. 2014.

Chakravarty, Sumita S. *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema, 1947-1987*. University of Texas Press, 2011. Print.

Dwyer, Rachel. "Bollywood's New Dream Indian Cinema Has a Global Future in Its Sights." *New Statesman*. Web.

Faiz, Faiz Ahmed. *100 Poems by Faiz Ahmed Faiz*. New Delhi, India: Hind Pocket Books, 2009. Print.

Jaleel, Muzamil. "Kashmir: A History of Revolt." *Indian Express* 20 Aug. 2008. Web.

Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. "Nipped in the Bud?" *South Asian Popular Culture* 3.2 (2005): 83–100. Taylor and Francis. Web. 10 Dec. 2014.

---. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. Uni of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.

---. “The Kashmiri as Muslim in Bollywood’s ‘New Kashmir Films.’” *ResearchGate* n. pag. *www.researchgate.net*. Web. 12 Feb. 2016.

Kakar, Sudhir. *Indian Identity*. Penguin UK, 2007. Print.

Khan, Omar. *From Kashmir to Kabul: The Photographs of Burke and Baker, 1860-1900*. New York: Prestel, 2002. Print.

Khan, Shahnaz. “Nationalism and Hindi Cinema: Narrative Strategies in Fanaa.” *Studies in South Asian Film & Media* 1.1 (2009): 85–99. *IngentaConnect*. Web. 10 Mar. 2015.

Khan, Yasmin. *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. Penguin UK, 2013. Print.

McDonald, Russ. *Shakespeare Reread: The Texts in New Contexts*. Cornell University Press, 1994. Print.

Nayar, Pramod K. *Reading Culture: Theory, Praxis, Politics*. SAGE Publications, 2006. Print.

Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Discovery of India*. Penguin UK, 2008. Print.

Niranjana, Tejaswini. “Integrating Whose Nation? Tourists and Terrorists in Roja” n. pag. *www.academia.edu*. Web. 10 Feb. 2016.

Rajgopal, Shoba. “Bollywood and Neonationalism: The Emergence of Nativism as the Norm in Indian Conventional Cinema.” *ResearchGate* n. pag. *www.researchgate.net*. Web. 20 Dec. 2016.

Read, Mark Brandon. “The Popcorn Gangster: Chopper” *10.5. Momentum*, 2012. Print.

Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. SAGE, 2012. Print.

"The Kashmiri as Muslim in Bollywood's 'New Kashmir Films.'" *ResearchGate* n. pag. *www.researchgate.net*. Web. 11 Mar. 2016.

Thomas, Raju G. C. *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia*. Westview Press, 1992. Print.

Venugopal, Arun. "The Terror of Bollywood." *Wall Street Journal* 9 Mar. 2010. *www.wsj.com*. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.

Vishvanathan, Shiv. "Popcorn Nationalism." *India Today* 11 Sept. 2007. Web. 10 Jan. 2014.

Zinck, Pascal. "Kashmir: Maps for Lost Lovers." *The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence*. Ed. Om Prakash Dwivedi. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. 143–166. Print.

Chapter V

Of Memory, Nostalgia and Belonging: Poetry from the Territory of Desire

There's no sign of blood, not anywhere.
I've searched everywhere.
The executioner's hands are clean, his nails transparent.
The sleeves of each assassin are spotless.
No sign of blood: no trace of red,
not on the edge of the knife, none on the point of the sword.
The ground is without stains, the ceiling white.

- (Faiz Ahmad faiz, Translated by Agha Shahid Ali)

Literature, in any form, is never a discrete entity. It has links with the socio-cultural and political upheaval of the times in which it is produced. In fact, its links to the place of its production transcend the limits of time, in other words it is the collective production of its [place of production] past, present and future. This chapter will deal with a particular genre of literature – poetry. The attempt is to analyse poetry produced from the state of Jammu and Kashmir to show pain, suffering, resistance, women's movements that has shaped the modern landscape of Kashmir. Although the chapter will mainly focus on Agha Shahid Ali's poetry but it will use the secondary sources of

literature to highlight these issues. This chapter will also analyse some of the sub-genres of this poetry such as rap songs and resistance songs that have been a recent phenomenon in Kashmir poetry. As I have mentioned earlier that this thesis looks at any form of Art as a text, therefore all such songs that will be used in this chapter are treated as independent texts.

In the recent past, there has been a tendency among the people that literature and poetry have become irrelevant to body politic because of their lack of productive value and that poetry in particular represents a narcissist absorption of individual selves (Medeiros 1). This chapter will therefore break this notion, that literature and poetry are inconsequential to modern day body politic. Rather an attempt will be made to highlight the importance of these sub genres of humanities and how they have always spoken to the power and hence have stood as pillars for resistance in modern day body politic. Poetry has always and continues to engage in political resistance. Perhaps its origins can be drawn as far as Greek poetry. In her seminal work, *Resistance Literature* Barbara Harlow points out that poetry and literature have always stood in the defence of ordinary citizens and have spoken the voice of these defenceless, powerless people. However, it is very important to point out that her analysis was restricted to the writings that were born in colonial era and she therefore restricts the definition of resistance literature to the writings that were written and produced against colonialism (Harlow 2 -30). Taking and accepting such a view is problematic. As such a view leaves no scope to the resistances that poetry and literature have undertaken after the colonialism came to end. As Edward Said puts it eloquently, he says, colonialism came to an end with the fall of British and French colonial empires. However, since these empires collapsed a

new form of colonialism started – neo-colonialism. Its manifestations may be different but are in principal same as the erstwhile forms of colonialism. He argues that in modern world the countries don't go and colonialize the lands however they do so effectively from remote locations. Said gives the classical example of America as a country that shapes the neo-colonialism of the world. I would like to problematize this issue a little further and argue that modern day state building does not just end at remotely controlling territories but takes a political 'democracy' to manifest such state building machinations. For example, Israel's occupation of Arab Lands. The nation building and state building in South Asia is fascinating. Not only does this region propagate such proposals but is also the site of brutal forms of nation building. If one talks in the context of those nation states that were erstwhile part of colonialism it becomes more problematic. In such countries, mostly, with the exit of foreign rule different forms of resistance movements started; some of them focused on liberation whereas others took up issues that were more pertinent to their citizens. Nonetheless, resistance movements took a different turn and shape in all these countries. Subcontinent has been the most fantastic site of this overhyped nationalism and nation building.

Since and before the partition of the South Asia into many nation states. Literature has always played an important role in highlighting such issues. Literature and more precisely poetry has always been used as an important tool to highlight the problems of such nation building which undermines the democratic values of its citizens. Initially it was the Urdu poetry that took this huge task on its shoulders to

highlight the plight of common citizens. Progressive poets such as Faiz Ahmad Faiz and others have for long years become the symbol of this resistance.

> These tarnished rays, this night-smudged light—
> This is not that Dawn for which, ravished with freedom,
> we had set out in sheer longing,
> so sure that somewhere in its desert the sky harbored
> a final haven for the stars, and we would find it.
> We had no doubt that night's vagrant wave would stray
> towards the shore,
> that the heart rocked with sorrow would at last reach its port[i] (Faiz 87).

Faiz through his poetry does not only ridicule the British and its policies in India but went on further to question the independent states freedom which comes at the cost of suppressing the ordinary citizens.

In a similar vein poetry in Jammu and Kashmir has played an important role. It is also a source of archive building which gives a deeper knowledge about the struggles that the people of the state have fought since the Mughals established their empire in the state. The earliest forms of resistance in poetry dates back to Mughal period when the local king Yousuf Shah Chak was sent into exile by the Mughal ruler and therefore imposing his dominion on the state and its subjects. Habba Khatun, the peasant queen and wife of Yousuf Shah Chak roamed the nooks and corners of Kashmir valley producing and reproducing the poetry which in later years will be termed as resistance poetry. She, by most accounts is considered the first Kashmiri poet who started the genre of resistance in the indigenous language that is Kashmiri. Poetry in Kashmiri has

essentially been one of the prominent forms of dissent and it is a mode which is always used by poets to speak to the power structures. It has not only been used as a medium of speaking to the power but also has been used to highlight the sufferings, pain, agony, displacement, memory, etc.

As far as poetry and other oral traditions of Kashmir go it has always spoken about women. Partly because a major portion of this genre was written by women who took deep pains to highlight the issues faced by women; through culture and patriarchy. Lal Ded the 12th century Kashmiri Sufi poetess not only spoke and preached religious harmony but at the same time highlighted the issues that were of immediate concern to women. The women poets who followed her continued Lal's tradition. Habba Khatoon took it a step further by moving away from the lines of Lal Ded but started raising up issues about the fractured patriarchal society of Kashmir and the pains she had to go through personally at the hands of Mughal rulers who took her husband from her, forcing her to live the life of a widow. Habaa's Husband the then king of Kashmir was forced to go into exile and he died in exile. One can draw parallels between Habaa's story in present day Kashmir where thousands of women have lost their husband's to either forced exile or enforced disappearances. These present-day women of Kashmir, whose husbands have been victims of the oppression are termed as 'half-widows' a phrase that has lately been widely debated in Kashmiri geo-politics. Such terms 'half-widows' and 'half-mothers' may strike a chord of sympathy with these women but what it essentially does it questions the identity of womanhood – of being a wife or of being a mother. This nomenclature not only is problematic but also takes the agency of women (a wife or a mother) from them. It therefore misplaces the identity of these women. The substitution

of nomenclature with this new terminology has taken the agency of these women away from them. For they require to prove their identity at all times.

If it was Habaa Khatun earlier who wrote about the pain of wife whose husband was missing, now, it is young Kashmiris who have taken the path of highlight their problems. These young Kashmiris write their songs in English, Kashmiri and Urdu for disseminating them to a wider public audience. Like early Kashmiri folk theatre (Bhande Pather) were the artists would enact to show the plight of ordinary citizens these young Kashmiris sing these songs in modern genre of music – rap, sufi, or traditional folk music. Rap singing has become so famous to the political theatre of Kashmir that the State sees it as a threat to its sovereignty and integrity.

However as has been said earlier in the chapter that the major portion of this study will focus on Agha Shahid Ali and his poetry on Kashmir. I will, later in this chapter deal with this new trend of song writing and singing that has become quintessential to Kashmiri sentiment of nationalism. Shahid, not only took Kashmiri literature to international heights but also highlighted the issues ordinary Kashmiris face in everyday life. His poetry transcends borders, religion and ethnicity. Shahid does not believe in water tight borders and compartmentalising people based on their affiliations to religion and ethnicity. Shahid's characters are the ordinary citizens of valley like 'Rizwan' in "I see Kashmir from New Delhi at Midnight" who even at his last moment of life talks about Kashmiri nationalism when he says, "Each night put Kashmir in your dreams" (*The Veiled* 179) or an ordinary Kashmiri Pandit who has left his motherland for the plains, as Shahid puts it "…They just disappear/ on the road to the plains, clutching the gods" (180). For him Kashmir is the home to all the people

who live there irrespective of their religious or cultural differences. He cuts across the lines of religion and ethnicity when he talks about the migration of people from valley. In *The country without a post office* (1998) Shahid talks about the various aspects of Kashmir conflict. The word 'country' in the title is Kashmir, written in endless ways "Kashmir, Kaschmir, Cashmere, Qashmir, Cashmir…" (15) to stress the elusiveness of the places of memory. This elusiveness of the memory is of paramount importance to the Kashmir issue but also important in the sense that they act as a biding material for its citizens through which they identify themselves. Although these memories have been reduced to nostalgia and are faded and distorted but nonetheless important for its citizens to proclaim a common ancestry and affiliation.

Kashmir identity is divided into multiple layers created by displacements and migrations. These layers have been a result of a long but turbulent history in the form of conquests and conversions. These conquests and their manifestations not only have produced multiplicity of meanings, which are mirrored in the name of the religion and its different translations but also created a vacuum that has resulted in a disquiet between its inhabitants. These superimposed layers, perfectly describe the poems of Agha Shahid Ali. For Shahid, Kashmir is not just a place which is located at a particular latitude and longitude instead Kashmir for Shahid, is an idea; of belonging, memory, and shared historical past. Outlining it, Meena Alexander speaks of "geography of dissonance" (9) in which Meena talks about the spaces a poet covers, for her, it transcends the geographical space and she therefore writes, "the poet must claim [the place] in order to reach where he wants to go" (9). It is in this context that Shahid's phone rings in America, when the conversation has finished, and yet he hangs up the phone in Kashmir, in the

poem "A Country without a Post Office" which coincidentally is the title of the entire collection.

Shahid's poetry is an idea that weighs high on nostalgia. It is also a philosophy that makes an appeal as well as a cry for preserving the irretrievable past of the place of birth. Kashmir therefore, features in almost all of Shahid's poems in one way or other. Therefore, *A Country without a Post Office* which is generally labelled as the only work Shahid produced on his native place – Kashmir, is not the only book rather Kashmir surfaces in almost all his poems. In one of his other poetry collection *The Half-inch Himalayas* Shahid invokes Kashmir in the beginning and ends the collections with Kashmir. He writes, "Kashmir Shrinks into my mailbox/ my home a neat four by six inches" (*The Veiled* 29) in the very first poem, "Postcard from Kashmir" and ends the collection with the poem "Houses" when he says, "I am thirteen thousand miles from home/ I comb the moon out of the night/ and my parents are sleeping like children" (81). The instances of memory and longing of Kashmir resonate in most poems of Shahid. Mail box is metaphorically used as a bundle of memories which are deeply attached to the notion of asserting one's self-identity whereas in the other poem he longs for the home land [Kashmir]. Embedded in such instances is the concept of displacement, for Shahid, Kashmir remains always close to his heart even though he has long ago left it. Contrary to other forms of displacement where people are forced to migrate Shahid did so by his own choice, yet he longs for that land which had been his home in the past.

Shahid's mastery brings back the reality of Kashmir in such a way that most of his writings seem to be relevant at any given point of time. His poetry has extensively

dealt with the subjects of loss – of one's land and home. In *The Country Without a Post Office* Shahid not only deals with the subject of displacement, migration and longing but also chronicles the devastation of his homeland. Through his poems, he not only sketches the pain and agony of people who have left/lost their homeland but also builds a narrative of the loss that Kashmir has suffered and continues to suffer in the form political violence and tragedy. Kashmir, thus, for Shahid, is a site of violence which has been reduced to a mere landscape where both the neighbouring countries have used their power and influence to shake the fabric of its syncretic Hindu – Muslim tradition. He writes,

> Kashmir is burning:
> By that dazzling light
> We see men removing statues from temples.
> We beg them, "Who will protect us if you leave?"
> They don't answer, they just disappear
> On the road to the plains, clutching their gods (*A Country* 25)

The Country Without a Post Office, bears witness to the violence and desolation and also "convert[s] political conflict into cultural loss as personal tragedy" (Kabir 188). In the poem "Dear Shahid" written in free verse more like prose he paints Kashmir as a place which is in absolute chaos. Kashmir, is no more shown as 'paradise' as it is depicted in most of the narratives written on it. He brings out the pain and suffering Kashmiris irrespective of their gender. He writes, "Men are forced to stand barefoot in snow waters all night. / The women are alone inside. / Soldiers smash radios and televisions. / With bare hands, they tear our houses to pieces" (*The Country* 43). Such an illustration of any place seems gloomy, Shahid takes it out from the gloominess and

depicts the situation of Kashmir in the beginning of armed insurgency. The reference to 'women' being 'alone' inside their homes while men are taken out and forced to stand in cold all night is also a reference where women had to suffer alone. One could read this as a reference to the incident of Kunan Posphpora[ii] where in early 1990s men were taken out of their homes and women were raped by the soldiers. As Adil Bhat in his book review observes:

> In the dead of the intervening night of February 23-24, 1991, there stood two ransacked villages of Kunan Poshpora in Kupwara District of Northern Kashmir. In the garb of a cordon-and-search operation on that unfateful night, the Indian Army troops from the 4th Rajputana Rifles rummaged through the houses wreaking havoc on the villagers, who were busy with their daily night chores. All hell broke loose. The dreadful army personnel marched inside the houses, picked up the men and dragged them to the interrogation centre close-by, while others brutally raped women of the house, one by one, irrespective of age (from the age of 13 to 60)… The image still lingers in the collective memory of Kashmiris.... It was a quiet chilly winter night and in few hours the whole setting had changed (Bhat N. Pag.).

Shahid and many other writers from and on Kashmir have written on the issue of rape and how it has been used as a tool to silence the Muslim majority community. Since a lot of social stigma is attached to rape it has been effectively used to silence the

women. Mirza Waheed in his book *The Collaborator* writes about the same incident and does not let anyone forget what had happened in that border village. Shahid however is optimistic about the return of the peace. He writes, "[w]e are waiting for the almond blossoms" (*The Country* 43). 'Almond blossoms' is used as a metaphor for the peace in valley for two reasons: one that after a harsh winter almond trees are the first to blossom and signal a change of season, a change which everyone is waiting for and second the flowers on the almond tree are white in colour which is represents the sign of peace.

In the poem "I See Kashmir from New Delhi at Midnight" Shahid depicts the pain and agony of the Kashmiri people. He expresses events that are inevitable. He writes about the people who have come to become worst sufferers of humiliation at the hands of forces. The disillusionment is the symptom of the Kashmiri psyche that see no light at the end of dark tunnel. The killings and brutalities are so vividly explained that one cannot help but picturise the paradise as hell. He writes:

> The city from where no news can come
> Is now so visible in its curfewed night
> That the worst is precise:
>
> From Zero Bridge
> a shadow chased by searchlights is running
> away to find its body. On the edge
> of the Cantonment, where Gupkar Road ends,

it shrinks almost into nothing, is

nothing by interrogation gates

So it can slip, unseen, into the cells:

drippings from a suspended burning tire

are falling on the back of a prisoner,

The naked boy screaming, "I know nothing."

The nothingness of the place is so important to understand the situation. When Shahid uses the word 'nothing' in his poem it is translated as destruction. For him Kashmir has become a place which everyone wants to leave. He talks about the militarization of the place when he uses the analogy of a curfewed night. It therefore is no surprise when Basharat Peer borrows the title of his book from Shahid, because like Shahid, Peer wants to bring out the pain of Kashmir. The chase and the search lights are again used as metaphors for the military establishment who have now become the new rulers of the land. He talks about the prisoners who are tortured at the interrogation centres, in fact he suggests that Kashmir has turned into a big interrogation centre. We find the reference to Kashmir as interrogation centre in the film *Haider* when towards the end the protagonist sees no light and he concludes that it is a huge interrogation centre. Such usage goes away from the common perception of Indian imagination that the valley is a paradise.

In her analysis of the poem "I See Kashmir from new Delhi at Midnight" Kabir remarks:

> [E]mblematic figures caught in the Kashmir conflict – the boy tortured by the soliders, the poet rendered helpless by the distance, women waiting for missing menfolk, Pandits forced out of the Valley – alternate with the images whose jewel-like clarity illuminates condensed pain: the rubies of blood on the snow, the green thread of hope tied at the Shahi-i-Hamdan shrine … the boatman who no longer rows tourists in Shikaras (Kabir 188).

It is in the context of mysticism and Sufism, Shahid evokes Shahi-i-Hamdan, in the end of the poem, He makes references to the religious disharmony which creeped in 1990s as a result of the military oppression and armed uprising. He says "By that Dazling light/ we see men removing the statues from the temples" (*The Country* 25). This is a reference to the period when chaos ruled Kashmir and many Hindu temples were burnt and looted. He does not stop there but goes on to make a plea to his Hindu brethren not to leave their valley. His plea is for the idea of Kashmir that; together we can make Kashmir great gain when he says if you [Pandits] leave us who will protect us from the wrath of Indian Army. He writes, "We beg them, "who will protect us if you leave"/ they don't answer, they just disappear/ on the roads to the plains, clutching their gods" (25). The migration of the Pandits is compared with the 'dazzling light' – a light that can temporarily blind.

Yet in one another poem Shahid beautifully sketches the history and the conflict in Kashmir. Within the conflict and its manifestations, he is aware about the destruction that it has brought to the landscape. In the poem Shahid continuously reminds his

readers about the history that Kashmir has had. But mourns its present – the brutality and violence. He talks about how defenceless people of the valley have been brutalized. He does not even for a minute forget the people who have left the valley to the state where they are now. He says, "When you left even the stones were buried/ the defenceless would have no weapon" (21). This reference is perhaps to the migration of Kashmiri Pandits and there have been enough theories and conspiracy theories about their exodus. But Shahid does not fall prey to such theories instead he besieges them [Pandits] not to leave, that if they leave ordinary Kashmiris will be brutalized for there would be no one to speak on their behalf.

He is aware about the propaganda of claiming that peace has returned to the valley. But for Shahid peace is elusive in a place which is so militarized that nothing escapes its walls. He writes about histories, about memories and about nostalgia when he says,

> At a certain point I lost track of you.
>
> You needed me. You needed to perfect me:
>
> In your absence you polished me into the Enemy.
>
> Your history gets in the way of your memory.
>
> I am everything you lost. You can't forgive me.
>
> I am everything you lost. Your perfect enemy.
>
> Your memory gets into the way of my memory (22).

These lines are so sharp in bringing the outcome of the Pandit migration. It is an attempt to bridge the gap between the Muslims and the Pandits of the valley. Shahid here refers to memory as a distorted manifestation of history. When Pandits migrated from the valley and with the rise of Hindutva there has been a constant attempt to rewrite history. This fictitious history is attempted by Rahul Pandita in *Our Moon has Blood Clots,* which creates a wedge between the two dominant communities of Kashmir. He writes, "It was during Sikandar's reign that a cry escaped from the lips of the hapless Pandits, to be spared the sword: Na Bhatto Aham, Na Bhatto Aham! (I'm not a Pandit, I'm not a Pandit!)" (25). But for Shahid what is important is the resolution between the two and not the confrontation.

The poem explores the themes of shared history and nostalgia and makes an attempt to reach out to each other. The references of paradise as hell and the boat ride on shikara rowed by a paddle that is heart is the shared history between the two communities. Although he acknowledges what has happened was worse but he is aware that had this not happened things would have been different. When he says, "I am everything you lost" he means the loss of compassion between the communities. He ends the poem with a wish that everything would have been possible in the world had we (Pandits and Muslims) stayed together and fought together for the valley that is ours.

As I have discussed the importance of idyllic pastoral in the previous chapter, while I was dealing with Bollywood's fascination with the Kashmiri landscape and the desire and fetish of Indian imagination for the landscape, this theme is resonant in Shahid's poetry too. But unlike Bollywood's perception of the landscape, Shahid shows

the gloomy background of the pastoral setting. For him the 'paradise' as it has been described by its colonial masters [Mughal's] Shahid's projection of it is that of devastation and destruction. He uses the images of 'gardener,' 'poplar grooves' and 'Autumn' to highlight the pastoral settings but in the same breath does not forget the destruction and devastation that has befallen on this land. In the poem "Pastoral" He writes, "We shall again meet, in Srinagar / by the gates of the Villa of peace" (*The Country* 44). The romance of the land as the idyllic pastoral continues in his writings, but what is different in this projection is the emotional attachment of the people to whom the land belongs rather than the fetish of the non-natives as perceived by Bollywood.

In the same poem Shahid also talks about the struggles and the resilience of the people of Kashmir when he writes, "Our hands blossoming into fists / till the soldiers return the keys and disappear. / Again we'll enter our lost world, the first that vanished." (44). These lines are the opening lines of the poem where he calls for his fellows to rise up against the rotten system that has brought destruction to his homeland. Although Shahid's homeland is an 'imagined' homeland for he writes these poems across the continents. If, on one hand, he uses the beautiful terms to describe the beauty of the landscape, on the other hand, he uses similar beautifully crafted terms to bring out its dark side. 'Broken city' and 'hurried graves' which are used in the poem to symbolise the gloomy present of the homeland. This poem "Pastoral" is dedicated to his friend 'Suvir Kaul' a Kashmiri Pandit who lives in a forced exile as opposed to the poet who lives in voluntary exile. He writes, "See how your world has cracked. / why aren't you here? Where are you? / come back" (45). This call for coming back is the

call from a fellow Kashmiri to another Kashmiri who have been forced to leave their homeland. Shahid, doesn't talk about either religious harmony or religious animosity between the communities but does talk about the tolerance and acceptance of one community by the other.

> Is history deaf there, across the oceans?
> Quick, The bird will say. And we'll try
> the keys, with the first one open the door
> into the drawing room. Mirror after mirror,
> textile by the dust, will blind us to our return
> as we light oil lamps. The glass map of our country (45)

the references to the fractured history, which has become a site of bloodshed, is reproduced in these lines. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, that after the Pandit exodus from Kashmir, the right-wing Hindutva ideology was gaining momentum in other parts of the country. Some of these groups even reached out to the Kashmiri Pandits and started to propagate their version of history that resulted in the deep mistrust between the two communities. To substantiate my claim, I will use Rahul Pandita's memoir to highlight the infiltration of right wing organisations into the region of Jammu and thereby brewing the animosity between the communities. Pandita in his book *Our Moon has Blood Clots* writes:

> We are from the RSS. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. We will give direction to your anger,' he said. 'Come, let's go join the others,' he continued, looking at the other men.

> We went and stood in front of the saffron flag. 'Put your hand on your chest,' the man said. I had seen them doing this earlier. So I did it exactly as they did. And he made me recite a mantra. 'Come here every day,' he said. 'We meet here every day. We will teach you many things and make a man out of you. A man who is willing to fight for his rights, not only for himself but for his entire community. We are Hindus after all. Have you heard of Parshuram?' he asked (Pandita 108).

It is in this context with the growing Islamization in the valley and a heightened position of right wing forces in the Jammu that the animosity between the two communities grew. Shahid's cry that, "Mirror after mirror / textile by dust, will blind us to our return" (45) can been seen as an eye opener and a call for bridging the gap and understanding the religious extremism. For history has been witness to the fact that the social fabric of Kashmir has always been victim to the religious extremism from both sides.

Shahid's desire of longing, love and belonging for an imaginary homeland constitutes the desire of every displaced or exiled individual who lives beyond the borders of his/her homeland. This sense of displacement comes through in most of the Shahid's poetry. Shahid speaks about this imaginary homeland not only in the sense of physical dislocation or as an exile but also as someone whose homeland has been robbed of its history. Nida Sajid points in her essay "The Traditional Cartography of Agha Shahid Ali's Poetry". She writes:

> This structure of longing and belonging replicates the diasporic desire for an imaginary homeland and complicates the trauma of physical displacement and exile. Shahid's poetry is a complex

> journey of understanding how to write or speak about a land and its people not simply separated by physical dislocation or spatial distance, but by historical and political process that make alien's out of natives on their own soil (87).

Within this imagination and the desire are interwoven thousands of stories that Shahid brings out in his poetry. His poetry is not a call just for the resolution of the conflict but also for understanding the fabric of the state. His poems not only offer the belonging of the people who have either left or forced to leave their homeland but also talks of the people who although live in that homeland and yet feel the sense of alienation. In the chronicled stories of longing and belonging we often think of the people who live outside the borders of the homeland while as those who live within somehow become less important. Shahid's poetry bridges this gap as it talks of the people within and outside the borders of the homeland. In his poem "The Country Without a Post Office" he says,

> inlaid with gold, then ash. When the muezzin
> died, the city was robbed of every Call.
> The houses were swept about like leaves
> for burning. Now every night we burry
> our houses – and theirs, the ones left empty.
> We are faithful. On their doors we hang wreaths.
> More faithful each night fire again is a wall
> And we look for the dark as it caves in (*The Country 48*).

Shahid writes about the pain shared by people within and outside. Even though he portrays a dismal picture of the people within but does not forget the injustice that has been done to the people who left their homes at the dawn of the night. These lines talk about the dislocation of all the citizens of the homeland. Those who stayed back have lost their identity inside their own houses and those who left have become 'other' in an alien land.

Shahid's is a project of collecting archives. Archives that shape the past and the present of the Valley. Over the years, Shahid has become an important literary figure for the writers who write on Kashmir. He has influenced people from different shades; film makers, painters, artists (Papier-mâché), song writers and literary writers from Jammu and Kashmir. Shahid's call for resolution and the lost history has resonated among all sections of the Kashmiri Society. Shahid's deep attachment with his roots [Kashmir] is prominent in most of his writings. Kashmir features in everything Shahid writes as he puts it "Kashmir shrinks in my mailbox." Daniel Hall in his forward to Shahid's book *The Veiled Suite* writes, "Nothing caused Shahid more pain and outrage than the troubles in his beloved Kashmir" (*The Veiled* 18). Shahid continued to write on Kashmir in the aftermath of militant insurgency and brutal repression at the hands of Indian military. In 1995 when Kashmiri militants kidnapped few foreign nationals who were tourists in the desired landscape, most people were traumatized by this news. Shahid went on to write a poem "Hans Christian Ostro" after a Norwegian tourist who was killed by Kashmiri militants. It was later revealed by Adrian Levy[iii] in a book *The Meadow* that the government of India conspired in the killing of the foreign tourists. Shahid wrote the pain which most people felt at the unfortunate incident. This poem is

one of his most important works on the Kashmir conflict and one of the most deeply political poems of Shahid. He writes:

> beggars to sight? *Whoso gives life to a soul*
>
> *shall be as if he to all mankind*
>
> *given life*. Or will your veins' hurt lightning –
>
> the day streaked with charcoal –
>
> betray you, beautiful stranger
>
> sent to a lovelorn people
>
> longing for God? Their river torn apart
>
> they've tied waves around their ankles,
>
> morning the train that save its passenger
>
> will at night depart (*The Country* 87)

in the poem, Shahid reminds its readers that the tragic incident which had resulted in the death of the Norwegian tourist shattered the social fabric of the Kashmiri society. For they [Kashmiris] are known for the hospitality and generosity all over the world and it was in their land that the man had been murdered. He invokes religion in writing about the death of the man. The poem ends with a haunting image where Kashmiri people themselves mourn the death of the young traveller, who was, as Kashmiris consider its tourists, a guest:

> for drowning towns. And draped in rain
>
> of the last monsoon-storm,
>
> a beggar, ears pressed to the metal cry,
>
> will keep waiting on a ghost platform,
>
> holding back his tears, waving every train

Good-bye and Good-bye (87).

Shahid does bring out the helplessness and a shared pain that the Kashmiri people had with the young traveller. He in fact suggests that Kashmiris are the people who have suffered a lot at the hands of gun and therefore can very well understand the pain of others. Shahid continues his relentless love and the sense of attachment for Kashmir throughout the book. Towards the end of the book he shifts again to the trouble in the beautiful land where he presents what ordinary Kashmiris go through every day in their lives. He says,

> In each new body, I would drown Kashmir
> A brigadier says, *the boys of Kashmir*
> *break so quickly, we make their bodies sing,*
> *on the rack, till no song is left to sing.*
> […]
> And happiness: must it only bring pain
> The century is ending. It is pain (91)

These lines beautifully cover the entire conflict. It is the trauma and the violence that a Kashmiri body has to bear in his daily life. The discourse surrounding the pain and trauma of Kashmiris has been left out completely. What is part of the discourse in the recent past is, how will peace, which is so elusive in the valley, prevail? Kashmiris yearn for the happiness. But they don't see the happiness in near future, the military is the sole custodian of ordinary Kashmiris who live at the mercy of these men who are neither from the own land nor known to them.

The trauma that Shahid talks in these lines has been discussed many times in academic circles but has not yet made its way into the common understanding of Kashmir by the people of India. As the brigadier says about the Kashmiri boys in the above lines we see similar construction and reproduction in Mirza Waheed's book *The Collaborator* in the dialogue between the nameless narrator and captain Kadian:

> … when they are caught, the same fucking Rambos go down on their knees and cry, "Sir, sir, I am innocent I haven't done anything" . . . spineless assholes, I'm filled with nothing but disgust when I see such whining sissies. Thank God for fake encounters! Kadian tries to make a rare funny face and I see a brief glimpse of contorted lips of this man whose humour I don't share but can't afford not to give a faint smile to (Waheed 89 - 90).

The brutal repression which both Shahid and Waheed are talking resonate in most writings on Kashmir. Taking a cue from these writer, young Kashmiris, especially youth, started a new genre of poetry which is becoming very famous in Kashmir. These young artists write and sing these songs that are now been classified as songs of resistance[iv]. These songs are called as rap songs. These songs are mostly written in English language but at times few lines feature in Urdu and Kashmir. Apart from the ones written in English there are complete songs written in Kashmiri and Urdu. However, this chapter will look into few songs written in English leaving aside the ones written in other languages.

After the civil uprising of 2008 and 2010, many Kashmiris, young college going students, started writing their songs – the songs of resistance. These songs have become

instant hits with the young Kashmiris who find their own selves in these songs[v] (Hussain 113). If, on one hand, such poetry is gaining momentum on the ground, on the other hand, it has become a daunting task for the government to stop the wholesale flow of these songs to common masses. The writers of such poetry are often targeted by military establishment.[vi] These songs unlike the regular poetry do not cover the issues of displacement and exile outside the boarders of the imagined homeland [valley] per se but they do talk about militarization, brutality, violence, pain, agony, suffering among many other themes which Kashmiri population has undergone all these years. A major portion of this genre focusses on the recent past which shows the pain and agony of women [mothers] and also highlight the issues of civilian deaths, custodial killings. What is prominent in them is the issue of right to self-determination. But unlike other genres which take a balanced view of both the communities this poetry is more concentrated on what happens in everyday Kashmir leaving out other communities, primarily Pandit community, who live mainly outside the valley. For example, in the song "I protest" the writer talks about a range of issues from occupation to militarization, from oppression to repression but misses out on highlighting the problems faced by Pandit community of the valley.

> They Say When You Run From Darkness All You Seek Is Light…
>
> But When The Blood Spills Over, You'll Stand An' Fight
>
> Threads Of Deceit Woven Around A Word Of Plebiscite
>
> […]
>
> My Paradise Is Burnin' With Troops Left Loose With Ammo'

> Who Murder An' Rape Then Hide Behind A Political Shadow (Kash 110).

This song by Mc Kash talks about the genesis of Kashmir conflict. The reference of plebiscite is to make people aware the promise of Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru that Kashmiris will be given the right to choose their future; to go with any of the two nations of the erstwhile British India. However, he does not focus much on that point rather moves and tries to highlight the plight of the common Kashmiris who lose their lives almost on daily basis to the conflict that has engulfed the state for more than two decades now.

These artists talk about the freedom of speech which has been sent to toss in the Kashmir valley. The right to protest is a prominent theme in these songs. Kashmir is no exception to conflict zones, as in other conflict zone of the world the first thing that becomes causality to conflict is the freedom to speech and right to protest. Kashmiris have been for long suffering with this humiliation. It is this humiliation which becomes a major theme of these songs. These writers are trying to counter the narrative that has been propagated in order to take home the idea of democracy. Since these are the narratives within the land and these narratives are trying to break the bigger narratives they are seen as threat by the state government. Kash writes, "When Freedom of Speech Is Subjected To Strangulation/ Flames of revolution Engulf[s] The Population" (111). These songs as opposed to poems by mainstream writers are intense and the common Kashmiri connects to them (Hussain 113).

In contrast Ali Safiuddin writes about the humiliation at the hands of Indian security forces. The humiliation and the discourse surrounding it has taken a frontal

space in the civil society circles. The liberal society of India has now been advocating the assimilation of Kashmiri youth into the mainstream Indian imagination. For them the humiliation of Kashmiris is the net result of alienation. Although Saffiuddin writes about this humiliation but from a Kashmiri perspective it is just one of the symptoms of military presence. He writes,

Nobody believed in me,
Nobody to trust me
It feels like every single cop is
Here to bust me
What were you Thinking?
I'd Say Come Here and Arrest Me?!
I am Not Freaking Doing that
Go Ahead You can Test Me!
They Ain't Got any Courtesy
To address Me.
They Can Barge into My House Anytime
and Arrest Me!
Without any Warrant or
A Government Document
What I am trying to Narrate is
Every Kashmiri's Predicament (Marva N.Pag)

Such a representation mainly speaks about the identity that the locals have lost even though they live in their land. Their agency has been snatched and they live at the mercy of a government that is somehow seen as anti-people. Their identities are those of

misplaced people who in their own land do not feel the owners of the land but see themselves as subjugated by the presence of military who are seen as outsiders. Such instances are seen in the most fictional works on Kashmir. For example, Waheed remarks in *The collaborator* when the protagonist talks about the identity of Kashmiris, he says:

> It doesn't really matter to him [Captain Kadian] what the names are, as long as there is a photo they show on Doordarshan . . . At first I was surprised that they should carry any identification, but then, everyone in Kashmir has to, even the militants. You simply don not exist if you don't have an ID card on you … in any case I feel they are schoolboy trophies for Captain Kadian, a score he lives by in his murderscape! (14)

Such a reduction of a Kashmiri soul to an identity card is not only the case of security measure but such erases the identity of a Kashmiri. The identity of Captain Kadian is not questioned by anyone instead it is the identity of a local that becomes the issue. Songs such as those of MC Kash or Ali Saffiuddin speak about these misplaced notions of being a Kashmiri. MC Kash can go on and on in his songs to count the dead. For him the dead are not just the number (a statistical data) that are maintained by the government and NGOs, they are people who have names. And by giving names to the dead he is reclaiming that lost space where Kashmiris are just numbers.

Even though such poetry romanticizes, mostly, the efforts to fight the oppression but what is important in such a representation is that these writers and artists write back to the power circles in Delhi and elsewhere who have for years looked Kashmir as a site of horror and a territorial/ideological dispute between two giant south

Asian neighbors – India and Pakistan. The assertion by these writers is that even if they have been deprived of agency to represent themselves, there is the medium of poetry through which they can bring out their anger, frustration and more importantly take head on the power that denies them the agency of speaking out.

Unlike Shahid who is looking Kashmir from a safe distance, as an exile, these Kashmiri writers have experienced the harsh realities of Kashmir. Shahid's is more of a philosophical call for the lost traditions, where he uses archives; Maps, Sufi Shrines, Temples, Muslims, Pandits and their interwoven stories to call for a peaceful solution of the dispute but these writers not only speak about the lost homeland but also vehemently call for a space of their own. They are more aware about the identity they have lost to the conflict that has ravaged Kashmir valley for decades. Shahid was writing at the very beginning of the armed conflict but these writers are a witness to those atrocities, inhuman treatment that has been meted to their fellow citizens, citizens of "the country without a post office."

Shahid chose to name his book, *The Country without a Post office* because of the reasons he felt at the time in early 1990s. The tittle is more of a significance because it points to the fact the 'Country' has lost its identity. It is not the same that it used to be. He says, "but no news escapes the curfews" (26) and then goes on to say, "only silence can now trace my letters to him. / Or in a dead office the dark panes" (49). What is fundamentally different between the two is the idea of the representation. For Shahid Kashmir is a land of its inhabitants who belong to different ethnicities and religions, and therefore there shall not be any ambiguity is representing them. He talks about the minorities within the majoritarian Muslims and makes a case that at the end of it

everyone is a Kashmiri. His writing is a collection of archives that makes its readers feel the pain of the ordinary people living in the 'desired land'. This landscape, even though fractured, is shown both as idyllic and burning whereas in the poetry of these young rap song writing Kashmiris, it is the place which has been burning for more than two decades. They have stopped calling it the paradise in the same way as its colonial masters used to call it. They highlight the immediate concerns of the people.

One of the major fundamental point of departure in the two genres is the representation – for Shahid speaks to and on behalf of Pandits, but they are erased in the representations of new resistance poetry of the valley. If Shahid can talk of the people who were forced to leave their own homeland and crave for their imagined homeland, these young writers talk about the mothers who have lost their young ones to the police brutality and crave for a last glimpse of their loved ones. The pain of the ordinary people is present in both but what makes them different is the way both the genres represent the displacement of its population. If on one hand, Shahid becomes the voice of representing both internally displaced and refugees, on the other hand, these songs talk about the misplaced identities of the members of the community who live with the geographic boundaries of the Valley. Shahid travels through the sections of the society and therefore becomes their representational voice, he talks about a Pandit who has lost his homeland, a mother and a father who lost their loved one, a *muazein* who has forgotten to give the call for prayer, a temple that is robbed of its gods etc., rap song writers neglect some of these important aspects and just focus on the violence that is perpetuated every day in the streets of Kashmir.

Women in Shahid's poetry become the victims of state repression. They have no agency to articulate their grievances, their struggles which they have undertaken in last three decades and have remained at the most receiving end of the brutality. Instead the rap artists make women their voices, their idea of collective desire to fight back and speak to the centers of the power. To conclude this chapter I will use the poem of Kashmiri poet Zareef Ahmad Zareef to understand the madness that has engulfed Kashmir for some time now.

My gaze has been silenced
What frenzy is this?
I lost the city of love I'd found,
What frenzy is this?

I worshipped shadows all my life
Did I alone miss the arrival of the dawn
What frenzy is this?

I smeared the glass with blood to make mirrors
My image – a stranger
What frenzy is this?

I couldn't read the writing on floral walls
my lines of fate turned mute
What frenzy is this?

Socrates did me no favour in leaving

I shouldn't be saying this, but he didn't drink my share of poison
What frenzy is this?

I've lost the city of love I'd found,
What frenzy is this
My gaze has been silenced
What frenzy is this? ("Poetry from the Film" N.Pag.)

Zareef's poem sums the overall situation and the turbulent and violent history of Kashmir. For him it is the madness, a madness that accompanied the conflict and it is this madness that dances on the streets of Kashmir. He makes the case of the identity when he says "I smeared the glass with blood to make mirrors/ My image – a stranger/ What frenzy is this?" thereby asserting that the Kashmiri identity is the biggest victim of this frenzy. Zareef, like Shahid laments on the glorious past of the land which continues to be the most militarized and one among the longest running conflicts in modern world history.

The poetry that has been produced in last two and half decades has vehemently taken the role of speaking to the power. It has disseminated the information to the wider public throughout the world. The Kashmiri poetry therefore, has spoken about most of the issues that are by products of the Kashmir conflict. It sometimes becomes the voice of voiceless and other times becomes the advocate of the people that have suffered during the turbulent periods of modern Kashmir. It speaks of women's resistance, it is a prayer to reclaim the lost homeland, it is witness to the brutalities that the people of Kashmir have faced in these years.

Notes:

[i] See Faiz, Faiz Ahmad. Translated by Agha Shahid Ali. The Dawn of Freedom. Annual of Urdu Studies vol. 11 (1996).

[ii] For more discussion of mass rape in Kunnan Poshpora see, Batool, Essar et al. Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora? Zubaan, 2016.

[iii] For more discussion on the hostage crisis and their death see Levy, Adrian, and Cathy Scott-Clark. *The Meadow*. Harper Press, 2012. Print. also see Timmons, Heather. "A Conversation With: 'The Meadow' Author Adrian Levy." *India Ink*. N.p.,. Web. 23 Dec. 2016

[iv] See Sanjay Kak and Fahad Shah on the rise of resistance poetry from Kashmir.

[v] For a more discussion on resistance songs and rap songs, see Aijaz, Hussain. *Until My Freedom Has Come*. Ed. Sanjay Kak. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011. Print.

[vi] See "MC Kash Raps for Kashmir Protest Victims." *BBC News* 20 Dec. 2010. *www.bbc.com*. Web. 17 Dec. 2016.

Works Cited:

Adil, Bhat. "Book Review: Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora?" *Cafe Dissensus Everyday*. N.p., 21 June 2016. Web.

Aijaz, Hussain. *Until My Freedom Has Come*. Ed. Sanjay Kak. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011. Print.

Alexander, Meena. *Poetics of Dislocation*. University of Michigan Press, 2009. Print.

Ali, Agha Shahid, and Daniel Hall. *The Veiled Suite - The Collected Poems*. 1 edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009. Print.

Faiz, Faiz Ahmed. *The Rebel's Silhouette: Selected Poems*. Trans. Agha Shahid Ali. New edition. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. Print.

---. Translated by Agha Shahid Ali. *The Dawn of Freedom*. Annual of Urdu Studies vol. 11 (1996). Print.

Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.

Marva. "Stories of Art, Music and Resistance from Kashmir Shared in a Stirring Documentary." *Youth Ki Awaaz*. N.p., 24 Aug. 2016. Web.

MC, Kash. *Until My Freedom Has Come*. Ed. Sanjay Kak. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011. Print.

"MC Kash Raps for Kashmir Protest Victims." *BBC News* 20 Dec. 2010. www.bbc.com. Web. 17 Feb. 2017.

Nida, Sajid. "The Transnational Cartography of Agha Shahid Ali's Poetry." *Rocky Mountain Review* Special Issue (2012): 85–92. Print.

Pandita, Rahul. *Our Moon Has Blood Clots: The Exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits*. Random House India, 2013. Print.

"Poetry from the Film | Jashn-E-Azadi." N.p., n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Ali, Agha Shahid, *The Country Without a Post Office: Poems 1991-1995*. Orient Blackswan, 2000. Print.

Timmons, Heather. "A Conversation With: 'The Meadow' Author Adrian Levy." *India Ink*. N.p., Web. 17 Feb. 2017.

Waheed, Mirza. *The Collaborator*. Penguin UK, 2011. Print.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

> The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story. . . I've always felt that it is impossible to engage properly with a place or a person without engaging with all of the stories of that place and that person. The consequence of the single story is this: It robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar.
>
> – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "The Danger of a Single Story"

I introduced this thesis, with references to how Kashmir has been seen as a 'political issue/dispute' between the two South Asian neighbours – India and Pakistan, and also as "unfinished business of partition" (Menon 167). I also mentioned about the territorial ambiguity (as an idea and consequence of two nation theory) of the conflict and how this ambiguity has become a matter of question in most of the studies on Kashmir by political scientists and commentators. My departure from this (political and

historical context) starts from the very beginning, when I introduce this as a thesis not on 'territorial ambiguity' of the conflict, but on the identity of the people distressed by violence, displacement and few other illustrations of conflict viz. memory, nostalgia, pain and humiliation. This departure is not, and should not be, seen as to discredit the historical and political context of the conflict but, as I already mentioned in the thesis, to understand the present one has to learn the past, a very conscious effort to talk about certain issues that have been left or glossed over in the political studies on Kashmir.

I invoke Edward W. Said in the very beginning of this thesis for the simple reason that one cannot necessarily talk about one aspect of the conflict and leave other. Said writes in *Culture and Imperialism, "*Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings" (6). Conflicts are complex, they are sometimes the result of political policies and at other times the disillusionment of people. Conflicts are multi layered; they have local roots and sometimes are manipulated and orchestrated by external forces. This thesis is not about everything of Kashmir conflict, it looks at the humanitarian side of the Kashmir conflict by analysing some of the texts that have been written on Kashmir. In fact, all these texts are a result of this volatile issue that has not only left people to die but has made their lives miserable.

This concluding chapter sums up almost everything that has been discussed in the preceding chapters. It is an overview of the whole thesis, a summary of all the issues that have been extensively examined in this thesis. This chapter also takes into consideration how different genres have looked at Kashmir and Kashmiri people and how have they

presented/ represented them. How is identity, displacement and pain reflected in these genres and last but not the least how do the people within and outside Kashmir perceive their depiction in these texts.

This thesis examines different texts from different genres of literature – fiction, non-fiction, films and poetry. The reasons for choosing different genres are essentially twofold; one, to see how the questions of Identity, displacement, memory etc. are represented in them and also to see how these genres contribute to the resistance, secondly, if they do so how are these representations similar of different from each other. The premise is that all the texts under examination are seen as 'texts' and 'co-texts' in their own individual capacity. The idea that they belong to different genres is of no significance to this thesis. What this thesis essentially does is, it analysis them in their capacity of being individual texts that have a common subject – the conflict of Kashmir.

At this point I must also mention that all the texts explored in this thesis are written by men. The reason is very simple – for there are no such books available in the market that have been authored by Kashmiri women (either in fiction or non-fiction) on the present Kashmir situation. Similarly, there isn't a single book written by anyone from Gujjar community. The reason I am mentioning this is a simple one – that the thesis at length talks about women (their representation and suffering) and Gujjar community. In saying so, I do not imply that the representation of women or Gujjars' would be more authentic if there were books from these two communities. Literature is about images, depiction and reflection of the place and time we live in. Therefore, when Waheed writes about Gujjars' or when Shahid or Gigoo writes about women it does not makes them un-accurate.

Another reason for investigating such a diverse collection lies in the essence that different genres portray same thing in different ways. This examination of portraying one story in different styles gives me the room to manoeuvre to analyze and unravel different aspects of same depiction. For example, if *Mission Kashmir's* Sufi is "'good' Kashmiri girlfriend" who upholds "an ideal version of the secular nation" (Zinck 146; Kabir 35), *Fanna's* Zooni "reflects the purity of eroticized landscape" (Zinck 147), but Haleema in *Half Mother* is a headstrong woman who takes on the mighty Indian State to find her missing son. In the first case both the women are, in words of Pascal Zinck, "repository of Kashmir's virginity and innocence" (Zinck 147) and act as conformists of Indian value system, whereas, in the latter Haleema is a belligerent woman for whom nothing is more important than a glimpse of her missing son. Lastly, the works examined in this thesis are consciously selected in such a way that the representation of all the communities is taken into account. In instances where authors for certain communities are not included is simply because there aren't any books in the same segment by the authors who represent those communities.

The important aspects that this thesis analyses in all the chapters among many others are: identity formation, displacement, trauma, pain, memory and nostalgia. To establish this textual analysis is done as a methodological approach. These texts are read and analysed keeping their historicity at mind. Apart from methodology a number of theories have been used to analyse these texts as representational texts of displacement, memory, nostalgia and belonging. Edward Said's work is used to examine exile and displacement, psychoanalytical tools are used to understand how Kashmir has become a

place of desire for its rulers, since Mughals. Certain aspects of trauma studies and cultural studies help in locating how violence and memory are represented in these works.

A substantial body of literature that has already come, has documented the valley and its people in the conflict. These studies mostly are either historical or political commentaries on the conflict but not on the lives of people who live in the conflict. Studies such as, Walter Lawrence's *The Valley of Kashmir* (1985), Alastair Lamb's book *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* (1991), Christopher Snedden's *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir* (2011), Sumit Ganguly's *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hope and Peace* (1999), Sumitra Bose's book *The Challenge in Kashmir: Self-Determination and a Just Peace* (1997), Mridu Rai's *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir* (2004) and Victoria Schofield's *Kashmir conflict* (1996) are used to understand the dispute. These studies also form the theoretical arguments of analyzing the conflict within the discourse of history and politics.

The thesis begins with Nehru's quote about Kashmir from his autobiography *Discovery of India.* Placing the quote in the beginning of the thesis sets the perspective in place, that is to say how Kashmir is represented in the Indian imagination. It is 'beautiful' – a 'paradise' and it is 'feminal'. The feminality is often attributed to Kashmir in the mainstream Hindi films, thereby creating a fantasy, a compulsion and an obsession of the place in the psyche of Indian audience. Nehru's quote therefore becomes more important, not for his praise for Kashmir, but, for creating this fantasy long ago – perhaps when Bollywood was not even born.

Within this realm of 'fantasy' and 'desire' a comprehensive analysis is undertaken to demonstrate how the beauty and topography has always enthralled people from across

the globe. Mughals, Afghans, British and finally the postcolonial nations of South Asia all have one thing in common, their fantasy for the land. Within this 'desire' lies the history of the place under investigation. In fact, in all the texts (from different genres) the reference of Kashmir as 'paradise' is found, although the meaning and interpretations change. For example, Shahid describes and compares Kashmir to 'Garden of Eden' in the poem "After the August Wedding in Lahore, Pakistan", he says, "and Poison and Brut air, my rare Cashmere/ thrown off, the stranger knew my arms are glass/ that banished from Eden (on Earth: Kashmir)" (*The Veiled* 240) and he ends the last final lines of his poem "The Last Saffron" with the famous Persian couplet "if there is a paradise on earth/ it is this, it is this, it is this" (183). In both the poems Kashmir is compared to 'paradise' but Shahid's paradise is not the same paradise that Jehangir, the Mughal King, had seen it as and used the couplet to describe the beauty of Kashmir. Jehangir's usage of the couplet is like Nehru's – that of nation building, whereas, for Shahid it is the mourning the loss of past and syncretic relationships. The image that Shahid gives us of Kashmir is not the same as of Nehru's or like colonial photographers like Bourne and Burke who carried the visual description of Kashmir to Europe to create the 'desire' and 'fantasy'. Shahid writes:

> Keeper of the world's last saffron, rowed me
>
> On an Island the size of a grave. On
>
> Two yards he rowed me into the sunset
>
> Past all pain, on everyone's lips was news

of my death but only that beloved couplet,

broken, on his:

"if there is a paradise on earth,

it is this, it is this, it is this" (*The Veiled* 183)

In this way Shahid depicts an entirely different 'paradise' far from the 'paradise' that Nehru, Jehangir or Bourne and Burke saw.

However, in the films of Bollywood the 'Paradise' is created, produced and reproduced; sometimes by using Kashmiri frames and sometimes by substituting the landscape by the frames from countries such as Switzerland and New Zealand. This substitution, or in Freudian words, 'fetish', of the landscape is for the national consumption and thereby forestalls any discussion on Kashmir that is uncomfortable. Shahid's reference to Kashmir as Eden's Garden is based on religious mythology – Judeo-Christian and Islamic mythology, in which Adam and Eve were evicted and thrown into a sinful and painful world. Thus, when Shahid uses 'Paradise' he is lamenting on the religious tension, disharmony and exodus of Pandits from Valley but in the filmi genre it is about 'desire' of the land and reinforcing this 'desire' in the psyche of national audience. Even though the images and the frames are the same but they mean different for the two – poetry and films, one mourns the displacement of the people that creates new identities and other celebrates the frame for it is beautiful. Shahid's images are different; they are full of pain. They are not just the images of pain but are the images of new identities that are the result of displacement, he says "You

needed me. You needed to perfect me / In your absence you polished me into the Enemy. / Your history gets in the way of my memory." (*The Vield* 176). Here Shahid talks about the new identity that the Pandits have taken after they were forced to leave Kashmir; they have learned the art of looking at Kashmiri Muslims as enemies. He then intertwines this animosity with the shared history and memory and makes an appeal at the end of the poem when he says, "if only somehow you could have been mine, / what would not have been possible in the world?" (177).

In contrast to poetry and films, fiction and non-fiction do not show the paradisiacal image of Kashmir. For these two genres Kashmir is the land of chaos, filled with gun toting men. There images are heart wrenching, chilling accounts of horror and violence. For example, in *The Collaborator* in the end when the protagonist see the heap of dead bodies, he says:

> I turn away from the river; faint echoes of voices emerge from it, and I decide to move away. Although I'm still tempted, and a part of me really does want to say . . . I do not, because I'm scared of it as well. . . . I must pay respect to these lost ones . . . whose stories I shall tell one day. I should pay my respect to these hundreds of unknown dead, to these unsung, unrecorded martyrs, to these disappeared sons . . . I am so, so sorry for cremation. . . . I stand up at once . . . My hands tremble a little. The nails itch. The tears tried up in the heat. The eyes burn. . . . The fires burnt brilliantly now (Waheed 302 - 304).

Although the image that Waheed sketches is beautiful; a valley and a river flowing through the valley. But the beauty of the image ceases when the dead bodies are

inserted in the beautiful frame; it is no more a territory of 'desire'; of 'fetish' instead it becomes a horrific frame which no one will crave, thus losing the essence of 'paradise'. Similarly, in other texts the images of Kashmir are that of horror, gruesomeness and frightfulness. Therefore, to sum up, the idyllic pastoral character of Kashmir is retained in films and poetry, however, fiction and non-fictions paints it as, to use Shahid's term "crimson red".

In Shahid's poetry, recurrent is the theme of displacement. He is aware of the exodus and its aftermath. He says, "We beg them, "Who will protect us if you leave?" / They don't answer, they just disappear" (*The Country* 25). The displacement is mentioned almost in all the texts that have been chosen for this study. If it is a recurring theme in Ali, Gigoo's *Garden of Solitude* and Pandita's *Our Moon has Blood Clots* are also the works on the theme of displacement and exodus and so is *The Collaborator* and *Curfewed Night* – they *illustrate* migration in the conflict. The only difference one can make is that if Gigoo and Pandita talk about Pandit exodus, Peer and Waheed talk about different displacements including Pandit displacement. However, it does not form subject matter in modern resistance poetry from Kashmir which is both textual and performative. Films gloss overs the Pandit migration and if at all the migration is mentioned it is used as an image to vilify Kashmiri Muslims. The vilification serves the purpose of portraying Kashmiri as 'bad' and 'rustic'. Since, Bollywood uses the migration as a tool for political scholarship for Indian supremacy its lamenting on displacement is not the same as in other forms and genres.

Since displacement and the 'fetish' of the paradise have been considerably demonstrated across genres, let us see how women have been represented in all these genres and different texts; whether there is some sort of cohesion in their representation or not. To answer this, I shall begin by saying that Kashmir is no exception to patriarchy. Kashmiri women have for years stood shoulder to shoulder and sometimes went a step further in the resistance and resilience for the honour and dignity of its people. But for reasons, they have not got their due in socio-cultural and political fields.

The thesis demonstrates how valley has been a site of numerous migrations and displacements. Arguments are put at length to show that the Pandit exodus is not the only darkest chapter in Kashmir. Displacements and exodus of people in Jammu and Rajori regions are put in perspective and some other displacements within the valley are brought to light. If power is the absolute agency to voice concerns, then certain communities have been lucky to present their cases in front of the world community. However, no such case has been made for the minorities within minorities who have lost their home and places of dwelling, for they had to leave to safer places far away from the regular border skirmishes between India and Pakistan. These communities have largely been ignored in the discourse of Kashmir and this thesis is an attempt to highlight those forgotten migrations which do not find place in archives of history.

In most of the conflicts of the world, women become the worst victims of violence and Kashmir is no different than any other conflict zone. They have become the victims of soldiers, gun totting men, politicians and at home they become victims of patriarchy. For these reasons, there aren't any major women's organisations in Kashmir and even if there are few organisations that women have formulated they are

mostly based on the religious ideology. As I already mentioned that there isn't a single work by a woman in these genres that could have been added to analysis, I rely on their representation in these genres which are basically male dominated. In *The Collaborator,* the protagonist's mother is the only permanent women character. Other women in the novel are mentioned and form what we call extras in filmi parlance language. Although it is the mother who goes through most difficult times in the novel partly because of her husband's refusal to listen to her and partly Mirza made her a character who is mostly silent throughout the novel. In the same way, *Garden of Solitude* has not a single women character who is central to the story. But unlike these two texts, Haleema in *Half Mother* is the main character of the novel; she is brave, independent women who fights her own battles. Although, she is the victim of patriarchy and subsequently becomes the victim of pain, loss and brutality. The one thing that is common in all these texts is – pain and suffering that Kashmiri women go in their daily lives.

Women have been subjected to most cruel treatments in Kashmir. This cruelty, is shown, mostly in the form of sexual abuse of women by different agencies. Women have been treated as bodies that are meant to satisfy the collective anger of the nationalism. It is this collective anger that is located throughout the thesis and an argument is made that in order to put the community to sham women are used to achieve the objective of shaming. That is perhaps the reason that we don't find women in the position where they can voice their concerns. Their pain and suffering becomes the

collective suffering of the community as it is the women's body that is used to silence the aspiration and sentiments of the people.

The genre of non-fiction is important one to understand this pain. It wouldn't be wrong to say that in both Peer and Pandita one finds a stockpile of stories; stories of violence, sexual harassment, rape and abuse that has come as a baggage of the conflict. There are the narratives of women, raped and abused by both security agencies and militants. If Pandita tells the story of a Pandit girl raped during initial years of armed insurgency peer tells us the stories of women raped by military. In their recorded narratives Pandita writes:

> Girja, he said, had been abducted and immediately blindfolded. Four men had taken turns to rape her in a moving taxi. As they were conversing with each other, Girja recognized the voice of one of the men . . . [and] in a final act of barbarism, they took her to a wood-processing unit and cut her alive on a mechanical saw (Pandita 118).

And peer writes of a Muslim bride who was raped on the day of her wedding:

> Mubeena stood along with her bridesmaid and others by the roadside. She was bleeding when a group of soldiers dragged her and the chambermaid to the mustard fields beside the road. An unknown number of BSF men raped the two injured women. 'I

> could not even remember how many they were. I had lost my senses (Peer 158).

Some commentators see these narratives a contradictory; perhaps because the authors of the two books are from two different communities and therefore represent their individual communities ("Rahul Pandita, Basharat Peer and Kashmir's Contradictory Stories") but for me they are not contradictory, these stories are interweaved stories of actual occurrences. For this reason, to erase the 'contradiction' of such stories I put into effect the quote from Nigerian author and feminist Chimamanda Adiche in the epigraph of this chapter. She opines that the danger of the single story is not only that it is untrue but are incomplete. Therefore, multiple stories have the capacity and capability of looking at the events that are representatives of the actual occurrences. Such stories in the thesis are taken as narratives of actual occurrences and not the representative of communities. If such a fallacy is let loose then the pain of one community will be overshadowed by the pain of other and as I argue in the thesis that I do not intend to quantify the pain but my examination of these texts looks at the pain and suffering.

Such images are recurring in the poetry; in both Shahid and rap songs but the portrayal in the movies are arrangements of instances where they are hinted at and mostly used to vilify the local population and absolve the state.

One thing that comes from all these works is the pain and humiliation each community, each individual had to undergo. Haleema has to continuously suffer the pain as she is in the perpetual wait of her disappeared son, the un-named protagonist of Waheed is in unending pain; for he dreads the day he will find the dead bodies of his friends who had crossed the de-facto border, Sridar is agonized by the pain of losing his homeland. If these are the narratives from fiction, Shahid sketches an image of loss,

nostalgia and pain. The resistance poetry (rap songs) capture these images of loss and belonging in their own way and so do the characters in movies, for example, Haider is burning with the pain and revenge of his father's killing.

If there are commonalities in portrayal of pain and suffering there are divergences in the understanding reconciliation. If Shahid is an optimist about this reconciliation between the two communities, he writes "It rains as I write this. Mad heart, be brave" (*The Country* 51). Waheed (*The Collaborator*) shows pessimism. Gigoo in *Garden of Solitude* writes about the relations of the two communities. He writes about his father's conversation with his Muslim friend, "I have learnt to love the four walls of the rented room I live in … A generation turned into stone…Longing and nostalgia will keep us sane and rooted … I am sure one day we will meet and start our conversation . . . till then we must continue to hate and love" (Gigoo 179 -180). The optimism that is shown in these works is an imagined construct of reconciliation and peace in the paradise that has lost its sheen.

Lamentation is the commonality that all these genres recognize. Poetry as a mode of resistance has always used 'lament' to write to the power. The power that has disrupted the peace of the valley. Poetry not only laments the exodus and displacement of its people but also laments about the syncretic relationships that the communities had before the insurgency began. It laments the loss of people, who have lost their lives to the conflict, the mothers who lost their sons and the sisters and wives who lost their spouses and brothers respectively. Irrespective of the fact how one translates lamentation it is found across genres. The fiction laments about all these things that I

have mentioned above and so does films, in fact the films that came in recent past, lament on the loss of the past glory of Kashmir.

The 'pain' and 'suffering' that these genres present is a compelling one; for it is a collective pain of the population. If the temporary physical boundaries have separated the two communities it is the pain and the collective suffering of these communities that adheres them to the roots together. It therefore, resonates in all the works that have been investigated. Political affinities, religious loyalties must have made them 'enemies' as Shahid says but the violence and trauma are the things that compel them to understand each other. This pain is a societal pain – a pain which has not spared any one – neither on religious basis nor on ethnic basis. It is a collective memory of men and women, young and old, and Pandits and Muslims.

Lastly, in writing these stories; of violence, trauma and displacement these writers have managed to make their voices heard. Their voices that had till recently been silenced by the violence and the gun culture in their homeland. This writing is important for two reasons; a) it is a representative voice of the people of the state and b) it is an assertion that the people have the right to speak – speak to each and every one who has till now silenced them through the apparatus of fear and loathing. It is not only an attempt to represent themselves but more importantly a form of resistance which every individual is fighting – the fight to reclaim the lost paradise.

To sum up, this thesis investigates three important aspects of the conflict in the works that have been mentioned above. firstly, it attempts to locate how the representation has changed the landscape and its people. Whether or not there are similarities in this representation. And in doing so some of the important aspects that

have come out after examining these texts are; the manifestations of displacement and identity are uniformly represented. Secondly, the issue of lamentation is examined. All these texts lament on the past history and shared memories of the people. In lamenting the past these texts are searching a future that is safe, optimistic and more importantly harmonious. Since memories and history are injected in this lamentation it ceases to be a community specific lament but is a representative of the society in general. Thirdly, it also sees and locates how the women have become the worst victims of the conflict but does not stop at that rather these texts locate violence as the symptomatic manifestation of oppression – in all forms; military, political and cultural oppression. Fourthly, the thesis also tries to uncover how the people have lost their identity and agency because of the displacement within and outside the geographic boundaries of the state and last but not the least the thesis argues that in writing their own stories, the texts have changed the narrative and the history of the conflict, which was mostly written by outsiders. These "imagined communities" have broken the barriers and are writing their own testimonies and histories and asserting that they are not the spectators of the conflict but they are the only real party to the conflict.

Works Cited:

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. Transcript of "The Danger of a Single Story." https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story/transcript. Accessed 18 Feb. 2017.

Agha, Shahid Ali. *The Country Without a Post Office*. Orient Blackswan, 2000. Print.

---. *The Veiled Suite: The Collected Poems*. Penguin Books India, 2009. Print.

Gigoo, Siddhartha. *The Garden of Solitude*. Rupa, 2010. Print.

Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.

Krishnan Nandini. "Rahul Pandita, Basharat Peer and Kashmir's Contradictory Stories." *Sify*, http://www.sify.com/news/rahul-pandita-basharat-peer-and-kashmir-s-contradictory-stories-news-columns-nezkMIebbbgsi.html. Web. 22 Feb. 2017.

Menon, Jisha. *The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan, and the Memory of Partition*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. Print.

Pandita, Rahul. *Our Moon Has Blood Clots: The Exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits*. Random House India, 2013. Print.

Peer, Basharat. *Curfewed Night*. Random House India, 2011. Print.

Said, Edward W. *Culture And Imperialism*. Random House, 2014. Print.

Waheed, Mirza. *The Collaborator*. Penguin UK, 2011. Print.

Zinck, Pascal. “Kashmir: Maps for Lost Lovers.” *The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence*, edited by Om Prakash Dwivedi, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, pp. 143–166. Print.

Bibliography:

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. "Transcript of 'The Danger of a Single Story.'" N.p., n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2016.

Adil, Bhat. "Book Review: Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora*?" Cafe Dissensus Everyday*. N.p., 21 June 2016. Web.

Aggarwal, Neil. "Kashmiriyat as Empty Signifier." *Interventions* 10.2 (2008): 222–235. Taylor and Francis. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Ahmad, Rafiq. "Orientalist Imaginaries of Travels in Kashmir: Western Representations of the Place and People." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9.3 (2011): 167–182. Taylor and Francis. Web. 03 Jan. 2017.

Ahmed, Naeem. "India's Changing Policy on Kashmir." *Pakistan Horizon* 53.4 (2000): 23–38. JSTOR. Web. 19 Aug. 2015.

Akbar, M. J. *Kashmir, Behind the Vale*. Delhi: Roli, 2002. Print.

Alexander, Meena. *Poetics of Dislocation*. University of Michigan Press, 2009. Print.

Ali, Agha Shahid. *The Country without a Post Office: Poems 1991-95*. Delhi: Orient Blackswan Pvt Ltd., 2001. Print.

Ali, Agha Shahid, and Daniel Hall. *The Veiled Suite - The Collected Poems*. 1 edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009. Print.

Ali, Rao Farman. *Kashmir Under the Shadow of Gun*. New Delhi: N.p., 2012. Print.

Ali, Tariq. *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*. Verso, 2003. Print.

"APHC Calls for Talks with India, Pakistan." *dawn.com*. N.p., 21 Sept. 2009. Web. 10 Dec. 2014.

Barbour, John D. "Edward Said and The Space of Exile." *Literature and Theology* 21.3 (2007): 293–301. JSTOR. Web. 18 Apr. 2015.

Barker, Chris. *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies*. SAGE, 2004. Print.

Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. Manchester University Press, 2002. Print.

Bates, Crispin. *Subalterns and Raj: South Asia since 1600*. Routledge, 2013. Print.

Batool, Essar et al. *Do You Remember Kunan Poshpora?* Zubaan, 2016. Print.

Bazaz, Prem Nath. *Kashmir in Crucible*. Pamposh Publications, 1967. Print.

Behera, Navnita Chadha, ed. "Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas: The Forgotten Frontiers." *Demystifying Kashmir*. Brookings Institution Press, 2006. 170–207. JSTOR. Web. 19 Sep. 2016.

---. *Demystifying Kashmir*. Brookings Institution Press, 2006. Print.

---, ed. "Multiple Notions of Self-Determination: Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh." *Demystifying Kashmir*. Brookings Institution Press, 2006. 104–144. JSTOR. Web. 19 Sep. 2016.

---, ed. "Pakistan: War-Gaming Kashmir." *Demystifying Kashmir*. Brookings Institution Press, 2006. 73–103. JSTOR. Web. 19 Sep. 2016.

Benjamin, Sonia. "A Rose by Any Other Name: Exploring the Politics of Mani Ratnam's Roja." *Contemporary South Asia* 15.4 (2006): 423–435. Taylor and Francis+NEJM. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Bloom, Harold. *Asian-American Writers*. Infobase Publishing, 2009. Print.

Bose, Sumantra. *Contested Lands*. Harvard University Press, 2009. Print.

---. "Kashmir: Sources of Conflict, Dimensions of Peace." *Economic and Political Weekly* 34.13 (1999): 762–768. JSTOR. Web. 23 Nov. 2015.

---. *The Challenge in Kashmir: Democracy, Self-Determination and a Just Peace*. 1 edition. New Delhi: SAGE Publications Pvt. Ltd, 1997. Print.

Brahma Singh, Major K. *History of Jammu and Kashmir Rifles 1820–1956*. N.p., 1990. Print.

Bsahir, Shahnaz. *The Half Mother: A Novel*. Hachette India, 2014. Print.

Butalia, Urvashi. *Speaking Peace: Women's Voices from Kashmir*. Kali for Women, 2002. Print.

Chakravarty, Sumita S. *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema, 1947-1987*. University of Texas Press, 2011. Print.

Chambers, Claire. "'The Last Saffron': Agha Shahid Ali's Kashmir*." Contemporary World Literature*. N.p., 28 May 2011. Web. 21 Feb. 2017.

Dar, Masrook. "Negotiations on Kashmir: A Concealed Story of Kashmir." *ThirdFront Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 1.1 (2013): 191–205. thirdfrontjhss.com. Web. 23 Nov. 2015.

deBergh Robinson, Cabeiri, ed. "Between War and Refuge in Jammu and Kashmir: Displacement, Borders, and the Boundaries of Political Belonging." *Body of Victim, Body of Warrior*. 1st ed. University of California Press, 2013. 31–66. JSTOR. Web. 23 Nov. 2015.

Dey, Ishita. "An Interview with Ved Bhasin on Forced Migration in Jammu and Kashmir." *Refugee Watch*. Dec. 2010.

Dwyer, Rachel. "Bollywood's New Dream Indian Cinema Has a Global Future in Its Sights*." New Statesman*. Web.

Faiz, Faiz Ahmed. *100 Poems By Faiz Ahmed Faiz*. New Delhi, India: Hind Pocket Books, 2009. Print.

---. *The Rebel's Silhouette: Selected Poems*. Trans. Agha Shahid Ali. New edition. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. Print.

Forum, Kashmir. "The Power of 'Shakti' in Kashmir." N.p., n.d. Web. 13 Jan 2016.

Gandhi, Kishor. *India's Date with Destiny: Ranbir Singh Chowdhary: Felicitation Volume*. Allied Publishers, 2006. Print.

Ganguly, Sumit. *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*. Cambridge University Press, 1999. Print.

---. *The Kashmir Question: Retrospect and Prospect*. Routledge, 2004. Print.

Gigoo, Siddhartha. *The Garden of Solitude*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2010. Print.

Gigoo, Siddhartha, and Varad Sharma. *A Long Dream of Home: The Persecution, Exile and Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016. Print.

Gossman, Patricia, Vincent Iacopino, and Physicians for Human Rights (U.S.). *The Crackdown in Kashmir: Torture of Detainees and Assaults on the Medical Community*. Human Rights Watch, 1993. Print.

Graham, Bruce Desmond. *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: The Origins and Development of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh*. 1 edition. Princeton, N.J.: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.

Gurmani, M. A. *Kashmir: A Survey*. N.p., 1952. Print.

Haksar, Nandita. *The Many Faces of Kashmiri Nationalism: From the Cold War to the Present Day*. First edition. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger, 2015. Print.

Hardy, Justine. "A Different View of the Wounded Valley." *Asian Affairs* 45.1 (2014): 24–33. Taylor and Francis. Web. 13 Jan 2016.

Harlow, Barbara. *Resistance Literature*. Methuen, 1987. Print.

Hassan, Azadi. "Migration of Kashmiri Pandits: Kashmiriyat Challenged?" n. pag. www.academia.edu. Web. 24 Feb. 2016.

Hilali, A. Z. “Kashmir: Emerging Nuclear Threat in South Asia.” *Perspectives* 16 (2001): 34–56. JSTOR. Web. 19 Feb. 2017.

HM, Sanjeev Kumar. “Constructing the Nation’s Enemy: Hindutva, Popular Culture and the Muslim ‘other’ in Bollywood Cinema.” *Third World Quarterly* 34.3 (2013): 458–469. Taylor and Francis. Web. 13 Jan 2016.

Hogan, Patrick Colm, ed. “Breaching the Ideological Boundaries: Three Films Not (Apparently) about Kashmir.” *Imagining Kashmir*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016. 110–131. JSTOR. Web. 13 Jan 2016.

---, ed. “Fractured Tales and Colonial Traumas: Disfigured Stories in Kashmiri Short Fiction.” *Imagining Kashmir*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016. 200–215. JSTOR. Web. 13 Jan 2016.

---, ed. “Understanding Kashmir: Salman Rushdie’s Shalimar the Clown.” *Imagining Kashmir*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016. 49–70. JSTOR. Web. 13 Jan 2016.

Human Rights in India. *Kashmir Under Siege*. Human Rights Watch, 1991. Print.

Human Rights Watch. *The Human Rights Crisis in Kashmir: A Pattern of Impunity*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996. Print.

Hussain, Aijaz. “Kashmir Rapper Uses Rhymes to Protest Indian Rule.” *Until My Freedom Has Come*. Ed. Sanjay Kak. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011. 113–115. Print.

Ibrahim Khan, Sardar M. *The Kashmir Saga*. N.p., 1965. Print.

India, and India (Dominion). *White Paper on Jammu & Kashmir*. Government of India, 1948. Print.

JKCCS. "Indian State and J&K Government in Denial of Phenomenon of Enforced Disappearances in Jammu and Kashmir" *Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society*. N.p., n.d. 13 Jan 2016.

Jalal, Ayesha. *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.

Jaleel, Muzamil. "Kashmir: A History of Revolt." *Indian Express* 20 Aug. 2008. Web.

Jesse, Russell. *Naya Kashmir*. Book on Demand Pod. Print.

Jha, Prem Shankar. *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Versions of History*. Bombay: OUP India, 1996. Print.

---. "Review of India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55.1 (1996): 207–209. JSTOR. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Johnson, Rob. *A Region in Turmoil: South Asian Conflicts Since 1947*. Reaktion Books, 2005. Print.

Jones, Matthew. "Review of British Documents on the End of Empire. East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-1971. Part I: East of Suez, , ; British Documents on the End of Empire. East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-1971. Part II: Europe, Rhodesia, Commonwealth, S. R. Ashton, Wm. Roger Louis; British Documents on the End of Empire. East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-1971. Part III: Dependent Territories, Africa, Economics, Race, S. R. Ashton, Wm. Roger Louis." *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 81.3 (2005): 651–653. JSTOR. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. “Nipped in the Bud?” South Asian Popular Culture 3.2 (2005): 83–100. *Taylor and Francis*. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

---. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Print.

---. “The Kashmiri as Muslim in Bollywood’s ‘New Kashmir Films.’” *ResearchGate* n. pag. www.researchgate.net. Web. 18 Feb. 2016.

Kadian, Rajesh. *The Kashmir Tangle: Issues and Options. Boulder*. Westview Press Inc, 1993. Print.

Kak, Sanjay, ed. *Until My Freedom Has Come*. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011. Print.

Kakar, Sudhir. *Indian Identity*. Penguin UK, 2007. Print.

Kanth, Idrees. “The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir.” *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 14.4 (2013): 589–591. Taylor and Francis. Web. 24 Jul. 2016.

Kasturi, Bhashyam. “The Kashmir Saga.” *The Hindu* 18 Sept. 2005. Web.

Kaul. “Everything I Cannot Tell You About the Women of Kashmir.” *Of Occupation and Resistance*. Ed. Fahad Shah. Westland, 2013. Print.

Kazi, Seema. *Between Democracy & Nation: Gender and Militarisation in Kashmir. Women Unlimited*, 2009. Print.

KAZI, SEEMA. “Shopian: War, Gender and Democracy in Kashmir.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 44.49 (2009): 13–15. JSTOR. Web. 24 Jul. 2016.

Khan, Hafeez R. “The Kashmir Intifada.” *Pakistan Horizon* 43.2 (1990): 87–104. JSTOR. Web. 24 Jul. 2016.

Khan, Omar. *From Kashmir to Kabul: The Photographs of Burke and Baker, 1860-1900*. New York. Prestel, 2002. Print.

Khan, Shahnaz. "Nationalism and Hindi Cinema: Narrative Strategies in Fanaa." *Studies in South Asian Film & Media* 1.1 (2009): 85–99. IngentaConnect. Web.

Khan, Yasmin. *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. Penguin UK, 2013. Print.

King, Bruce. "Agha Shahid Ali's Tricultural Nostalgia." *Journal of South Asian Literature* 29.2 (1994): 1–20. JSTOR. Web. 25 Feb. 2016.

Korbel, Josef. *Danger in Kashmir*. N.p., 1966. Print.

Krishnan Nandini. "Rahul Pandita, Basharat Peer and Kashmir's Contradictory Stories." *Sify*. N.p., n.d. Web. 22 Feb. 2017.

La' Resistance - Kashmir. N.p. Film. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1FSgYx2ozV0. Accessed. 25 Feb. 2016.

Lamb, Alastair. *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990*. New edition. Roxford Books, 1991. Print.

Lawrence, Walter R. *The Valley of Kashmir*. Forgotten Books, 2016. Print.

Levy, Adrian, and Cathy Scott-Clark. *The Meadow*. HarperPress, 2012. Print.

Mahmood, Tehmina. "Peaceful Resolution of Kashmir Dispute: India's Avoidance." *Pakistan Horizon* 54.4 (2001): 7–24. JSTOR. Web. 25 Feb. 2016.

Margolis, Eric S. *War at the Top of the World: The Struggle for Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet*. Taylor & Francis, 2002. Print.

Marva. "Stories of Art, Music and Resistance from Kashmir Shared in a Stirring Documentary." *Youth Ki Awaaz*. N.p., 24 Aug. 2016. Web. 17 Feb. 2016.

MC, Kash. "I Protest." *Until My Freedom Has Come*. Ed. Sanjay Kak. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011. 110–112. Print.

---. "Raps for Kashmir Protest Victims." *BBC News* 20 Dec. 2010. www.bbc.com. Web. 17 Jun. 2013.

McDonald, Russ. *Shakespeare Reread: The Texts in New Contexts*. Cornell University Press, 1994. Print.

Medeiros, Paulo de. "'Poetry Shall Not Serve': Poetry and Political Resistance." n. pag. www.academia.edu. Web. 26 Jan. 2017.

Menon, Jisha. *The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan, and the Memory of Partition*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. Print.

Mishra, Pankaj. *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom*. Ed. Arundhati Roy et al. New York, N.Y: Verso, 2011. Print.

Mohanty, J. N., and S.K. Mohanty. "Pakistan's Kashmir Policy: The Smoke-Screen of Fundamentalist Agenda?" *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 68.1 (2007): 137–144. JSTOR. Web. 25 Feb. 2016.

Mookherjee, Taarini. "Absence and Repetition in Vishal Bhardwaj's Haider." *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 3.1 (2016): 1260824. Taylor and Francis+NEJM. Web. 25 Feb. 2016.

Murty, Madhavi. "Representing Hindutva: Nation, Religion and Masculinity in Indian Popular Cinema, 1990 to 2003." *Popular Communication* 7.4 (2009): 267–281. Taylor and Francis. Web. 25 Oct. 2016.

Mustafa, Zubeida. "The Kashmir Dispute and The Simla Agreement." *Pakistan Horizon* 25.3 (1972): 38–52. JSTOR. Web. 19 Feb. 2017.

Naqvi, Saeed. "The Killing Fields of Jammu: How Muslims Become a Minority in the Region." Scroll.in. N.p., n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2017.

Nayar, Pramod K. *Reading Culture: Theory, Praxis, Politics*. SAGE Publications, 2006. Print.

Nehru, Jawahar Lal. "Tryst with Destiny Speech Made by Pt Jawaharlal Nehru." *Indian National Congress*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Feb. 2017.

Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Discovery of India*. Penguin UK, 2008. Print.

Niranjana, Tejaswini. "Integrating Whose Nation? Tourists and Terrorists in Roja" n. pag. *www.academia.edu.* Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Noorani, A. G. *Article 370: A Constitutional History of Jammu and Kashm*ir. OUP India, 2011. Print.

---. "Harsh Truths about Kashmir." *Front Line* 20.16 (2003): n. pag. Print.

---. "The Dixon Plan." *Front Line* 19.21 (2002): n. pag. Web.

---. *The Kashmir Dispute 1947-2012*. Tulika Books, 2015. Print.

Oberoi, Surinder. "Fear and Loathing in Kashmir." *The Washington Quarterly* 24.2 (2001): 195–199. Project MUSE. Web. 03 Jan. 2104.

Pandita, Rahul. *Our Moon Has Blood Clots: A Memoir of a Lost Home in Kashmir*. Delhi. Random House India, 2014. Print.

Parnwell, Mike. *Population Movements and the Third World*. Routledge, 2006. Print.

Peer, Basharat. *Curfewed Night*. Delhi. Random House India, 2011. Print.

Peimani, Hooman. *Nuclear Proliferation in the Indian Subcontinent: The Self-Exhausting "Superpowers" and Emerging Alliances*. Westport, Praeger Publishers Inc, 2000. Print.

"Poetry from the Film Jashn-E-Azadi." N.p., n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Prasad, Rajendra. *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents: Presidency Period*. Allied Publishers, 1992. Print.

Puri, Balraj. *Kashmir: Insurgency and after*. Orient Longman, 2008. Print.

Quraishi, Humra. *Kashmir, the Untold Story*. Penguin Books India, 2004. Print.

Rai, Mridu. *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2004. Print.

Rajgopal, Shoba. “Bollywood and Neonationalism: The Emergence of Nativism as the Norm in Indian Conventional Cinema.” *ResearchGate* n. pag. www.researchgate.net. Web. 03 Jan. 2104.

Rao, Nina. “Review of Curfewed Night.” *Social Scientist* 39.5/6 (2011): 87–90. JSTOR. Web. 25 Dec. 2017.

Read, Mark Brandon. *The Popcorn Gangster: Chopper* 10.5. Momentum, 2012. Print.

Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. SAGE, 2012. Print.

Roy, Anjali Gera. “Representation of Sikhs in Bollywood Cinema.” *Sikh Formations* 10.2 (2014): 203–217. Taylor and Francis. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

Rushdie, Salman. *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*. Reprint edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1991. Print.

---. *Midnight’s Children*. India: Random House, 2010. Print.

---. *Shalimar The Clown*. India: Random House, 2008. Print.

Sabitha, T.P. “The Beloved Witness: A Homage to Agha Shahid Ali.” *Indian Literature* 46.1 (207) (2002): 180–183. JSTOR. Web. 24 Jan. 2015.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. Random House, 2014. Print.

---. *Orientalism*. Penguin Books India, 2006. Print.

---. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Harvard University Press, 2000. Print.

Sajad, Malik. *Munnu: A Boy From Kashmir*. HarperCollins UK, 2015. Print.

Sajid, Nida. “The Transnational Cartography of Agha Shahid Ali’s Poetry.” *Rocky Mountain Review* 6.6 (2012): 85–92. JSTOR. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

Sarkar, Saurav. “Crisis of National Identity in Agha Shahid Ali’s Postcard from Kashmir.” n. pag. www.academia.edu. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

Schechtman, Joseph. *The Refugee in the World: Displacement and Integration*. Barnes, 1963. Print.

Schofield, Victoria. *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*. 3rd edition. London: I.B.Tauris, 2010. Print.

---. *Kashmir in the Crossfire*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1996. Print.

---. "Kashmir: The Origins of the Dispute." *BBC News* 16 Jan. 2012. Web.

Shah, Fahad. "Book Review: The Half Mother Is a Story Kashmiris Know." http://www.hindustantimes.com/. N.p., 11 Oct. 2014. Web. 18 Feb. 2017.

---, ed. *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir*. Chennai: Tranquebar, 2013. Print.

Shakoor, Farzana. "The State Elections in Indian-Held Kashmir." *Pakistan Horizon* 49.4 (1996): 61–71. JSTOR. Web. 10 Dec. 2015.

Sharma, Alpana. "Paradise Lost in Mission Kashmir: Global Terrorism, Local Insurgencies, and the Question of Kashmir in Indian Cinema." *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 25.2 (2008): 124–131. Taylor and Francis. Web10 Dec. 2015.

Shingavi, Snehal. "Understanding Kashmir's Struggle for Independence" |*International Socialist Review*. N.p., n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2017.

Singh, Bawa Satinder. *The Jammu Fox: A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792-1857*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ Pr, 1974. Print.

Snedden, Christopher. *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir*. Hurst, 2012. Print.

---. *Understanding Kashmir and Kashmiris*. London: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2015. Print.

---. “What Happened to Muslims in Jammu? Local Identity, ‘“the Massacre” of 1947’ and the Roots of the ‘Kashmir Problem.’” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 24.2 (2001): 111–134. Taylor and Francis. Web. 14 Jul. 2016.

Somjyoti, Mridha. “Memories of Home and Persecution: A Study of Recent Kashmiri Pandit Narratives.” *The NEHU Journal* XIII.I (2015): 57–56. Print.

Teverson, Andrew. *Salman Rushdie*. Manchester University Press, 2013. Print.

Thapar, Romila, A. G. Noorani, and Sadanand Menon. *On Nationalism*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2016. Print.

Thomas, Raju G. C. *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia*. Westview Press, 1992. Print.

Thorp, Robert. *Cashmere Misgovernment*. Longmans, Green, and Company, 1870. Print.

Timmons, Heather. “A Conversation With: ‘The Meadow’ Author Adrian Levy.” India Ink. N.p., Web. 23 Jun. 2016.

Venugopal, Arun. “The Terror of Bollywood.” *Wall Street Journal* 9 Mar. 2010. www.wsj.com. Web. 18 May. 2016.

Vishvanathan, Shiv. “Popcorn Nationalism.” *India Today* 11 Sept. 2007. Web.

Waheed, Mirza. *The Book of Gold Leaves*. Penguin UK, 2014. Print.

---. *The Collaborator*. Penguin UK, 2011. Print.

Wani, Gull Mohd. *Kashmir: Identity, Autonomy and Self-Rule*. Srinagar: New Central Book Agency Pvt Ltd, 2011. Print.

Wirsing, Robert. *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1998. Print.

Wirsing, Robert G. *Kashmir in the Shadow of War: Regional Rivalries in a Nuclear Age*. M.E. Sharpe, 2003. Print.

Wreford, R. G. *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. XXII, Jammu & Kashmir State, Pt III, Village Tables. N.p., 1942. Print.

Zinck, Pascal. "Kashmir: Maps for LostLovers." *The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence*. Ed. Om Prakash Dwivedi. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. 143–166. Print.

Zutshi, Chitralekha. *Kashmir's Contested Pasts: Narratives, Sacred Geographies, and the Historical Imagination*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Print.

---. Languages of Belonging*: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2004. Print.