

**QUESTIONING IDÉES REÇUES: A STUDY OF
INTERPELLATIVE STRATEGIES AND
ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS IN BASHARAT
PEER AND GHADA KARMI'S MEMOIRS**

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**Questioning Idées Reçues: A Study of Interpellative Strategies
and Environmental Ethics in Basharat Peer and Ghada
Karmi's Memoirs**

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ABSTRACT

Questioning Idées Reçues: A Study of Interpellative Strategies and Environmental Ethics in Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi's Memoirs

Adding a new dimension to postcolonial mode of inquiry, my dissertation is an eco-postcolonial appraisal of selected texts with an attention to social justice in the debates of environmental ethics. I examine the memoirs of two writers from Kashmir and Palestine, Basharat Peer's *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* (2010) and Ghada Karmi's *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) as my key texts. The strategic location of Kashmir and Palestine and their contested political statuses have inspired writers to address the issues therein in their creative writings. Therefore, taking into account an overview of other literary writings coming from these regions, the bearing and implications of the selected texts are studied by multiple lenses of selected theories. The multi-modelled theoretical framework helps situate the logic of neocolonialism as spelled out by hegemonic convictions informing these two narratives. Subsequently, the questions raised in these texts are studied for their validity and impact. In addition to the interpellative consequences, the implications and ramifications of these imperialistic and colonizing idées reçues and strategies are studied thematically with the means of factual presentiments as articulated by the two writers. Making no claims for any closure, the alternatives voiced by the two writers in their respective contexts, are also studied and analyzed. Studying appropriation in terms of land, culture, and resources as engines of colonialism, I explore if neocolonialism and settler-colonialism, as identified in the two texts, are fueling an environmentalism due to their amnesiac relationship to the wars of dispossession as Rob Nixon has discussed in the Nigerian context. Drawing on these works of Kashmiri and Palestinian writers, I argue how their narratives depict a compromised local agency of the indigenous space, and how they phrase the issues of marginalization and erasure. I also examine how the official accounts, the Idées reçues, built around Kashmir and Palestine are subverted by the texts of the two selected writers. By narrating the interpellative strategies of neo/settler colonialisms manifested in the social, cultural, and political spaces of their lands, the two writers state the disruption created for the ethnic others. And by stating the environmental ethics of their respective homelands, Peer and Karmi are extending the scope of contemporary knowledge produced in this field.

(372 words)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. ***CN for Curfewed Night: Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir (2010)***
2. ***AQO for A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen (2017)***
3. ***Return for Return: A Palestinian Memoir (2015)***
4. ***In Search for In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story (2002)***
5. ***Married for Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine (2007)***
6. APDP for Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons
7. AFSPA for Armed Forces Special Powers Acts
8. BSF for Border Security Forces
9. CCI for Council of Common Interests
10. CISS for Committee on International Security Studies
11. CRPF for Central Reserve Police Force
12. CUP for Committee of Union + Progress (In Turkey)
13. DDC for De-addiction Centers
14. IPTK for International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir
15. JKLF for Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
16. MHA for Ministry of Home Affairs
17. NSA for National Security Act
18. NSU for Negotiations Support Unit
19. PA for Palestinian Authority
20. PEF for Palestine Exploration Fund
21. PLO for Palestinian Liberation Organization
22. PNC for Palestinian National Council
23. POTO for Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance
24. PSA for Public Safety Acts
25. PTSD for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
26. SAARC for South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Countries
27. TADA for The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act
28. UN for United Nations
29. UNDP for United Nations Development Program
30. UNESCO for The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
31. UDI for Unilateral Declaration of Independence
32. VDC for Village Defense Committees

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research endeavor to *my dear mother*, my guiding light in the journey of my life, my endless support and my best friend, and *my beloved father* (late), whose reassuring presence was my torchbearer for my professional life and beyond.

Literature....

Because it ripples into many disciplines of History, Geography, Philosophy, Logic, Religion, Political Science, Environmentalism, Ethics, and many more; and likewise they trickle into it... (5th October 2018)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: ROADMAP AND RATIONALE OF MY RESEARCH

It is tempting to assume that in terms of consequences, all past injustice is ongoing.
(Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 149)

1.1. Introduction

The last seventy years of the world history seem to be at an impasse concerning the lands of Palestine and Kashmir. The saga of the trials and tribulations of both Kashmir and Palestine dates back to a period shortly after the Second World War, i.e. the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 and the *Nakba*¹ in 1948, the historical expulsion of Palestinians from their homes. The two phenomena open up an array of pertinent ensuing debates. Some aspects of these debates are highlighted in the genre of memoir writing. The self-referential and factual nature of memoirs is significant in terms of relative degree of authenticity of the stated accounts as compared to the fictional narratives.

The present research aims to study two memoirs written by two writers belonging to Kashmir and Palestine. The first selected memoir for this study is *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir*² (2010) by a Kashmiri writer and journalist, Basharat Peer. The second selected memoir is *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) by Ghada Karmi, a Palestinian Doctor of medicine, writer, and an activist.

Two reasons serve as the basis of selection of non-fictional narratives as core texts for this study. The fact that compelled me to select non-fiction from Kashmir and Palestine was that there are more non-fiction creative writings coming out from the realms of Kashmir and Palestine rather than a fictional oeuvre. While the question of striking a balance between objectivity of literary text and subjective rendering of experiences of narrative writers of the selected memoirs may be validated from several anthropological works that I quote in my research. These works supplement the subjective renderings of these literary texts as an accepted objectivity.

Secondly, much research is being done on creative non-fiction writings/ memoirs/ travelogues and other such writings. In their book, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for*

Interpreting Life Narratives (2001), Siddonie Smith and Julia Watson theorize about the literary aspects of non-fictional narratives. Through examples of “Douglass’s *Narrative of the Life*, Emerson’s *Journals*, Thoreau’s *Walden*, and Whitman’s *Specimen Days*,” they argue in favor of integrating life narrative writing as an accepted literary genre. According to them, this trend of considering life narrative writings/ memoirs/ autobiographies as literary genre is a recent development starting in the last decade of twentieth century when there were serious debates about incorporating the “nineteenth-century life narratives into the literary canon of the United States” (103). Thus, this literary aspect, together with a prolific mass of non-fiction narratives from the two places of Kashmir and Palestine validated my interest to investigate this genre. The fact that my supervisor, Dr. Sibghatullah Khan, also use this theorizing about life narrative writings as one of the lens to investigate memoirs of four South Asian academic women, including Sara Suleri, also gave me further confidence to explore in this dimension.

Examining how the selected texts state “questions of sheer survival” (Guha 81), we see their narratives in a dialectic relation to environmentalism and its attendant concern, eco-politics. In other words, the texts by Peer and Karimi subvert the blanket assertions of environmentalism. Therefore, by engaging social justice with environmental justice, my approach is to deconstruct the political, economic, and environmental myths which have led to an “economic Orientalism” (Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 110), “economic expansion” (Guha “Radical American Environmentalism” 78), and an “ecological apocalypticism” (Hunt 11).

The terms used by different theorists, mentioned in the paragraph above, necessitate an understanding of the theoretical lenses used for studying my selected texts. These terms, when considered together invoke a lens which I will explain at length in the coming pages, especially in section 3.2.5. Here, I provide a brief understanding of different aspects of this lens of inquiry that may be helpful in navigating through this thesis. The discussions of Deane Curtin’s book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005) help in presenting a working definition of a Postcolonial Environmental Ethic for the two lands of Kashmir and Palestine, a major dimension explored in this paper. This postcolonial environmental ethic, as I see it, is a postcolonial concern that takes into account “environmental justice, social justice, and economic justice as parts of the same whole, not as dissonant competitors” (13), as Curtin argues in his book. In other words, the disregard

of environmental, social, and economic justice, results in a criminal negligence, which some theorists theorize as “green criminology” (Short 3, 4, 5, 12, 187...).

A preliminary understanding of a postcolonial environmental ethic would be helpful here in this introduction. For the sake of convenience, it may be stated as:

A postcolonial environmental ethic can, therefore, be an ethical statement of facts about a postcolonial space. This environmental ethic may also be termed as an ethics of resistance against “capitalist expansion and our contemporary neoliberal economic order,” as critics like Damien Short (2016) may argue in his book *Redefining Genocide: Settler Colonialism, Social Death and Ecocide* (4). Curtin argues that stating the environmental justice of a place is one form of resistance among many “indigenous environmental resistance movements that are emerging around the globe” (5). Thus, a postcolonial environmental ethic plainly states a “cultural genocide” of “a social group” that is brought about “through the destruction of their culture” (Short 3). Postcolonial environmental ethic, which may alternately be termed as eco-postcolonial justice, also states the indigenous rights or environmental justice of a postcolonial place, the blatant disregard of which occasions a “green criminology,” as Short argues. This green criminology is a “‘harm’-based approach” that allows “many ‘legal’ activities, [which eventually] can be more destructive to the environmental and human and non-human animals than those deemed illegal” (Short 5).

Curtin defines and justifies the term of environmental justice in his book in the context of Gandhi’s resistance movement of civil disobedience and the Dalit resistance movement of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar against the caste system in India. While Short studies the harmful impacts of a disregard of this environmental justice and sees this absence as a green criminology “that involves all the different types of harms which people experience from the cradle to the grave” (189). In light of these points, I argue that it would be helpful to understand the postcolonial space of Kashmir and Palestine if we uncover “genocide’s inherently colonial character” (Short 3) and state a postcolonial environmental ethic for Kashmir and Palestine in plain words before we work for any meaningful peace and reconciliation in this region. The aspect of social justice in this discussion of social and cultural dimension of postcolonial environmental ethic subverts some of the blanket assertions of environmentalism that tend to have disregarded the environmental justice, ethics of resistance, or eco-postcolonial justice of a place (Kashmir and Palestine, for this research). Through this discussion, and further discussion that comes in the coming pages

of this dissertation, especially section 3.2.5., I bring forth the need to understand and develop an environmental ethic for Kashmir and Palestine.

Therefore, in order to study these concerns, I use the well-known and well debated Althusser's theory of ideology and interpellation,³ which, I show, is symbiotically entwined with the lens of postcolonial inquiry that I am using. This multipronged approach, in my opinion, helps to evoke a moral philosophy, which, as according to Robbins, is needed to bring humanity out of its quiescent mode of becoming beneficiaries. I argue that this selection, from two different geographical areas, offers maximum parallels for reading from an informed eco-postcolonial⁴ perspective, which underscores the implications of cultural, ideological, and socio-economic constructs. These dimensions, found in my selection of these postcolonial writers, become an imperative element of investigation in my research. The subtext of these accounts reveal how the oppressor and the oppressed are implicated in these frames of reference.

Apart from being "retrospective prose narrative[s]," the two selected memoirs are also quite similar in terms of what Linda Anderson qualifies for the genre of memoir writing, on the basis of, "the seriousness of the author, the seriousness of his personality and his intention in writing" (2, 3). Taking them as the core texts of this critical inquiry, I study how the writers of these memoirs have taken issues with the established and accepted ideas, the *idées reçues*, in their ontological and ideological contexts. I also study the interpellative and hegemonic strategies that are experienced not only by the narrators of these memoirs and their families but I also look at the impact of these interpellative strategies on the lives of their acquaintances and other people associated with them. These personalized accounts raise awareness for environmental ethic of their respective lands that gives me the rationale to invoke "postcolonial environmental ethic"⁵ (Curtin 48) and explore new dimensions for study.

This explorative research, being intersectional in nature, tends to be interdisciplinary and draws upon literature, history, culture, international relations, politics, and environmental ethics but is grounded in literature both theoretically and methodologically. It invokes legal scholar, Kimberly Crenshaw's coinage of term of intersectionality, who defines intersectionality as "the notion that subjectivity is constituted by mutually multiplicative vectors of race, gender, class, sexuality, and imperialism" (qtd. in Fiorenza 11). My selected texts validate the vectors of race, class, and imperialism, and therefore, this intersectional research makes use of different terms for explicating the

phenomena portrayed in these memoirs. These phenomena are the “ontology,” of the two lands which “constitute social reality” (Grix 59).

The argument of Jonathan Grix in his book, *The Foundations of Research* (2004) is quite helpful in understanding the ontological social realities detailed out in the two memoirs under study. In other words, Grix suggests the need to investigate the nature of the social and political reality, which, in a broader way, provides the first basis of investigation for my research. Any ontological premise, therefore, entails a conceptualization of a political phenomenon, adopting “some picture of nature of social being” (60). The ontological neo colonialism in the context of Kashmir and settler colonialism in the context of Palestine, and related ideological political standpoints, are the first things the selected memoirs seem to be questioning. By problematizing the accepted ideas of normalcy as perpetuated by these hegemons, they question the consequent obsequious acceptance of the status quo by the world regarding the situation of the two regions.

These ontological realities are a result of certain accepted ideas or *idées reçues*, a concept theorized by Edward Said in his seminal book in postcolonial theory. In *Orientalism* (1978), Said uses this term in the context of “preexisting units of information deposited by Flaubert in the catalogue of *idées reçues*” (94). These *idées reçues* are the received ideas which usually go unexamined, and the selected memoirs for this study, contest these clichés and platitudes. Ghada Karmi, through her memoirs and lectures, questions Israel’s rhetoric surrounding the Palestine issue. Similarly, Basharat Peer, among many other questions, problematizes India and Pakistan’s claims on Kashmir. The, perpetuated claims of the neocolonial policies of India towards Kashmir and settler colonialism of Israel, are a plethora of received ideas or *idées reçues*, that the two writers question. The narrators then write about how these unqualified received ideas lead to the limited choices, which the narrators themselves and their narrated characters are reduced to put up with. The resulting interpellation is due to the hegemonies which narrow down any chances of subsequent possibilities of amelioration for the peoples of these two regions.

In the spaces of Palestine and Kashmir, the interpellation occurs due to a hegemonic social system built around domination, oppression, and submission as expressed in the two memoirs selected for this research. The theory of intersectionality (mentioned above), being “a theory of marginalized subjectivity, [] a theory of identity, and [] a theory of the matrix of oppressions” (Fiorenza 11), is thus seen to be playing into the warp and weft of the two

narratives. Moreover, the texts of two memoirs engage an ecological dimension in their narratives that invoke the environmental ethic of their respective places. My work draws from Deane Curtin's work, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005). However, there are a number of critics who have theorized about a "postcolonial environmental ethic" after Curtin. Since their concept of "postcolonial environmental ethic" is, quite helpfully, similar, especially, as theorized in the works of Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin, Ramachandra Guha, Rob Nixon, and Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt, they provide a well-founded basis to build my critique upon and support my argument.

Both the memoirs are a true depiction of the words of Robert F. Sayre that "Autobiographies may reveal as much about the author's assumed audience as they do about him or her, and this is a further reason why they need to be read as *cultural documents*, not just as personal ones" (Smith vii). These two cultural documents, therefore, question the unchallenged received ideas or ideological *idées reçues* of many diverse natures, be they about the history, the militancy, or "decade and a half of curfews, and de facto curfews" (CN 128)⁶ in Kashmir, or the dillydallying of Palestinian Authority or "settler colonialism" (Pappe *Biggest Prison* 37) in Palestine. The two writers address the dominant tropes propagated through policies of either "Politics of Exclusion" (Naeem 123), or "integral, not negotiable" (Chiktara 167), in the context of Kashmir, or "the ideology of ethnic cleansing,..decolonization, [] regime change [...or] one state solution" (Pappe "The Old and New Conversations" 30, 15) in the context of Palestine. Putting it a little differently, both the writers negotiate with the phenomena of what Said describes in the context of Palestine but is equally applicable to the situation in Kashmir; namely the "absence of a strategic ally of Palestinian nationalism [and] the immensely convoluted road travelled by the Palestinian national movement" (On the Question of Palestine 12)⁷. These two very important concerns raised by Said in 1992 are applicable to the issues raised by both the texts of Peer and Karmi.

Basharat Peer's *Curfewed Night* (2010) traces the personal experience of Peer in a chronological manner and is mainly focused on the decade of the 90s when the Kashmiri people's struggle for independence was met with unthought-of brutalities. It also manifests the writer's inner turmoil and a strong urge to become a militant and how he is steered clear of taking such a course with the assistance of his family. Peer then traces his coming of age experiences along with a constant questioning of the ontological and ideological *idées reçues* prevalent in the politico-ideological climate. His writing can be considered as one

of the pioneering prose texts of this millennium which serves as a harbinger, and has become a source of encouragement for many writers, academics, journalists, and anthropologists to study this land. Resultantly, we see an array of many forms of expression by new writers in the context of Kashmir, who have been living under the heel of censorship since 1947. This iron heel can be traced from the previous centuries, when writers like G.T. Vigne in 1842, and writers like Robert Thorpe in 1860s wrote about the atrocities of the Dogra rule. Thorpe was silenced by daggers by the Dogra regime, when he wrote his book *Cashmeer Misgovernment* (discussed further in chapter 4).

Ghada Karmi's *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015), on the other hand, talks about her visit to Palestine, the land of her ancestors and her birth, when she is quite advanced in age and possesses a considerable professional acumen. She visits Jerusalem, West Bank and Gaza as a consultant for devising a media campaign to project the case of the Palestinians' plight. Her narration largely covers her personal, political, and social experience. It is only toward the end of her book that she talks about her personal life in relative detail.

Kashmir is seen by some critics, as home to Sikhs, Buddhists, Muslims, and Hindus alike with differing viewpoints on the conflict. Some believe that the territorial resolution based on referendum would only serve to further delineate differences between these people and might cause civil war. Some critics have called it as a phenomena of "jihadist forces" (Swami 2), or "Pakistani irredentism" (Mukherjee 41) or "terror assaulted India" (Bharat 66). However, an opposing viewpoint may be seen in many works that trace the features of Kashmir's struggle for freedom. In a book studying its leading figure, Syed Ali Geelani, *Paradise on Fire: Syed Ali Geelani and the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* (2014), a book, in which a London based writer Abdul Hakeem (a preferred pseudonym adopted by the writer himself) narrates about how any effort to normalize the situation is sabotaged. He writes about an incident of 18th February 2007 when, the then, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Khurshid Kasuri, visits India "to carry forward the 'peace process'" and how "two powerful bombs [go] off around midnight in two coaches of the Delhi-Lahore cross-border train." Although the casualties are all Muslims and mostly Pakistanis, "the Indian government's first reaction was to blame Pakistan for the blast" (58). This typical war mongering propaganda, which some Indian factions have been tabling out to the world politics is questioned by Peer, besides questioning the internal discordant elements rife in

Kashmir. Peer also questions these begotten idées reçues as perpetuated by the neo-colonialist regimes.

Similarly, working for the office of The Ministry of Media and Communications, Karmi manages to get a firsthand experience of the bureaucratic norms, and the reasons for complacency exercised by these organizations and movements. She therefore questions some of the idée reçues of officialdoms and establishments supposedly working for the cause of Palestinian people, in addition to her questioning of the occupation and the ethnic cleansing meted out by the Israeli Zionist regime.

Therefore, my research foregrounds these concerns raised in the two texts from these two places of Kashmir and Palestine. My investigation, to understand the implications of postcolonial environmental ethic of the two lands brings forth the importance of literature to understand life, especially life in war impacted lands.

1.2. Situating Peer's *Curfewed Night* and Karmi's *Return* in the Historical and Political Context

In order to locate my primary texts within historical and political background of Kashmir and Palestine issues, I intend to examine certain important historical and political writings. This critical survey is likely to help me develop an understanding of postcolonial environmental ethics of Kashmir and Palestine as presented in the selected texts. In the first section, I study the historical and political context of Kashmir and, in the second section, I contextualize the importance of historical and political understanding about Palestine so that I may situate my selected life narratives properly. The reason for my discussing the historical and political writings in the following sections is that my primary texts of two respective lands are non-fiction, memoirs, that are based on the history, politics, and the writers' personal life experiences.

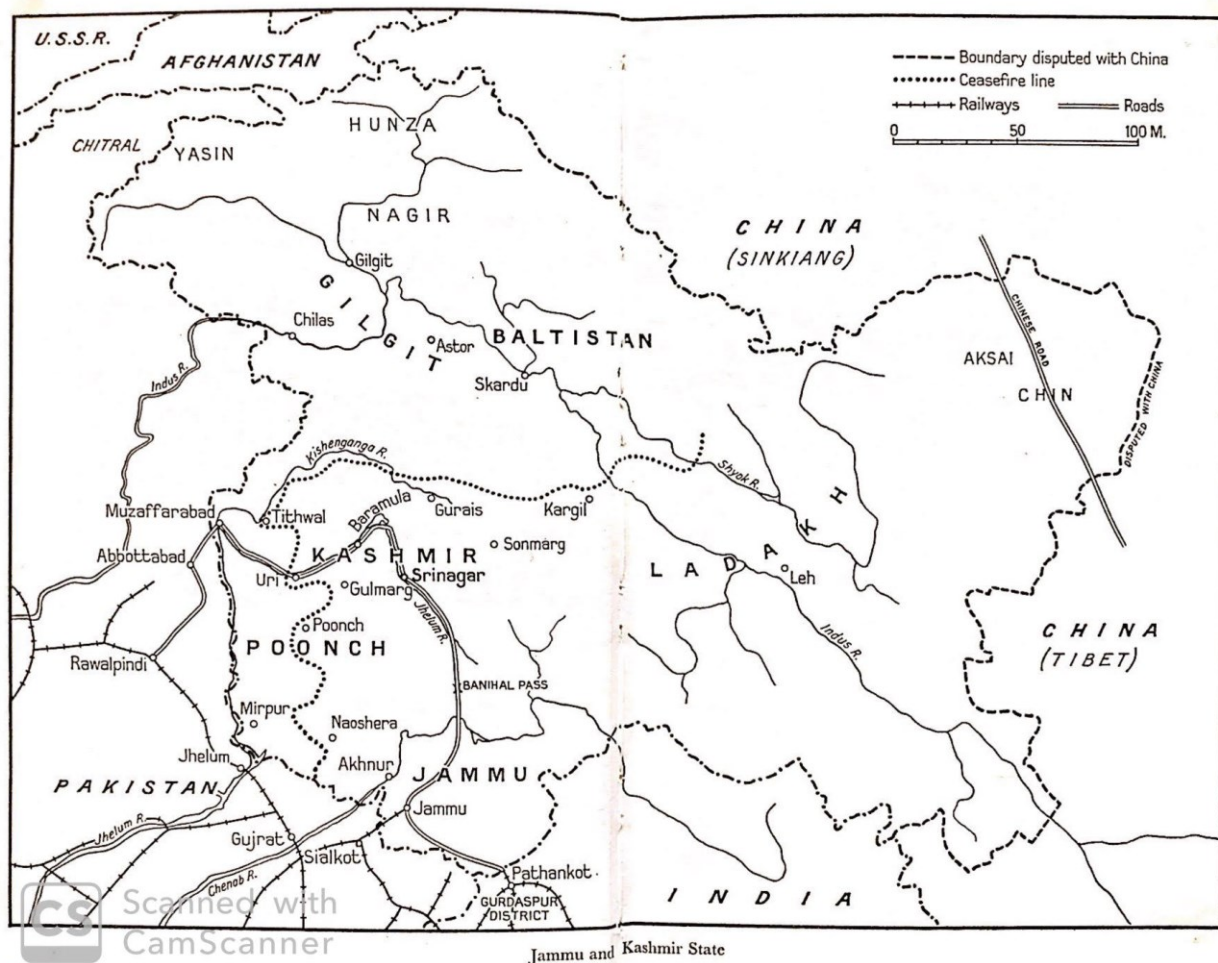
I

In this section I move from a discussion of historical and political writings to the theoretical position of Spivak in order to appropriately locate Peer's text. The impartial account of Alastair Lamb's *Crisis in Kashmir* (1966), followed by his other two books *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990* (1991), and *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948* (1998, 1999), is quite instructive to develop a historical understanding, which correlates with many other independent critics⁸ of this issue. His first book, *Crisis*

in *Kashmir* (1966), gives a lucid description about this issue only after nineteen years of partition.

Lamb's statement about the Gilgit Baltistan area (See Fig. 1) clears the burgeoning contemporary myths surrounding these areas when he writes that "the Gilgit region threw off all vestige [sic] of Dogra rule and declared for Pakistan" (Crisis 51).

Figure 1



"Jammu and Kashmir State" (Lamb Crisis n.pag.)

While, for Jammu and Kashmir, he indicates, in no uncertain terms, that neither "the Jammu massacres can be laid to the door of Indian Congress leaders" nor the Pathan uprising in the Poonch sector is something in which "Muslim League participated" (Crisis 38). However, he also tells us that the two nation states had developed attitudes and policies towards Kashmir right after the partition in 1947. Narrating historical facts for the question

of Kashmir, Lamb writes about Kashmir's popular leader, Sheikh Abdullah's⁹ devotion for Nehru because of both of their secular and Marxist leanings, which was in sharp contrast to M. A. Jinnah's support for "the revival of Muslim Conference under the leadership of Ghulam Abbas." Though, Lamb also acknowledges Jinnah's principled stance for letting Kashmir settle its internal political strife, and so he and other leaders of the Pakistan movement "did not see the need (and subsequently), took no significant part in Kashmiri politics" (Crisis 39). Rakesh Ankit has also quoted George Mallam in his book, *The Kashmir Conflict: From Empire to the Cold War, 1945-66* (2016), who writes for a majority of Khans and Muslim League as "the most stable, pro-British element in the country" (43).

The imbrications leading to partition may be traced back to the ideologies of 'one nation' and 'two nation theory.' The upholders of one nation theory, which clearly what Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah were, as Lamb argues, were not in favor of the idea of Pakistan, as he writes: "Nehru saw accession (of Kashmir), just as he saw the very idea of Pakistan, as a challenge to his secular concepts." Lamb further writes about some factions of "Hindu extremists...[who] saw partition in terms of religious war and felt it their duty to defend the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir against the forces of Islam" (Crisis 40). In other words, it was "a battle between an inclusive secular democracy and radical Islamists" (91) as Arundhati Roy argues in her recent book, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (2014). Thus, Lamb provides the accounts of Indian heavy involvement in the imbroglio of acquiring Kashmir at all costs.

In 1946, Colonel Webb indicates the interpellative strategies of continuing with the colonial policies, adopted by the Indian establishment. According to Webb, as Lamb writes,

Nehru had developed a definite policy for the future of the State of Jammu & Kashmir once the British had departed. Under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah it was to be made into an anti-Pakistani (whatever shape Pakistan might eventually assume) zone to the north of Punjab. [The] special relationship [of Nehru and Lord and Lady Mountbatten] was to infect everything which Nehru told Mountbatten about the State of Jammu and Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah's special position there as the voice of the Kashmiri people. [And the] policies of both Mountbatten and Nehru [with having] common underlying objective, the eventual incorporation of the State of Jammu & Kashmir in India. (Incomplete Partition 101,104)

Lamb describes the “covert, almost subliminal, campaign” and maneuvers of securing those parts of Gurdaspur that would safeguard India’s interests, and believes that these clandestine tactics “made an utter nonsense of [Mountbatten’s] claim to have had absolutely no control over what Sir Cyril Radcliffe might or might not decide” (Incomplete Partition 110). Lamb also charts out the interpellative measures that were carried out by Hari Singh’s “guile,” and Indian equivocations, in the wake of the “Standstill Agreements” that Hari Singh telegraphed to both India and Pakistan on 12th of August; to which Pakistan “lost no time in replying,” whereas India’s “prevarication...amounted to rejection” (Incomplete Partition 111-2). The accession of Kashmir (though, Hari Singh, naively, considering it to be temporary) was an open violation of the Standstill Agreements, as Lamb notes.

Rakesh Ankit also cites the state of affairs on 11 February 1948, when Douglas Gracey took over as Pakistan Army Chief from Frank Messervy. “His first challenge,” writes Ankit, “was India’s spring offensive, expected in March 1948, which was looked upon in London as a ‘fait accompli’ against Pakistan as well as UN” (48). Ankit, an academic teaching history in India, in his recent book on Kashmir, investigates “Kashmir’s journey from being a residual irritant of the British Indian Empire, to becoming a Commonwealth embarrassment and its eventual metamorphosis into a security concern in the cold war climate(s)” (n.pag.). Sumantra Bose also considers Indian military success was only made possible due to the help of National Conference and Sheikh Abdullah, when he and his colleagues chose “to throw in their lot with India” (168). Citing from these stated records gives a fair idea of the state of affairs at the time of the partition and even prior to it.

Thus, it may also be seen that Maharaja avoids to meet with the viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, when he comes to visit Kashmir and sends the viceroy on a fishing trip. Only during a brief meeting time that Maharaja affords the viceroy, Mountbatten believes that he has given a sound advice to the Maharaja; that he was not to join either of the constituent assemblies until the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been set up and the situation was a bit clearer. The viceroy also advises the Maharaja to sign a “standstill agreement” with both India and Pakistan (Crisis 43) (Schofield 24). This visit is seen disapprovingly by Nehru, who is not pleased by the results and later writes to the viceroy, “There was considerable disappointment at the lack of results of your visit” (Schofield 30).

And on 25 October 1947, two months after the transfer of power, and (important to note) only “one day before the Maharaja of Kashmir’s accession to India” (which, understandably, is argued as a fake document in Lamb’s other book), the Indian Foreign Department writes a telegram to the British Government, that

the Maharaja be supported against the invading Pathan tribesmen on the following grounds:....Security of Kashmir, which must depend on internal tranquility and existence of stable government, is vital to security of India, especially since part of the southern boundary of Kashmir and India are common. Helping Kashmir, therefore, is an obligation of national interest to India. (Crisis 40)

Lamb’s line of reasoning is cogent with the observations of many other critics about the very concept of ‘Pakistan.’ Such telegrams from Indian Foreign Department to the departing colonial power of the British Government, even prior to the instrument of accession of Kashmir, speaks for the stratagems of the powers, who believed in the inevitable collapse of this (brand-named) Islamic State, especially if the existing chaos at the time of partition was “allowed to extend to Kashmir and the strategic borderlands” (Crisis 41). Thus, Lamb sees the allowing of an extension of the partition’s existing chaos to the borderland of Kashmir as an effective strategy of India.

Therefore, the strategic moves of Kashmir being “visited by Acharya Kripalani, a leading figure of the Congress movement” on the eve of partition; the concomitant episodes of removal of a Hindu Prime Minister of Kashmir, Pandit Kak on the suspicion of having some (ethical) leanings towards Pakistan; the release of Sheikh Abdullah from jail; are all, as seen by Alastair Lamb, pointing to the premeditated maneuvers by Indian establishment. The confirmation of the above statement may be sought from the secret correspondence of Sir Claude Aichinleck, commander of the Indian Army over the crucial period of partition that he wrote to his superiors in London:

I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the present India Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis. In this I am supported by the unanimous opinion of my senior officers, and indeed by all responsible British officers cognizant of the situation. (Crisis 41).

This quote, besides the obvious inference of Indian involvement in securing Kashmir (with almost negligible connection from Pakistan’s side) reminds us of the Indian establishment

inheriting the administrative structures of the British Empire that Spivak speaks of in her article (albeit in a different context), which fits with Curtin's definition of "the new ruling class among the indigenous peoples [who] inflict[] the lessons of colonial discipline on its own citizens and their relationships to place" (47). While Spivak and Curtin make postcolonialism aware of such pitfalls, Ashcroft describes this phenomenon as double colonization. One manifestation of this double colonization may be seen in Lamb's words, when he quotes from M.C. Mahajan's book:

M. C. Mahajan, in late September 1947 after he had been offered the Prime Ministership [sic] of Kashmir, had discussions in New Delhi with Patel, Baldev Singh and Nehru on the terms on which the Maharaja of Kashmir might accede to India. Mahajan reports that on 11 October 1947, the day after he had formally become the Prime Minister of Kashmir, V. P. Menon advised him to bring about Kashmir's accession to India if he possibly could. On the same day Lord Mountbatten, while evidently thinking it probable that Kashmir would in fact go to Pakistan, yet 'said that as Governor General of India he would be very happy if I [Mahajan] advised the Maharaja to accede to India.' M. C. Mahajan's account makes it clear that, before the tribal invasion, negotiations at a high level were in progress over Kashmir's accession to India. See Mahajan, op. cit., pp. 126-8. (Crisis 44-5)

The dates mentioned in this quote and earlier quotes need to be noted. M. C. Mahajan is being offered Prime Minister Ship of Kashmir in later September 1947, and he is advised by V. P. Menon to bring about the accession of Kashmir even after 11th October 1947. This is a clear indication that the instrument of accession was clearly concocted document (which later was never to be found as it has simply vanished, as we shall shortly see) Thus the instrument of accession is strongly contested and even proved as fake by Lamb in his three books (the subsequent discussion follows in Chapter 2 in the section of review of works on Kashmir. See page 56-58).

This double colonizing factor can be traced from a pattern of lies and fabrications, even in later events. Lamb's clear indication in the imbroglio of the 1965 war over The Rann of Kutch¹⁰ exposes the "bellicose nature" (Crisis 117) of the speeches made in *Lok Sabha*, as well as the allegations of the "Pindi-Peking conspiracy against India" (118). However, he warns that these expressions of Indian outrage should not lead one to believe

“that this process of infiltration represented some kind of clandestine invasion” (120) from Pakistan’s side.

The recent Kargil episode is well known in today’s world history but Lamb reminds us of the 1947 “Indian attack on Pakistani positions in the Kargil sector” as early as 14 or 15 of August, without any official announcement until 24th of August, about “the intention to cross the cease-fire line” (121). Lamb views Pakistan’s retaliation at this time, as a defensive strategy when “Pakistan was forced to attack because India had already attacked.” However, Lamb sees it more of keeping the “Kashmir issue diplomatically alive” (Crisis 123) from Pakistan’s side, especially when both, Indian and Pakistani side were eager to obtain cease-fire without appearing to have surrendered and lost in the eyes of their respective publics.

Nevertheless, scholars like Suvir Kaul, a Professor in the American Academia, believe that the fate of Kashmir could have been avoided if “the principles supposedly applied by Cyril Radcliffe and the Boundary Commission to the determination of the boundaries of India and Pakistan had been extended to this princely state” (40). In his recent book, *Of Gardens and Graves* (2017), Kaul maintains, that, “either the entire state, being Muslim-majority, should have gone to Pakistan or, if the unit of division was to be the district, then Muslim-majority border districts and contiguous territories should have become Pakistani.” However, Kaul views the entry of “Pakistani-sponsored raiders, whose brief success caused the fearful maharaja to accede to India as the price for Indian troops entering the fray” (40). This, Kaul believes, proved detrimental to the “Quit Kashmir” movement that Sheikh Abdullah was directing towards the Maharaja. The legitimacy of this instrument of accession is however, challenged by Lamb as discussed above.

A rhetoric on similar lines is provided by other historians like William W. Baker, a Professor of Ancient History and Sacred Literature, when he questions Indian government’s constant line of reasoning that “if they permit the State of Kashmir to have their plebiscite, then many other states will seek the same privilege” (138). Baker, however, negates the validity of such claims, “that Sikhs and others who have suffered from brutal oppression of the Indian Government openly voice their desire to secede from India and create their own independent states.” He argues against this analogy, which can hardly be permitted to go beyond the factors of atrocities, violence, and brutality, because, according to him;

the other Indian states voted to be a part of India, and the people of Kashmir have yet to exercise that prerogative! KASHMIR HAS NEVER BEEN A PART OF INDIA. THUS IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE KASHMIRI PEOPLE TO SECEDE FROM THAT WHICH THEY HAVE NEVER JOINED! [*sic*] Thus the argument that ‘India will disintegrate’ if it permits Kashmir to ‘escape’ rings hollow. In point of fact, the Indian state will disintegrate if they continue to attempt to rule their own citizens and states with such a prejudiced and corrupt government [even, and also because over their] so-called ‘lower caste’ and ‘untouchables.’ (138)

It follows, therefore, that Baker considers the imperialistic factor in the governing system of Indian state for its disintegration and opines that it is the autocratic factor in a governing system that weakens its foundations. Baker’s point that the Kashmiri identity has never been granted the right to secede belies the usual claims of rightist BJP sympathizers like M.G Chiktara, in his book, *Kashmir Crisis* (2003), with the reiterative claims that “Kashmir is the test symbol of India’s secular polity. If Kashmir is separated from the rest of India today because it has a Muslim majority, what happens to the 150 million Muslims in the rest of India” (Chiktara 148)? Chiktara’s claims counterintuitively prove what Baker says, as it is seen that India’s (so called) secular policies have miserably failed, especially in the confiscated Kashmir. Besides, these claims of “integral, not negotiable” (167) have the dominant tropes of “moral and historical amnesia” (26) as Curtin would suggest in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005). These historical amnesias are challenged by many historians, political analysts, and critics like Baker, declaring that the question of Kashmir separation does not arise as Kashmir never seceded to India in the first place.

Gayatri Spivak’s article, “ATTENTION POSTCOLONIALISM!” (1997)¹¹, as the title suggests, is an article that addresses the environmental concerns from a postcolonial perspective. Though she does not use the term, postcolonial environmental ethic, later used by Curtin in 2005, she urges her postcolonial readers to be aware of the perils that postcolonialism may be subjected to in the garb of biodiversity. Spivak states in her article, “Attention Postcolonialism!” (1997):

When the British Indian Empire was dissolved, for example, the subcontinent was divided. It was the part that is today called ‘India’ that inherited the administrative structures from the Empire, including the Indian Army. The other nation states—

Pakistan, the subcolonial state of Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka—do not therefore emerge in the same space in terms of the old colonial history. (161)

Spivak's clear indication of India inheriting the 'administrative structures of the Empire' and her subsequent comment about the nation states of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, not emerging with the similar baggage of colonial history as India, is quite thought provoking. In a way it allows for understanding India as a possible beholder of Empire's administrative traits, something discussed at a personal level by Peer in his memoir, and critics and historians like William W. Baker, Victoria Schofield, Sumantra Bose, Alastair Lamb and others, on a historical and political level.¹² Connecting this thought with the phrase Spivak uses for herself of being "interpellated in diverse ways," she says she was "excoriated" with "failed metalepsis" because of her refusal to situate herself in "global migrancy" (162). These terms speak for her personal experience with the Empire's administrative structures. Explaining her position, she quotes a Bangladeshi poet, Farhad Mazhar for his experiencing the same marginalization. Contextualizing his words as: "Try try, Allah is your hope," she points out the fact that Mazhar is critical about the "'Third World Literature' that is rewarded internationally." She further says that Mazhar "rages at the complicity between the capital and the religion" (163). Speaking about herself and this Bangladeshi poet, Spivak is positioning herself in the marginalized space of a Bangali and not an Indian. Her article titled "Attention Postcolonialism!" therefore, is to exhort postcolonialism to be vigilant of any instance of trying to frame postcolonialism in a global frame. Though not in the theoretical space, Basharat Peer may be seen to state in his memoir, the impacted environment of his homeland, Kashmir. As, what Spivak sees as the "failure of decolonization—" (164) from her Bengali perspective and is critical of the colonizing traits that India had adopted after the supposed rescinding of the British Empire, we may place Peer's text from a Kashmiri perspective. In her article, she is talking in the context of the exploitations of biodiversity but reading Peer and Karimi's texts (discussed below), I stretch it to all forms of economic expansionisms, economic orientalism, and ecological apocalypticisms that are being meted out for the Kashmiri and Palestinian people (an extension, which her article warrants).

The excoriation that Spivak speaks of, dovetails with what Ashcroft defines as the "exoticizing the native" (Key Concepts 55), two phenomena, that may be closely observed in Kashmir. This is where I locate my text for this research. Peer's memoir is linked up with the entire climate of ideas presented in this section. Emerging from the historical,

political, and theoretical contextualization that we discussed in this section, we may see Peer theorizing about his land and presenting the environmental ethic of his postcolonial realm of Kashmir.

In the light of this discussion, it may be seen that when a text like *Curfewed Night* (2010) is palleted as a life narrative by a writer in the twenty-first century, narrating almost similar lived in concerns, it calls for a re-search, something, I intend to carry out in the following pages of this research.

I now turn to a discussion of historical and political writings of Palestine in order to study Ghada Karmi's memoir.

II

As discussed in the previous section about Peer's text on Kashmir, in this section, I contextualize my discussion about the historical and the political writings on Palestine. it moves down to the theoretical position of Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin's article, "GREEN POSTCOLONIALISM" (2008) in order to align and position my primary text, Ghada Karmi's memoir.

It is impossible to abridge the phenomenal arc of Palestinian history in the limited scope of this research. There is a great segment of world history that needs to be comprehended in order to see what goes into the making of a declarative statement by no less than a high official of a colonizing power, that "the bride is beautiful, but she has got a bridegroom already" and the connected retort, that "And I thank God every night that the bridegroom was so weak, and the bride could be taken away from him"¹³ (Massad 33). Or, as Klaus Polkehn reminds us in his 1976 article, "The Secret Contacts: Zionism and Nazi Germany, 1933-1941," that "the Zionist leaders were determined at the very outset of the Nazi disaster to reap political advantage from the tragedy," or that "Zionism was adopting the same political line as the fascists" (58, 59). Therefore, by foregrounding the importance of this historiographic analysis for a non-specialist reader (that includes myself), I do my best to bring out an understanding of the nature of this conflict and its ramifications that feature in the selected text of this study. These historical facts (and not historical opinions) are important for our over-all comprehension of the subject. I restrict my review to only a few relevant episodes of this history in order to indicate the historical absences or historical amnesias related to my study (as I have done in the previous section on Kashmir).

If we trace back the tragedy of Palestine to the specific starting point of the year of 1897 with the first Zionist Congress, the Basle Conference¹⁴ as suggested by Professor Walid Khalidi, one of the preeminent historians on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we come across a letter of Theodore Herzl (the father of Zionism) to Youssuf Z. Al-Khalidi,¹⁵ in 1899. This letter, in which, Herzl stating himself to be a humble servant of “The Zionist idea,” addresses his “Excellency” and tells him how “Jews have been, are, and will be the best friends of Turkey since the day [] Sultan Selim opened his Empire to the persecuted Jews of Spain” (“Letter ” 91). It is interesting to note the end of this letter, where Herzl tells the Mayor of Jerusalem that if their request is not agreed to, the Jews would be able to find elsewhere what they need. But he also reminds him that in that case “Turkey will have lost its last chance to regulate its finances and to recover its economic vigour” (“Letter ” 92-3). The implied economic gain, or otherwise, is quite pronounced in these words.

An important understanding can be made by studying the tone and tenor of this letter juxtaposed with Theodore Herzl’s book, *A Jewish State* (1904). This book shows this idea of state as only an abstract idea in the “commonplaces of public discussions,” till 1917 (Haas iii). Though Herzl’s book, is considered as a “distinct contribution to the political Zionism” (Haas iii), Jacob De Haas, the editor of both editions of this book, i.e. 1904 and 1917, writes in the preface of the 1904 edition, that initially, Theodore Herzl was not moved by the “novelty of the Jewish State idea,” (Haas iv). He was fearful of being called a visionary of the Jewish people and when he was asked to point out the state for Jews, he had vaguely pointed out, “over there” (Haas iii). Haas further writes that though it was considered as a utopian idea by many, including perhaps Herzl himself, (as Herzl writes that he is not sure about much of the details of this idea) he presents it as an idea for healing the wounds of Jews, which, “the conjunction of Jew and anti-Semitic” had brought about (Haas iii).

Herzl, therefore, offers a solution to the problems that Jews were facing, on account of the European anti-Semitism on one hand, and on account of their Yiddish East European Jews, on the other. The Yiddish East European Jews were a constant reminder of the Jewish stigmatization of being weak, strange, and idiosyncratic. Hence, Herzl reminds the Jews that this problem that wherever the Jews go, they take antisemitism with them, would be addressed with their State (*A Jewish State: An attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish question* 43). This entails two very important corollaries; that, not only was this a utopian idea, of which Herzl himself was conscious of, but it was also a Zionist one. Because

Zionists considered themselves different from Jews and even ridiculed the latter in the Second World War to be weak enough to have made themselves vulnerable to be subjected to Holocaust.¹⁶

Another important aspect that De Haas points out in the preface of 1904 edition is that the very name of Palestine “was sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of most Western Jews” because from the beginning of the twentieth century, they wanted to “reconcile old Judaism with modern life” (Haas v), and so Palestine was not their favored place. De Haas writes:

The Jews had become a religious community, and Judaism a religion with an extensive ritual. As a Western Jew, Herzl was a freak; his book, except as the dream of an idle moment—intolerable, and as a political suggestion, unthinkable and absurd. A popular verdict was that it was an ‘egregious blunder,’ notwithstanding which, the masses being, brought into touch with the author, listened and approved. (Haas v)

This quoted passage speaks how this idea, which tantamount to be an egregious blunder, gets currency shortly after it is presented to the masses. The passage may also ostensibly appear as counter intuitive to Herzl’s writing to the Mayor of Jerusalem, Y.Z. Khalidi, earlier in 1899. The answer can perhaps be sought in the fact that this dream of an idle moment, had to be made to appear vague in order to make it more objective and palatable by suggesting other places along with Palestine.

A closer examination, however, brings out an understanding that Palestine was always the sought after prized possession (because of Kitcheners’ surveys that started from 1874 under Palestine Exploration Fund, the fruit of which transpires in the coming decades). Herzl may have been initially vague about the place for his Jewish State when he said it to be ‘over there’ but later this multipronged approach is fossilized when he offers it as a place for a “Zion” (Haas viii). Herzl now, is offering a chance of elevating the status of a stereotyped weak East European Jew to a strong member of a Zionist movement. This identity needed to be built strong enough to overcome all obstacles to claim the rough terrains and a harsh weather of Palestine which the East European Jew was not familiar with so far.

Therefore, in the time period of only eight years, more like in the vein of modern American rhetoric of ‘Shock and awe,’ the dream of Herzl is translated into a reuniting of

Diaspora elements, organizations of unwieldy masses, political negotiations, etc. to make them overcome any skepticism, that any logical and objective evaluation may have put forward as a sanity gauge. But perhaps the zeitgeist (which, he too says as the world spirit on page 2) of Zionist idea is quite pervasive because of it being financially quite viable. And therefore, between 1901 and 1902, the mere tenacity of his “ideas” fetches him a received audience “by Sultan of Turkey” in (1902), in addition to other governments of Russia, Italy, and the Pope between 1903 and 1904 (Haas vii). The audience by Sultan of Turkey dispels any ideas that we may have, of typically religious dimensions. He, a Jew, being received in audience by a Sultan of a Muslim Ottoman dynasty is a purely business enterprise of what one has to offer to the other (I will return to this point later). The “rudimentary” (Haas viii) plan of 1897 gets stupendous momentum and enthusiasm by the fanaticism or the apparent and political religious zealotry. “‘The bent back’ of the Jew grew straight in the presence of a Jewish flag” (vii), De Haas writes. He also writes in the 1904 preface of this pamphlet that “a Zionist bank has been started in Jaffa, which is already giving an impetus to Palestinian trade” (Haas viii), a fact that perhaps reminds us of the East India Company.

Being quite optimistic about his vision, Herzl challenges the Jews who had tried to solve the Jewish question in other ways of either assimilating into the European culture or subverting to the idea of modernization. He emphasizes on the need to making the national question of Jews a “political world question” (3) because the countries the Jews had lived over centuries, he says, still cry down Jews “as strangers” (3). For Herzl thousands of years of assimilation had not brought them any good, therefore they “as a people” should try their luck anywhere else, where they may neither be ostracized, nor are obliged to prove to anyone about their culture and practices except for themselves (which is quite justified so far). A Jewish state is also a solution on capitalistic terms which, he says would also give a great opportunity for the Christian society to rid itself of “this floating proletariat” (5). Reminding Zionists of the “Berlin phrase (Out with the Jews!)” (7), he emphasizes that the Europe does not want a prospering Jewish presence amongst them, and therefore, he argues, would readily and speedily like to get rid of them. He declares clearly that this “historic group” (Herzl 10) is troublesome for everyone around and need to be separated.

This called for a Jewish man who is no longer meek, gentle, or feminine like the European Jew,¹⁷ as Joseph Massad argues. Jewish gymnastic clubs were made all across Germany and later Israel to make Jewish men worthy of being a “signifying penis”¹⁸ (26)

by their actively participating in “agriculture, war and athletics” (27) (I return to this point in conclusion). Massad views “[t]hese new Jewish bodies are actually imprisoned within this Zionist-created space–time—a space–time whose coloniality is rendered discursively ‘post-colonial’” (40).

Israel, therefore, emerges as a capitalistic solution of Western Europe towards the preventing of any socialist leanings that the Jews of Eastern Europe showed. Herzl exhorts the Jews, who were a peasantry character in Europe, and hence a symbol of backwardness, in appearance as well as habits, to shed off their old ways and customs. However, at one place he even acknowledges that the surrounding communities would usually “tolerate us” for two generations because of “our national character [which] is too historically famous” (10). To give a security against this trait, Herzl warns of infiltrating into the prospective countries of Palestine or Argentina (which he hadn’t decided by then when he wrote this book) but should be granted assumed supremacy. Herzl is seen to be contemplating about the two possibilities and wistfully muses over the possibility of Palestine, saying “supposing His majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine” (12). Thus this “great watershed” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* xxvii), inaugurating from Basle Congress of 1897, unfetters the Jews from the marginalization they experience, but also becomes the harbinger of sealing the hapless fate of Palestine,¹⁹ abetting the subsequent events in its history.

In the next phase in the Palestinian tragedy, it is important to address “hiatus in the historical memory of the West” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* xxiv), (and probably the rest), and study the Balfour Declaration 1917. Some scholars like Professor Walid Khalidi calls it the “notorious Balfour Declaration, [which] incorporated Zionism as an integral part of its post-war imperial strategy for the Middle East” (xxvii). Though, before we look into this declaration, it is also important to mention the 1915-16 Sykes-Picot accords (see figure 2), according to which the Ottoman Empire was divided between European powers, the British and the French imperial powers, as they deemed fit. They marked their areas of influence, which as Rashid Khalidi puts it: They “arrogated to themselves the right to dispose of Arab lands as they saw fit, with no attention whatsoever to the interests and wishes of the peoples affected” (R. Khalidi *Sowing Crisis* 75). These accords were a pre-partition plan to divide the Ottoman Empire—a chronicle of the death, foretold.

Thus, after the cabinet session that passes the Balfour Declaration 1917, on 2nd November 1917, we hear Sir Mark Sykes’ joyful and “flippant remark” that “It’s a boy”²⁰ (J. Jeffries xxiii, 178). This Declaration marks the impetus for the “revolutionized Zionist

prospects overnight” (xxvii) as Professor Khalidi reminds us. J.M.N. Jeffries, a major war correspondent for the *Daily Mail*, discusses all aspects of this Declaration and the truth about Palestine in his untimely-timely 758 paged long book, *Palestine the Reality: The Inside Story of the Balfour Declaration 1917-1938* (1939, 2017). It is a timely book because it is a “well-documented, contemporary exposé of a particularly ignoble period in Britain’s recent history” about that “small and wronged country” (xxi, 748) till 1938; and untimely, because it came at a time when its pages were lost in the hullabaloo of the Second World War and the subsequent Jewish holocaust. It is also an important document because it also, quite justifiably, exonerates many names who have been arguing and keeping the Arab cause alive, even in the face of overwhelming opposition.

Jeffries states clearly that: “Unlawful in issue, arbitrary in purpose, and deceitful in wording the Balfour Declaration is the most discreditable document to which a British Government has set its hand within memory” (210). He analyzes this document with a fine tooth comb in the eleventh chapter of this book, titled, “Analysis of the Balfour Declaration.”²¹ The shocking discoveries that one makes in reading this essay are factual and consuming. He tells us that every word that features in this document was put there painstakingly when the document was shuttle cocked between London and Zionist Organization in America for two years before its implementation. Citing Nahum Sokolov (1861-1936), a Polish-born Jewish writer and Zionist leader, (a linchpin of Zionist movement along with Chaim Weizmann), Jeffries writes that “every idea born in London was tested by the Zionist Organization in America, and every suggestion in America received the most careful attention in London” (179). Jeffries, with his years of reporting from Palestine, shows through his analysis, that every word that is there in the Balfour Declaration was put there deliberately. The vagueness in the document is “intentional vagueness,” and therefore, there “are no accidents in that text,” and it is a “calmly planned piece of deception” (180), he asserts.

In doing the fine textual analysis of every word and phrase knitted into this document, Jeffries brings out the obfuscations of this ‘historic document’ or “an enigma” as he calls it, because the truth was, “that these unfathomable phrases were employed just because they were unfathomable and could be interpreted to pleasure” (183). Writing his book in 1939 and having closely observed, lived, and reported from the land of Palestine, Jeffries wants “an England which can confess her sins, and thereafter take her place at the head of the nations in the strength of her cleared conscience” (181). He, therefore, does not

spare the apologist explanations, even of some as eminent as Sir Winston Churchill, and writes that Churchill's explanations are "as intricate and as lasting as worm-casts in the sand" (180). Jeffries is also critical of presenting this document "under the guise of an entirely British communication embodying an entirely British conception," to all concerned, which it hardly was.

Quoting from his words in verbatim brings out the cruel irony of this text of the Balfour Declaration, with the phrases like, "national home," "a declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," "non-Jewish communities in Palestine," and "civil rights." Explaining these and similar other phrases used in this Declaration, Jeffries writes:

They were told that it was a pledge made to the Zionists: they were not told that the Zionists had written most of it....It is fraudulent....It plays upon general ignorance. What in 1917 did the war-worn British public, what did the deluded Jews of Russia, what did any general body of people outside the Near East know about the composition of the population of Palestine? Nothing....Therefore we have Palestine with 91 percent of its people Arab and 9 percent Jew at the time of the Declaration. It was an Arab population with a dash of Jew. Half of the Jews were recent arrivals....[It is an] Alice in Wonderland legislation. 'I guarantee your civil rights,' said the White Queen to Alice in Palestine land. 'Oh, thank you!' said Alice, 'what are they, please?' 'I'm sure I can't tell you, my dear,' said the White Queen, 'but I'll guarantee very hard.' If only the Declaration had been as innocent as the text of *Alice in Wonderland*. Its nonsense is deceptive nonsense, written with vicious intention. (181-186)

This parable of Alice in Wonderland shows, rather throws, the irony of this document into the face of even the least impassioned reader. This essay primarily, and Jeffries' book, on the whole, brings out an understanding of the true reality of the glossed over facts of the last hundred years or more in the chapter of human history. It shows the knavery and treachery of what Karmi calls "a shoddy private agreement to use the spoils of war as payment to the Zionists for their help in the war" (Karmi, New Introduction xxvi). This honest and principled analysis stands out as a testament for Jeffries' duty to integrity for posterity.

In the original introduction of his book, Jeffries writes that he is not opposed to the return of the Jews, (as no one would object to it, because Palestine is the home of the three

religions) but he says that he objects to “the manner of their return and the extent of their return. The manner has been illegal and arrogant, the extent, excessive” (xxxvi). Citing from different historians like Sir George Adam Smith and Nevill Barbour, Jeffries argues that the presence of Jews “more numerous than their fathers” at the time of writing his book in 1939, should be realistically taken into account. It is the “Holy Writ” for “the fulfillment of a prophesy” that has already been fulfilled.

In other words, the arbitrary and wrongful return of the Jews, he says was due to some of their “peccant leaders and certain British statesmen,” who granted them a “forced entry.” Thus, what started off as a national movement turned into the nasty business of occupation, like any earlier colonial enterprises in history. At the end of his introduction, Jefferies condemns the very act of quoting from the religious texts for wrongful defenses. He couldn’t be more justified in saying: “Those who would use the authority of the Bible in order to perpetuate injustice in the Holy Land would provide an example never before seen of Scripture being quoted for the devil’s purpose” (xxxix).

While Basle Conference in 1897, Herzl’s book 1904, Sykes-Picot accords 1915-1916, and Balfour Declaration 1917, briefly discussed above, set the pace for the future chapters of Palestinian history, like the Peel Partition plan of 1937, White Paper 1939, and Palestinian Revolt of 1936-1939, many historians fill in gaps of this Middle Eastern history puzzle from other strategic dimensions. A Professor of British history, Jonathan Schneer, writes about the intrigues and collusions that transpired across the length and breadth of this region, in his book, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2010). His book, besides being an engaging read, is a comprehensive account of the shady deals and covert operations going on, specifically, in the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire, in which French and Zionism also play their respective critical roles, as he writes: “Even minor events in Ottoman territory attracted British attention.” He tells us how Sharif Hussein of Arabia, who is not an Arabist initially, “but a conservative Ottomanist deeply alienated by CUP²² rule” (23), uses himself, along with his sons,²³ to play against the Ottoman Empire by writing to Sir Ronald Storrs, oriental secretary at the British agency in Cairo and the Counsel general, Henry McMahon, the temporary replacement in place of Lord Kitchener “as early as 1912” (30). Thus, begins the most infamous, McMahon-Hussein, correspondence in history.

Schneer writes, how Hussein is later abandoned for more favorable allies, like Ibn e Saud (375) (as are the rules of the game), with typical imperial maneuvers of a “British-

supported Arab uprising to free Arabia (including Syria) from the Turks” (48). And on 16 December 1915, when all “the opponents of expanding Britain’s reach were absent or silent” (48), we see Sykes speaking these words in front of the War Council. To the, almost bafflement of the other members present, Sykes speaks of the dangers if they are unable to carry out their plans. In other words, Sykes asserts at this meeting that they do not have any chance of error in the carrying out of their plans. Following is the conversation that takes place and I quote Schneer here:

‘If we adopt a perfectly passive attitude ... the Sharif, I think, will be killed.’

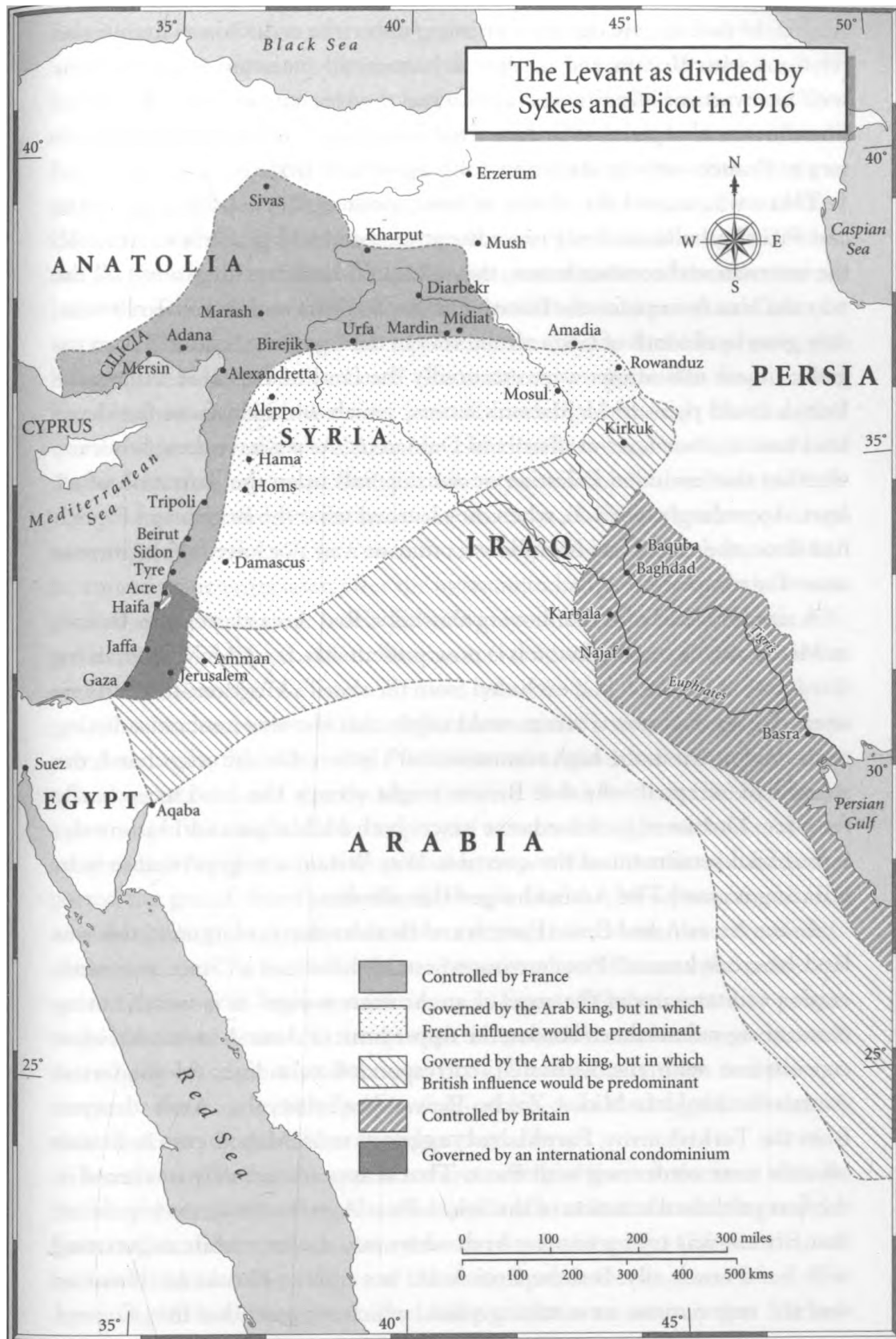
‘Will be what?’ asked Arthur Balfour.

‘Will be killed,’ Sykes repeated, ‘and a Committee of Union and Progress nominee will be put in his place. That gives the Turks and the Germans Mecca. The Christians in Syria will be exterminated....The anti-Committee [of Union and Progress] elements will be destroyed among the Arabs, the intellectual Arabs will be hanged and shot....The Arab machine will be captured...then we shall be confronted with the danger of a real Jihad.’

But Sykes was preaching to the converted. (48)

I am almost compelled to put a derisive emoji (if there is one) at the end of this conversation, especially when we see, that later on, Sykes and Picot are dispatched by the two governments Britain and France to “Russia to acquaint their partner, the third divider of the anticipated Ottoman carcass (See Fig 2), with the agreement’s provisions” (80). It seems more of a mystery novel than the factual happenings in history, if only it was fiction and not a reality!

Figure 2 The Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916



“THE SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT” (Schneer 81)

Thus, the stage becomes open for every player to play his part. The, ‘over there,’ vision of Herzl, with its floating idea of Argentina, Uganda, or Palestine is taken up by the charismatic and capable Zionist leader, Chaim Weizmann, to sail the Jewish ship towards Palestine. The balancing factors like Marmaduke Pickthal, “a political innocent” (Schneer 250), who could not realize Mark Sykes’ “hatred of the young Turk regime” (Schneer 251) are marginalized. And yet, Pickthal’s prognosticating voice on February 18, 1915 speaks of the tripartite agreement, that was not yet “inked in its final clauses” (Schneer 249), and which proves true, after all.

Pickthal’s words in 1915: “It is essentially a mess and not a settlement, bound to produce another great war” (249) become a reality in 1939, but not before the Arab revolt of 1936-1939. This revolt, against the invidious British policies, for unhindered Jewish migration into Palestine, is also triggered by the killing of the Muslim scholar, Sheikh Izz ad-Din Al-Qassam in 1935, a manifestation of Sykes’ declaration mentioned earlier that “the intellectual Arabs will be hanged and shot.” With no help from within their own selves, CUP/ Ottomans (because of their own internal games), and Arabs (with their proverbial voracity), play their respective roles to bring on this capitulation. And so, with the respective olive branches offered to the Arabs, Herzl’s estimation proves right, after all.

Many historians have traced the inner fissures among different Zionist groups or leaders; like Weizmann in Zionist London office, Ben Gurion in Palestine, and Jabotinsky as an opposition leader. However, these rifts do not assuage the actual Zionist aims to gobble down the whole of Palestine (which was always the intent), with the help of their British and US patrons and “tacit bargains” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* xlvi), of course. We witness a change in Zionists’ indefatigable charms that are reserved for the British for the last quarter of a century, to Ben Gurion’s changing course toward “American orientation from 1939 onwards,” which reflect Zionist aims “to establish a new power base, possibly, without Weizmann’s patronage” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* xlix). This is what, as Professor Walid Khalidi argues, is the “Zionist *colon* system,” which is different from any national movement, since no national movement has needed or worked from such “metropolitan base” as the Zionist movement²⁴ (I will return to this point in conclusion).

Biltmore Program in 1942 gives an impetus to Zionist aims. The “national home” of Balfour Declaration, becomes a Jewish State in Peel partition plan 1937, and Biltmore declares “Palestine...as a Jewish Commonwealth” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* lii). The lukewarm Jewish immigration policy by Roosevelt,²⁵ becomes a full blown American

support by Harry Truman, by sudden death of the former in 1945. Though, US is fully aware of the very limited capacity of Palestine of 10,000 square miles, as compared to US 3600,000 sq. miles, Canada 3850,000 sq. miles, and Australia 2960,000 sq. miles, (W. Khalidi From Haven liv) but no one has the liberty to point out this fact.

A distinguished professor of Palestinian origin, Joseph Massad, unpacks the Zionist myths in his book, *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (2006). He asks how Herzl's "transmitters of European civilization to the uncivilized" (15) rhetoric later changed into the vindictive, political Zionist maneuvers of changing the nomenclature to "agricultural settlements in Palestine" (18). This seems to be the beginning of their vampirish colonial teeth. It shows Zionist ambivalence in relation to Palestine. Massad notes that the 1940s racked with Zionist attacks even on their benefactors, the British sponsors. He also talks about Zionist constantly evolving argument and continuously amassing of Zionist "apologia" (20), as he puts it. He also speaks about the all-pervasive effect of "Zionist-speak" (23), as he calls it, that scholars like Anthony Appiah seem to be conjoining Pan Africanism with Zionism, not accounting for the major differences which were there in African, European, or Asian Jews (And now Trump regime has done the same on the highest official level). Massad cites the incredibly ironic twist that the Zionist ideology has maintained and have been propagating. That:

- (i) Modern European Jews are the direct descendants of the ancient Hebrews; (ii) The ancient Hebrews had exclusive rights to Palestine in which they lived alone; and (iii) European Jews have the right to claim the homeland of their alleged ancestors 2,000 years later. (25)

Massad argues that according to this spurious,²⁶ and yet, belligerently pervasive rhetoric, the Palestinians suddenly became the colonialists who have usurped the land of Palestine.

Like Massad, a distinguished professor of history, Shlomo Sand, in his book, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (2009) problematizes all Zionist claims. He proves in a step wise manner how the people of the Judea-Palestine were never expelled but later they adopted Christianity or Islam. He also writes that more people became Muslims than Christians because Judaism is closer to Islam than Christianity. He proves that most people became Muslims because Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) is another prophet who recognizes all the other prophets before (181). In 17th century, most Jews became Muslims. He quotes even David Ben Gurion, according to whom the Arabs and Palestinians are the real

descendants of the Jews. As to the question that if Jews were not expelled from Judea, then how there are so many Jews around the world, Sand answers that Judaism was the first monotheistic religion in the world. There were at least four Jewish kingdoms in history. Therefore, he concludes that people of the world were first Jews and then may have adopted Christianity or Islam.

Massad explains this phenomenon from another dimension in the chapter, “The Persistence of Palestinian Question.” He writes how all the labels of dirty, weak, cunning, parasitical, superstitious, effeminate, associated with Jews were later used for Arabs. The Jews presented themselves as a gift for the backward Arabs (Also discussed as a phenomenon of re-colonization, in the discussion of comparison between British Raj and neocolonial policies towards Kashmir, in the fourth chapter). As a strategy for settler colonialism, certain “genetic markers” were established for the land of the Jews of Herzl, a slogan, which was later changed into the Jewish Land. According to these genetic markers, only the “intelligentsia” were encouraged to have more children, while “limiting the size of ‘families of Eastern [Mizrahi] origin,’ and ‘preventing...lives that are lacking in purpose” (169).

Shlomo Sand adds another element to these genetic markers. He writes that European Ashkenazi Jews or later Anglo-Jews of England were considered superior “especially those who donated money to the Zionist enterprise” (The Invention of the Jewish People 268). These “well planned” strategies also entailed the project of “Israel Place-Names Committee” (Massad 170), responsible for obliterating all earlier nomenclature of Palestinian places. There were no checks for the looting, pillaging, and plundering that followed. And a new “Judeo-Christian ethical legacy” was formulated. Palestinian question persisted through “Zionism pre-State history as the national question, as well as the land question” (171). Therefore, if Zionism’s colonization is an unabated, rather a persistent menace, so is the resistance of Palestine-which is but natural.

According to Massad, besides land appropriation in the most barbaric and inhuman manner, the Palestinian food were also appropriated as Israeli delicacies. And adopting an “anti-Semitic epistemology” the Palestinians were branded with all kinds of shameful identities. If Herzl saw them as “dirty” people who looked like “brigands,” Menachem Begin declared them as “two legged beasts” (172). Even the declarative statements of Ben-Gurion about Palestinians as the direct descendants of original Jews are a long forgotten and obliterated past. Europeanization of this state, a practiced and preached slogan, which

Herzl promoted, to have German language was changed later into the adoption of Hebrew language. Even the words of David Ben-Gurion to “preserve the authentic Jewish values as they crystallized in the [European] Diaspora” (175) were lost.

The Jewish persecution in the holocaust, unquestionably, cried for a permanent remedy from the collective conscience of mankind, in which Palestinian Arabs were also called upon to make their contribution, however modest, argues Professor Khalidi. The same point is also emphasized by Shlomo Sand, who writes about “descendants of Ishmael coming to the aid of the descendants of Isaac against the Byzantine Empire, in fulfillment of God's promise to their common ancestor Abraham” (181). However, it should also be borne in mind, that the number of pitiful remnants of the Nazi persecution was 300,000 of Jews, which was not a very great number if they had been accommodated, as a moral imperative, in all the different places around the world, with a lot more available land and resources than Palestine. The answer to the question, as to why Palestine, can possibly be sought in these two quotes of Harry Truman, and the reader is advised to see it for her/himself. Contrary to any expert advice, Truman declares: “The policy of the White Paper²⁷ is cruel and indefensible in its denial of sanctuary to Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution....I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism; I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* lv, lvii). Thus, it was a capitalistic maneuver with all sort of propaganda and concocted rhetoric to deceptively play upon the world to turn it into a nincompoop, who bought Zionist whoopla unconditionally.

This opens the gates for implementing the Zionist strategy further, with the subsequent Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1948. Any peace building and “positive Arab initiative” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* lxiv) of the first Arab Summit meeting of 1946 is lost to the wind, and in fact, is killed. And though, the Zionist land purchase policies of almost seventy years from 1880 to 1948 had only “netted a mere 7%” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* lxxvi), the Zionist *colon* system works like a pincers grasp and the Zionists territorial ambitions are given a carte blanche. The world (does not, cannot, and would not) witness the Operation Negev (W. Khalidi *From Haven* lxxvi), or Plan Dalet (W. Khalidi *From Haven* lxxix), massacre of Deir Yasin, destruction of the village of Kolonia, attack on the Arab population of Haifa, and the rape of Jaffa.²⁸

The anti-Semitism that Jews had faced in Europe are shamefully the same to what the Palestinians of today are facing. These are in fact, the anti-Semitic strategies which

Jews themselves have adopted against the original inhabitants of the land, the Palestinians. The practice of writing numbers on the arms of thousands of Palestinians that are crammed in the Israeli detention camps, are some of many manifestations of Jewish anti-Semitism with the only difference, that there is the change in the object of persecution. Earlier, it was European Jews, the Jews who fell to German holocaust. While, the holocaust survivors were looked down upon by Zionists as weaklings, with the Hebrew term of “sabon” (Massad 176) or soap, and now it is the Palestinians at the hands of Zionist Jews.

As Rashid Khalidi reminds us that the covenant of Article 22 pledged by The League of Nations stated clearly that the provinces and Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire, their existence as independent nations, can be provisionally recognized. But in the case of Palestine specifically, the mandate was issued to Britain that Palestinian people can only have civil and religious rights, neither any national, nor any political rights (R. Khalidi n.pag.). Hence the promise of these hypothetical rights are aptly depicted in the promises of the Queen to Alice in the parable indicated in Jeffries text cited above.

Professor Walid Khalidi asserts, that for any disaster of the proportion of Palestinian tragedy, “solutions can only be edged towards,” but he also points out that “a solution divorced from the context of its problem is a solution built on quicksand” (W. Khalidi From Haven xxiv). It is with this historical context, which, by far, cannot be considered as exhaustive, and which only touches upon the most distinguishing chapters of human history of colonialism in the Palestinian context, that we move to study Karmi’s memoir, *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015). We study this text in the light of these historic episodes and their ramifications that have changed the demographics of this small province, which was, and is, a seat of all the great prophets of One God, Who sent them all, with the same message.

Huggan and Tiffin, in their article, “Green Postcolonialism” (2008), explore this, relatively new dimension of environmental concerns in postcolonial field of inquiry. Discussing the works of different writers, like Kincaid’s *A Small Place* (1988) and Amitav Ghosh’s *The Hungry Tide* (2004), and the resistance of indigenous people of Nigeria in the context of Ken Saro-Wiwa, Huggan and Tiffin draw on the “connection between colonized past and exploitative present” (2). This is where I locate Karmi’s memoir, my primary text for this study. Huggan and Tiffin state in their article: “The apotheosis of Reason, with its underlying anthropocentric and Eurocentric motives, thus provided both the ideological grounds and the practical basis for imperial expansion and colonial governance in many

different regions of the world” (6). Karmi, while voicing her questions about the ideological interpellations culminating into the colonial governance of Israel over Palestine, states the environmental ethic of her homeland. This is how her text gets situated in my research.

With this historical, political, and theoretical background in perspective, I now am able to locate Karmi’s memoir, *Return* (2015) in my research, which I discuss in chapter 5.

After presenting my argument in the above two sections of introduction, I have located my primary texts within the larger historical and political background and theoretical writings thereon. The two flashpoints of Kashmir and Palestine have been a source of major concerns for the world peace for more than seventy years and the recent developments in the two movements of Kashmir and Palestine raise some questions. I found the “epistemologically useful” position (Robbins 126) of the selected texts quite instructive for this inquiry. The similarities of “environmental ethnocide” (Nixon 246) for the two lands are quite consuming, especially when we see ordinary citizens pelting stones against the oppressors. If it is called intifada in Palestine, it is called intifada in Kashmir. To study these phenomena, a research of this scope may be helpful to seek some answers.

1.3. Delimitation

This enquiry will be limited to the study of selected memoirs written by Karmi and Peer. Karmi, a Palestinian Doctor of Medicine, author and an academic, writes frequently on Palestinian issues in newspapers and magazines, including *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, and *Journal of Palestine Studies*. She is a writer of another autobiography, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* (2002), and other critical works and lectures like, *Jerusalem Today: What Future for the Peace Process?* (1996), “Marxism: The future of Palestine” (2014), and *Married to Another Man: Israel’s Dilemma in Palestine* (2007). Peer is a Kashmiri journalist, and, like Karmi, a prolific writer and a political commentator. His first book is his memoir, *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* (2010) and his second book, *A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen*, (2017), belongs to the genre of politics. Although their other works may inform my enquiry, I have delimited this research to *Curfewed Night* (2010) by Peer and *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) by Karmi. Both the texts go a long way to, a) bring the discussion of their war-torn regions out of the realm of political rhetoric, and, b) address the discussed paradigms of my research, work, and engage, to a maximum degree, the theoretical perspectives used as frame work for this exploratory study.

1.4. Thesis Statement

The argument of my research project may be worked down to the following thesis statement:

The selected memoirs of Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi discursively articulate the territorial claims of India and Israel propagated through their hegemonic strategies and, simultaneously, engage with the environmental ethic of the troubled lands of Kashmir and Palestine.

1.5. Research Questions

Following questions are an attempt to encompass all the main themes proposed and discussed in these memoirs.

Q.1. How do Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi's memoirs articulate the presence and praxis of idées reçues built around the Kashmir conflict and Palestinian issue?

Q.2. How do multiple socio-political hegemonies, as exemplified in the selected texts, cause interpellation?

Q.3. How do the life narratives of Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi trace the environmental ethic in the disputed territories of Kashmir and Palestine?

1.6. Research Plan

The division of chapters addresses the main thematic concerns of my research. After the introductory chapter, literature review, and theoretical perspective and research methodology, I address the retrospective element of the lived-in experience in both the memoirs. I apply the same research methods and tools for the two texts in chapter four and chapter five, where chapter four deals with the text of Peer, while chapter five is an in depth study of Karmi's text with the same investigative tools. In order to make it more convenient for the reader to trace the general trajectory of these two chapters, the two are discussed here together, in order to trace their similar outlines of analyses. However, Peer and Karmi treat the retrospective element of their lived-in narrations differently (discussed above in the introduction section in the discussion about the two writers and their works). The detailed pattern of analyses in the two chapters may be traced as discussed below.

Without following a strictly regimented pattern for analyzing the texts or putting the analysis in rigorously compartmentalized sections, both the chapters separately address the *Idées reçues* built around the questions of Kashmir and Palestine respectively. In other words, the investigative lens of *Idées reçues*, interpellation and ideological and repressive state apparatuses, and postcolonial environmental ethic, selected for this research, overlap each other during the analyses.

Besides questioning the *Idées reçues* built around Kashmir and Palestine by the hegemony occupying the two lands, these two chapters of analyses also address the theme of interpellation as a result of panopticism, surveillance and hegemonic measures as depicted through the selected texts. I study how the ensuing of these hegemonic processes lead to limited choices for the marginalized people of the two places.

This part of the research also examines the hegemonic phenomenon “[w]hen blood is being spilled on the streets, cities and villages are being burnt, and honour is being wantonly violated” (Shameem n.pag.). In these circumstances Peer and Karmi contest if it can be a “moment for a foray into a Neroian world” (Shameem n.pag.), rather than a deeply troubled and pressing investigation of the reasons of such bloodshed and ethnic cleansing? An in-depth study of hegemonic panopticism and interpellative strategies and its implications in the two regions is dealt in these sections of the respective analyses of the two primary texts by Peer and Karmi.

In both the chapters on Kashmir and Palestine, respectively, I also review their texts from the perspective of ‘postcolonial environmental ethic,’ a lens of inquiry proposed by Deane Curtin. The two memoirs substantiate the analysis from environmental ethical perspective when “six hundred years of history [is] destroyed in a day” (CN 194), or, the “sunny vale of Kashmir” (CN 126), fragrant with the touch of the local soil” (CN 223) is being butchered and massacred every day. Similarly, Karmi voices her concern when she sees the impacted Palestine’s paradisiac Riviera. This calls for a concern that are answered using the theory of postcolonial environmental ethic or eco-postcolonialism, as I see it. In the respective chapters, I study the environmental ethic of these postcolonial lands and their violation being voiced as pertinent concerns by the two writers.

The conclusion draws out the similarities between the two issues and analyzes the whole discussion with the future recommendations for study and research.

1.7. Significance of Study

Palestinian issue and Kashmir conflict has also been discussed and researched from a number of perspectives of strategic value.²⁹ My work, exploring the eco-postcolonial aspect in the literature of Kashmir and Palestine is a new dimension and may be seen as a manifestation of what Robert Young has stated as an important concern. He argues that

postcolonial studies should take a colonial legacy as its purview to the extent that [colonial] history has determined the configuration and power structures of the present, to the extent that much of the world still lives in the violent disruptions of its wake, and to the extent that anti-colonial liberation movements remain the source and inspiration of its politics. (Moore 2)

Similarly, my research echoes Ramachandra Guha's quote that "democracy calls for a greater voice of ordinary citizens in decisions that affect their lives" (Environmentalism: A Global History 5).³⁰ My research, therefore, studies the configurations of power structures causing violent disruptions that Young speaks of. Though the texts that I study do not have any active anti-colonial liberation movements expounded in their narratives, but they exhibit the voice of ordinary citizens raising their concerns for the decisions that are impacting their lives and the lives of ordinary citizens of their respective lands of Kashmiri and Palestine.

Kashmir and Palestine have been studied separately in a number of paradigms. Only a handful of short articles and very few book length studies are done by taking the two areas together. None of these studies have studied the literature of the two places together and no study has been conducted from the theoretical perspective that I am applying on my selected texts. The brief overview of the texts and my theoretical perspectives point out the importance of research in these regions which may later help other academicians to explore these two lands in other ways too. The present research project proposes to study both these areas together tracing their similarities and differences and their demographical, socio-political, and environmental concerns. A study with such parameters has not been carried out so far. Only a handful of literary sources are available on the two regions considered together. My in-depth analysis of the selected memoirs is an entirely new perspective and will break new grounds for future researchers and academicians alike.

I also use many fictional works as secondary sources; however, I have selected the genre of memoir writing for its being factual and lived-in narrative. The common themes

of these writings underpin the key concerns of appropriation of land, culture, and resources, and their impact on sustainable environmental discourse. Through this study, not only do I add to the existing scholarship of the relatively new field of dialectical relationship between postcolonialism and ecocriticism, but I also make this interventionist exploration in the literature of Kashmir and Palestine, so far, not researched, in this mode of analysis. Additionally, by taking up lived-in narratives in this intersectional study, I also want to redress a general assumption of a postcolonial examination being mostly a critique of fiction, while ecocriticism linked primarily to realist texts (O'Brien n.pag.). Thus, I emphasize the need for such an inquiry of texts and show how such investigations are important to tap new areas for future research.

Notes Chapter 1

¹ Arabic word that is translated as catastrophe (which can be rendered as the closest translation), sometimes translated, with not so correct translation, as Palestinian Exodus.

² This memoir was first published by Penguin Random House India in 2009 and was titled *Curfewed Night*. I originally read this version. However, shortly afterwards, another edition was published by Harper Press, London and was titled as *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* (2010). Since, in this edition, Peer has named his chapters and sections and provided exact dates of happenings, therefore, for better clarity and for my citation purposes, I have used this edition all across my research, but used its short title *Curfewed Night* only for the sake of convenience. Since this and Karmi's memoir are my primary texts, I would be using the abbreviations of CN for *Curfewed Night* and *Return* followed by the page numbers in in-text citations.

³ I develop definition of interpellation after the detailed discussions of the third chapter and present it in Chapter four in the section 4.4., titled, "Economic Orientalism Versus Social Justice: Interpellative Ideological Hegemonies and Subversive Strategies." For the sake of convenience, I write here the definition of interpellation, which is given on p. 136 also. "For all practical purposes, I propose a working definition of interpellation, as derived from Althusser's theorizing of the term: 'Interpellation is a process of accepting and internalizing the cultural values as they are presented to us without much choice left but to accept. The primary reason of acceptance and internalization is the governing ideology which basically manipulates everyday individual and collective decisions. This ideology then translates into the lives of concrete subjects of a given society (in this case, Kashmir & Palestine), who are interpellated as subjects of the society. These interpellated subjects are reduced with not much of a choice but to obey the interpellating forces of Ideological State Apparatus, ISA and Repressive State Apparatus, RSA.'"

⁴ Keeping in view the postcolonial aspect of my research on account of incorporating Said's concept of *Idées Reçues*, Althusser's theory about ideology and interpellation, and ecocritical concerns stated as environmental ethics by Deane Curtin, I have coined this term of eco-postcolonialism. The detailed understanding of my neologism will be explained during the course of my analysis.

⁵ A term used by Deane Curtin, one of my main theorists in this tripartite theoretical model of inquiry. This term is also used by Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin, and also by Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt, their works cited in bibliography. Curtin has used this term both as singular, i.e. ethic, and plural i.e. ethics in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005). I take this precedent to use the term as singular and plural interchangeably across my work.

⁶ Since this is my key text, I would be citing it with the abbreviation of CN followed by the page number henceforth, instead of Peer followed by the page number. Likewise for my other key text I write *Return* followed by the page numbers. Also, instead of writing their complete titles, I would be writing their shortened titles across my research.

⁷ Since this quote is in the preface of the 1992 edition of Said's book, *On the Question of Palestine* and not in the 1980 edition, I have given the page numbers of the e-book version of this book that I consulted.

⁸ See for instance works of Victoria Schofield, Sumantra Bose, Suvir Kaul, Sanjay Kak, and Arundhati Roy among others, cited in the bibliography.

⁹ Though this popularity can be contested on several grounds. See for instance, books by Alastair Lamb mentioned in note 10, Korbil, Schofield, Bose, Hakeem, and many other critics cited in the bibliography.

¹⁰ Alastair Lamb gives a background about The Rann of Kutch that separates Sind in Pakistan from Kutch State in India. The Rann, which means a 'desolate place' which got flooded in Monsoon season. Lamb writes that "During British rule there had been a number of disputes between Sind and Kutch State over the Rann, which appears to have had some slight economic value, mainly as a source of salt" (Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966* 115).

¹¹ Some parts from this section are submitted as part of an article for possible publication and have been run through Turnitin.

¹² See Lamb's three books on the issue of Kashmir: *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966* (1966); *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990* (1991); and *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948* (1998), *Kashmir: Happy Valley, Valley of Death* (1994) by William W. Baker, *Kashmir in Conflict: India Pakistan and the Unending War* (2003) by Victoria Schofield and *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007) by Sumantra Bose, a Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics, in addition to his earlier work on Kashmir cited in the bibliography.

¹³ Quotes from *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (2006), a book by Joseph Massad, a distinguished professor in Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies at Columbia University, New York. He writes: "When a Polish Jew, upon returning from Palestine in 1920, reported that "the bride is beautiful, but she has got a bridegroom already," Golda Meir retorted by saying:

“And I thank God every night that the bridegroom was so weak, and the bride could be taken away from him” (33).

¹⁴ Walid Khalidi, “Introduction” in *From Haven to conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* xxii, (Washington: Institute of Palestinian Studies, 1971), xxi-lxxxiii.

¹⁵ Palestinian scholar and Mayor of Jerusalem in 1899. Herzl’s letter was written in French and was received by Y.Z. Khalidi, while on a visit to Constantinople. See Theodore Herzl, “Letter from Dr. Theodore Herzl to M. Youssuf Zia Al-Khalidi” in *From Haven to conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* 91, (Washington: Institute of Palestinian Studies, 1971): 91-93.

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion, see Joseph Massad’s book, *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (2006) (J. A. Massad 34). Also see, Klaus Polkehn, “The Secret Contacts: Zionism and Nazi Germany, 1933-1941,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, no. 5, (1976): 54-82.

¹⁷ Massad, “The Persistence of Palestinian Question,” in *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians*, (New York: Routledge, 2006): 166-178. According to Massad, after the Second World War, Zionists even called the Jews who died in the Holocaust as feminine and not been able to defy death and the concentration camps of Nazi Germany by sticking to their places in Europe and not migrating to other places. Hence the Zionist call for making the Jews strong and manly.

¹⁸ See Massad p.26-27. He theorizes the phallic pride of the European Jew. (though out of the scope of this research, I consider it is a phallic castration xenophobia that has swept away paranoid nations like Zionists or other nations in past or present). Massad tells us that such complexes are common not only to Jewish vernacular but is common in many nations. This being an ‘ubiquitous’ phenomenon among the victorious nations. (I consider this fetishism is ironical, and this xenophobic preconception is egregiously pathetic because in order to assert the body’ *syndrome* it further belittles the exerciser’s power exerted against the weak). Massad goes on even to speak about Herzl’s “Zionist penis pride” (34) which he calls as German-Austrian and not Jewish because it would have effeminated it. For Massad, their obsession to liberate themselves of this complex of a feminine/ weak German Jew, explains Israelis referring to occupied territories as “liberated territories.” Massad also cites Golda Meir’s xenophobia regarding “how many Palestinians were being conceived or were born every night” (35).

¹⁹ Many eminent historians like Rashid Khalidi, in his book, *The Iron Cage* (2006), has argued for the need to acknowledge and develop an understanding that “Zionism *also* served as the national movement of the nascent Israeli polity being constructed at their [i.e. Palestinian] expense. There is no reason why both positions cannot be true” (xxxiv), he says.

²⁰ This remark is cited by Ghada Karmi in the introduction to the 2017 edition of the 1939 book of J.M.N. Jeffries *Palestine the Reality: The Inside Story of the Balfour Declaration 1917-1938* and also in chapter 10, on p 178 of the same book.

²¹ This essay is also a part of Professor Walid Khalidi’s book *From Haven to Conquest* (1971), cited in the bibliography.

²² Triumvirate that ruled the Ottoman Empire during World War I, when Sultan was reduced to a puppet head only.

²³ Schneer, 51. Schneer writes about Sharif Hussein’s sons, especially Abdullah and Feisal, who were most importantly involved. His fourth son, Zeid was not in favor of going behind the back of the Ottomans. For details, see Shneer’s book cited in the bibliography.

²⁴ For a detailed discussion see, Introduction of Walid Khalidi, *From Haven to conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* (1971) and books by Rashid Khalidi cited in this bibliography, especially, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (2006). *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East* (2004), *Brokers-of-Deceit-How-the-US-Has-Undermined-Peace-in-the-Middle-East* (2013).

²⁵ Rashid Khalidi, *Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined the Peace in the Middle East* xx-xxi, (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2013). He writes: “During their March 1945 meeting on the deck of a US cruiser, the USS *Quincy*, only a few weeks before Roosevelt’s death, the Saudi ruler stressed to the president the great importance of the issue of Palestine to him and to the Arab peoples. He received a promise from Roosevelt, set down in a subsequent letter, to the effect that the United States would not act in Palestine in any way that was ‘hostile’ to the Arabs of that country, or without first consulting with the Arabs, as well as the Jews” (xx-xxi). Khalidi further writes that how “Truman had in October 1945 denied publicly that Roosevelt had made any wartime promises at all to Ibn Sa’ud, and only grudgingly later acknowledged them when the State Department eventually produced the relevant correspondence” (xxi). This positive Saudi policy shift from the initial McMahan-Hussein correspondence is commendable but the ship had already sailed due to their initial counterintuitive steps. Note the similarity between broken promises and vows of Truman here and Nehru’s in 1947 discussed in chapter .4

²⁶ He proves these myths wrong one by one in the different essays of this book and his various other papers and lectures. See Joseph Massad's books, *The-Persistence-of-the-Palestinian-Question-Essays-on-Zionism-and-the-Palestinians* (2006); *Islam-in-Liberalism* (2015)

²⁷ White Paper 1939 suggested to put a restriction on the immigration of Jews into Palestine.

²⁸ For all these, refer to Walid Khalidi's book *From Haven to Conquest* (1970) cited in bibliography. Jacques de Renier's account "Deir Yasin, April 10, 1948" in chapter 72 of this book, "The Attack on the Arab Village of Kolonia" by Harry Levin, in chapter 73, "The Battle for Haifa, April 21-22, 1948" by Major R.D. Wilson, in chapter 74, and "Deir Yasin and Jaffa April, 1948" by Jon Kimche in chapter 75. There are several other works cited in the bibliography, that are about the land appropriation by contemporary writers like, Tuten, Plonski, and Karmi, to cite only a few.

²⁹ See for instance, Sumantra Bose's *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007) and his interview cited in the bibliography, in which he admits limitations of his subject that "hate cannot be studied in the framework of political science" (Bose, *Contested Lands* n.pag.)

³⁰ Since this is the only place where I quote from Guha's book, I have given its name in the citation. In all other places after this I only refer to his 1989 article, "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Perservation: A Third World Critique", and therefore I would only write Guha followed by the page number, which implies that it is only from his article.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: A CRITICAL READING OF THE EXISTING CRITICAL SOURCES

Extremism in the pursuit of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.

(Barry Goldwater (1909-1998), Republican Senator for Arizona, qtd. in Hakeem 11)

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this review is to take a survey of the literature written around the issues of Kashmir and Palestine. Situating the genre of memoir writing with particular regards to the selected works of Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi,¹ it studies the research done on them in the existing corpus of enquiries. Consequently, it will locate the thematic gaps in contemporary scholarship surrounding the area of my research and establish the validity and contribution of my work.

Although no work of any considerable degree has been done on the selected memoirs so far, except for certain news articles and other short literature on the two works, a thematic review of the literature surrounding the two regions would be helpful for positioning my research dimension. Since the nature of the selected texts is such that they naturally invite a thematic review of literature, first I review selective works on the literature on the two areas and then divide the rest of my literature review in three parts. For the sake of convenience, the thematic review and the three parts are given as under.

- Thematic, Historical, Cultural, and Ecocritical Concerns: A Review of Literature

After this, the review focuses on the literature written on:

- I. Review of the works on Kashmir
- II. Review of the works on Palestine
- III. Review of the works on Kashmir and Palestine taken together

Accounting for the overlapping nature of concerns in the two areas of Kashmir and Palestine, I delimit my selection of reviews to thematic, historical, cultural, and ecocritical aspects.

The thematic standpoint befittingly underscores historic, cultural, and ecocritical concerns as it serves as an umbrella term for the issues surrounding the literature written on/ from the two places of Kashmir and Palestine. Incorporating the above-mentioned three thematic paradigms, the three divisions of the areas of Kashmir and Palestine will help me identify the niche of my research and establish the importance and validity of such an investigation.

However, before an exhaustive discussion on the three major thematic concerns, I intend to give an overview of my research project so that I can relate it to the works reviewed. Though the core texts selected for this research are memoirs of two writers from Kashmir and Palestine, the main thrust of this thesis is not to study autobiographies as a genre for the simple reason that the nature of their narratives is such that it favors the above mentioned paradigms more than evoking any theorizing relating to the genre itself, however, a brief overview of this aspect of these narratives will be useful.

The two memoirs under study, Peer's *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* (2010) and Karimi's *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) belong to a self-referential genre of literature commonly known as autobiography. In *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (2002), Smith and Watson trace the etymology of autobiography writing or self-biography writing, as they call it, right up to the use of the French term, memoir. They theorize the genre of autobiographical narrative and situate it as a genre about personal memories embodying one's own experiences with a certain level of agency in order to give it "its performative nature" (48). I make a limited use of their theorizing about four different types of "I's" that make the basic framework of genre of memoir writing. Smith and Watson distinguish among the different "I's" of, historical, narrating, narrated, and ideological nature (Smith 59). Some researchers² believe that the narrating I, takes precedence over all the other types of I's. However, incorporating all the different I's, make both my selected memoirs fall in a similar category of life narrative studies. Furthermore, the words of Smith and Watson, taken as a working definition of a memoir, are helpful for locating my selected texts. They write it as "[a] mode of life narrative that historically situates the subject in a social environment, as either observer or participant; the memoir directs attention more toward the lives and actions of

others than to the narrator” (Smith 198). This historically situating the subject in a social environment, and the actions surrounding the lives of the narrators in the social settings is what sets the tenor of my research distinct from this in depth analysis of theorizing about the genre itself. My focus is more on the questions raised in the selected memoirs, and therefore, a thematic analysis is more befitting.

Although written quite after this theorizing by Smith and Watson, the narratives of the memoirs of Peer and Karmi selected for this study fit perfectly to the definition of memoir writing. Also, as per the distinctions of their book, Karmi’s memoirs can be categorized as serial autobiographies in line with Afro-American and Pakistani serial autobiographies of Maya Angelou and Sara Suleri respectively. But the similarities of the subject matter cannot be stretched far, except perhaps with Maya Angelou, with whom Karmi shares the vein of political activism. However, due to the subject matter and the concerns raised in the two selected memoirs of this study, making use Smith’s theorizing, I try to establish a placement of these texts in the genre of memoir writing. Peer’s *Curfewed Night* (2010) may be seen as Kashmiri “autohistory”³ (195), while the latest in her serial autobiographies, *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) by Karmi, as a Palestino-Judaic ethnocritical autohistory.

After this brief disclaimer in which I have stated that my focus is not about the theorization of the memoir writing, I now return to my selected paradigms for reviewing the current literature around Kashmir and Palestine. As pointed above, in the following section I address the thematic, historical, cultural, and ecocritical aspects, which is followed by separate sections about Kashmir and Palestine, before the final section about the two places studied together.

2.2. Thematic, Historical, Cultural, and Ecocritical Concerns: A Review of Literature

The second chapter of Hamid Dabashi’s book, *Post Orientalism* (2009), is an in-depth study of some of the important features of Said’s seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978). Theorizing from a liminal space of what Said calls as exilic intellectual,⁴ or what Spivak calls subaltern, Dabashi calls for a mutivocality, which he states as polyvocality. Since this polyvocality is a stance adopted by the selected writers of my study, his book becomes a part of this literature review. His book is a re-reading of Said’s work to clear it of any further “Borgesian” or “unthought-of-polymorphousness” (70), or misreadings, in which, as

Dabashi explains, the actual text and its spirit is lost. Secondly, he considers his re-reading to distinguish Said's work from any "street battle" kind of a phenomenon, which became, sort of, normative, due to the polemic of self-proclaimed mediocre orientalists like Bernard Lewis. In fact, Dabashi reads it to absolve it of "Pavlovian reactions," as he puts it, in order to depersonalize the great source of inquiry that *Orientalism* was; buttressing it against any "identical critical perspectives" (72), that may not really match the critique presented in this seminal book. Strengthening his argument with a holistic discussions about precursors⁵ of Said and some "specific examples"⁶ (90), he notes, the main thesis of Said's book is not compromised at any cost.

Dabashi asserts the importance of epistemic inquiry rather than taking it more as a political one while reading *Orientalism*. A "variety of phases and mutations of Orientalisms" (102) are now possible according to Dabashi. Orientalism of the Greek towards the Persians was an Orientalism of enmity and rivalry; that of western Europeans towards Ottomans was rivalry and fear, and finally there is the orientalism of domination that Said was the foremost to diagnose as European Colonialism. Dabashi, therefore, gives his declarative sentence that "[t]he west now no longer exists" (105), which translates as: the binaries associated with the west in terms of USSR are no more. In the same manner of criticism, in the next chapter, "I am not a Subalternist," which relates to my research, Dabashi, impressively states his thesis point that he is not a subalternist. By doing a re-reading of Spivak's essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" he states in no uncertain terms that the very essay, as well as Saidian stance in his scholarship, are proof enough that not only did she liberate the "subaltern voice from the imposed impossibility of its colonial asphyxiation" (125), but also has given it a non pareil agency for all times to come. And hence Dabashi declares once and for all that he is not a subalternist. Therefore, he favors a "political geography that will always remain strategic, transitional, spontaneous;" setting free of "Hegel's world history," as Guha proposes; and "craft the prose of our own place in the historicity of the world at large" (Dabashi 139-140). He also concludes that subversion of talking back to the empire are long gone and "primacy ought to be given to local geographies, to polylocality of our historical exigencies, the polyvocality of our voices and polyfocality of our visions" (145). This point relates to my research, as it is the transitional and strategic nature of the prose of the selected texts for my research, which allows me to choose a polylocal, polyvocal, and polyfocal stance. This position is in fact a launching pad from which my work takes its flight.

It is therefore, in a Saidian vein of taking eclectic theorists, as Dabashi puts it, which relates well to my project at hand. Said took Foucault's concept of knowledge and power, Gramsci's relation between power and ideology, and Nietzsche's theorizing the difference between metaphor and representation, as the "central problem of representation" (Dabashi 91), and used it as his theoretical framework. I have also subsumed Althusser's theorizing of ideology, Said's theorizing of *Idées reçues*, under an environmental ethical canopy.

Another work, quite relevant to my research, is Bruce Robbins' timely book, *The Beneficiary* (2017). A detailed review of this book helps me to establish its relevance to my work. Bruce Robbins carries forth his idea that he presented in his paper, "The Logic of the Beneficiary" (2016). Negotiating for an orderly place in a global order that he does not consider "very orderly," Robbins advocates that any "philanthropic giving" must be rationalized with some "form of political engagement." He takes a revisionist view of the history of "humanitarianism" in order to find the gaps between the "West" and the "Rest" as he sees it. He calls for an acute awareness of a "causal responsibility" (3).

Using this term, 'beneficiary' in its older meaning which had a "nuance of amorality" (5), is what Robbins want to convey for a holistic understanding of the term. He wants to put his reader in an uncomfortable position to realize the stakes involved in becoming a beneficiary. Though, Robbins is all for a "well intentioned" beneficiary who, though being in a prosperous or privileged position, realizes that his fate as a beneficiary and the underprivileged living in some periphery is linked. In the discourse of perpetrators and victims, Robbins believes, we need to pay a good deal of attention to the "bystanders" (7). While citing Robert Meister's book, *After Evil: A Politics of Human Rights* (2011), it's the "beneficiary's psychology" (8) that Robbins foregrounds and contests in this book. The "do gooders" who are supposedly "the best of" the lot, according to Robbins, have an air of moral superiority and consequently have a condescending air for any good they may think for the deprived. Robbins says that the figure of the starving child, which in fact is the title of his first chapter, next to a vending machine is a wakeup call and "an argument against consumerism" (17). The figure of a starving child next to the vending machine is a motif in the book, and something, closely related with my research dimension.

The Good Samaritan philosophy that Robbins keep referring to, have had its antithesis in philosophies like Darwinism. But he raises the question that how can one be a Good Samaritan to subhuman races? In other words, if half of the population on this earth are considered subhuman races, how can one answer the theories whose prime objective

was to prove the inferiority of the black man, by a mere measurement of his skull, so to speak for a start? Robbins' book, dealing primarily, with "global economic justice" (24), is an exploration of moral implications and moral obligations that go much beyond the Good Samaritan rhetoric. He argues that "ordinary person's ability to act on remote events" opened possibilities for "[m]ore human behavior" opening up for possible critique. As an example, he quotes Thomas L. Haskell, a historian of abolitionism. It is a kind of "economic Orientalism," as Robbins puts it, which needs to be addressed by pointing out the gaps which are "naturalizing the fundamental divide" (31) of making as many beneficiaries as the sufferers.

Despite all the criticism that is done on Naomi Klein's works,⁷ Robbins sides with her argument of "huge public policy shifts" (92). He muses over the possibility of ecological catastrophe as the moral equivalent to war. With some discussions from the environmental concerns is how this book gets related to my research. Talking about Naomi Klein's book, *No Logo* (1999), Robbins tells about her feeling a "global claustrophobia" (97). Though Robbins is aware of the fact that Klein is, after all, "addressing the beneficiaries of a system concerning the victims of the system" (99). He calls this as a "double action politics" (101) because on the one hand she raises questions for "global economic justice," while on the other hand, supports a policy of "what's wrong with having a good time" (101)? However, Robbins approves of Klein's advocating a "collective asceticism" (107), as it was the normative state policy in the WWII. Though, realizing that "Economic Reality is a reality" (110), he also takes into account the remittances that are being sent home by exilics as a moral sense of family commitment and community, but he also wants to imagine a movement of people for a collective "movement for global economic justice" (122). This is how, referring to a possible answer given by Klein and seeking for global economic justice, makes the questions raised in Robbins' book closely related to my research. But in pointing out the reasons for the absence of such a justice and lack of the astute eye for the real reasons for environmental hazards, is the gap I intend to fill with my research.

In the chapter "Life will win," Robbins declares in the words of novelist and critic, John Berger, when the latter is speaking in context of Che Guevara that "the present state of things [are] absolutely intolerable" (125). Guevara found the situation of the world as intolerable because earlier the full "measure of the truth about the conditions of the world was unknown" but now when everything is known you also feel the power to change it. He

quotes Berger's powerful declaration: "The world is not intolerable until the possibility of transforming it exists but is denied." Robbins considers this as an "epistemologically useful" position (126). He questions American stance of doing every possible atrocity in the name of protecting their land and people and the people who do not question them, automatically accept being beneficiaries of American policies. According to Robbins, unless this gap is minimized, any humanitarian effort would not bring any real change. Robbins is actually evoking an understanding of shedding that suspension of disbelief that the modern day beneficiary does not want to acknowledge, namely his acquiescing to the economic Bacchus. And this is how his book becomes relevant to my project, which his book partially addresses, but does not study at length in the paradigm of awareness of postcolonial environmental ethic that I am exploring.

Aamir R. Mufti's book, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (2007), is quite importantly related to my research and I review it at length. In his book, he studies how secularizing projects deal with the questions of minorities. Examining in the context of Jewish minoritization in mid twentieth century Europe and Muslim minoritization in pre-partition India, he studies how secular projects, which should not care about religious difference, in fact, reproduce a certain kind of religious identity for both the majoritarian and minoritarian populations. Studying the dialectic of post enlightenment and liberal culture as the medium of secularization in relation to minority ethos, he asserts that the crisis of Muslim identity in Indian context cannot be studied unless linked with the Jewish question in the modern Europe of the mid twentieth century. He reads European enlightenment as a post industrialized revolution, and an imperialism of "multifarious movement of expansionism" (3). By this he means that the global market orders of this expansionism construct a social formation of an equivalent citizens. These citizens, he believes, are created on the principals of equivalence but not on the principles of equality. Resultantly, the minoritized social groups thus created, are in a state of crisis. Examining the shifting relationships of colonial and postcolonial culture, Mufti studies, how the "litmus test" (4) of cleansing a postcolonial society of any signs of religion, in its public and political life, has fared in the European Jewish context, and postcolonial situation in India. However, he clearly indicates that his work should not be read as degenerating into the "banality of the anti-secularist gesture" but probes into more truthful ways of navigating through the manifestations of colonial domination and the subsequent "legacies" (5) of enlightenment.

Quoting from the works of Hannah Arendt, Horkheimer, Adorno, Nehru, Aime' Ce'saire, and Amilcar Cabral, Mufti traces the similarities they had drawn between Nazi mode of oppression and colonial treatment in their colonies, which is an aspect closely related to my research thematically. Mufti's book studies the parallels between the "prewar Jewish experience in Europe" and the experience of the "'postcolonial' migrants, displaced people, and refugees" (6) in postcolonial India till the partition. He studies how the categories of othering faced by the prewar Jews are similar to the othering experienced by postcolonial migrants of India. Equating the fraught histories of European Jews with Indian Muslims, Mufti is basically making the histories of such struggles available to the world. He studies the dialectic of exile, uprootedness, displacement, minoritization, homelessness and its implications in the case of European Jews and how this reading alters the readings for the textualities produced in the case of Indian Muslims. Mufti's work, closely dealing with the Jewish question and the plight of Muslims, on account of their marginalization, focuses primarily on the impacts of European and Indian secular enlightenments resulting in these marginalized communities. My research, though dealing with the same elements of ostracism, is going to fill the gap with a dialectic study of similar modes of othering in the present status of such exclusions. I study how the manifestations of marginalized communities of Kashmir and Palestine, are experiencing, not only similar tribulations but also raising eco-critical alarms in their works.

In his book, Mufti believes that concept of nation-state cannot be understood as a single and discrete national culture, but paradoxically, can be understood, cross nationally, or when we stand, even partially, "outside our national identification[s]" (Mufti 10). Tracing the roots of Indian secularization to European Liberalism, he is well aware of the counterintuitive element of such a debate, and so declares that his book should not be understood in the binaries of Islam and Hinduism or "Zionism or Muslim separatism" (11). His focus is therefore on the effects of "minority experience, [and] the process of minoritization" (12). He is, in fact, critical of all nationalisms which firmly believe in "this place for this people" (13), which, not only initiates this minoritization process but also maintains a constant position of exile for the minorities. He emphasizes on the need of invoking a precolonial "auratic consciousness" in order to understand the dynamics of the plurality of the present, which, as he says, is only possible by "inhabiting and working through this (colonized) condition" (17). He acknowledges that the 'Ulema' in our part of the world cannot possibly grapple with the changes made through Europe and comprehend

our present. Therefore, the task lies with critics “to function as mediator[s]” (18). He is concerned mainly with taking a critical overview of “crisis of authenticity” (19), ‘auratic’ underpinnings of secularization and enlightenment, on the one hand, and religious “polemic” (20), on the other. Studying the works of many European authors like Fichte and George Eliot and many others, and works of Nehru, Azad, Manto, and Faiz, he analyzes the “aura of authenticity” which eventually displaces terms like “tradition, culture and homeland” (Mufti 21) in the contexts of European Jews and Muslim minorities.

Mufti’s book throws light on the interpellative strategies from a different perspective that may not be strictly related to the Kashmir issue, but is important for the background understanding. Mufti, a Professor of Comparative Literature at UCLA. In the chapter, Nehru and Azad, Mufti compares the works of these two leaders which they wrote, while in the prison from 1942 to 1945; Nehru’s *Discovery of India* (1946)⁸ and Azad’s *Ghubar-e-Khatir*. The central question Mufti tries to address is whether Muslims constitute a minority or they constitute a nation. Mufti cites *Discovery* as an “embodiment of a self-assured and self-conscious nationalism” (129), which emerged out of a deep rationalist and nationalist Indian consciousness, a supposed secular nationalism. *Ghubar-e-Khatir* is a book, which Mufti regards as something coming from the inner recesses of the heart, not necessarily meant to be published (a kind of an internal monologue). Analyzing Nehru’s *Discovery*, Mufti marks the “problematic” (134) of a Muslim.

Through textual references from Nehru’s book, Mufti elaborates how Nehru connotes the difference between Hindus and Muslims as only a psychological “fear among Muslims” (135), while their backwardness being their own fault. Even the individual Muslims like Azad (Nehru’s co-prisoner and therefore his neighbor in prison) were branded by Nehru as a “strange mixture of mediaeval scholasticism, eighteenth century rationalism, and a modern outlook” (134), while Nehru regards Muhammad Ali “an odd mixture of Islamic tradition and Oxford education” (135), and thus, Nehru could see no outstanding figures in Muslims.

The Muslims seeking for an “extra-territorial affiliation” (135), was a big problem for Nehru. Muslim demand for separatism was translated as only a “struggle for jobs” (135). Muslim elites were “naturalized foreigners” or “descendants of converts” (137) for Nehru. The Lucknow Pact 1916, as Mufti notes, which Jinnah managed to negotiate for the Muslims was countered with “controversial Moti Lal Nehru Report” in 1928 (137). And these Muslims, now decidedly a minority, as per Nehru, to be given their status in the future

nation-state. It is interesting to see that Nehru is writing “all these words in 1944” (137) in prison, when the global catastrophe had already fallen on European Jews. Absence of any guarantee system in central Europe naturally leads to lack of trust. Muslims are being identified as minority with a “social vulnerability and marginalization” (Mufti 138). Mufti juxtaposes the Jewish question and Muslim minoritization, and justifiably so. The Jewish question is honored with a state in a faraway land, whereas the problematics of Muslim minoritization is a case of further marginalization because of their heterogeneity (as Mufti mentions that Muslims trace their roots to all places around, like central Asia, Afghanistan, Arab, Iran).

Studying the discussion that Mufti does in his book, about the implementation of the Urdu language in the early 1940s before partition, makes one astutely aware of the interpellative strategies from another perspective. While discussing the linguistic dimensions of the Urdu language, Mufti explains that the split between the “Urdu-e-mualla” (143), the language of the ashraaf, and the language of the courts were made. The Urdu-e-mualla was written and perceived as Persian, while the language of the courts as the Hindustani. Speaking about the efforts of Shams-ur-Rahman Faruqi in clearing myths and ambiguities surrounding the Urdu language, Mufti writes that the split was made after the British raj needed a vernacular variety of the language for the general purpose of the young British officers and others. Thus, a “Muhammadan” and “Hindoo” versions of the “Hindoostanee” (the popularized name of Urdu-e-mualla) were created. Therefore, according to the researchers, the modern Urdu and Hindi are the creation of the “colonial situation” (Mufti 145).⁹ It was a British attempt “to comprehend the structure of the populations coming under their purview, from the late 18th century onwards” (144). Mufti also cites the examples of writers like Munshi Premchand, is an equally acclaimed writer of both Urdu and Hindi versions of the same Hindustani/ Urdu-e-mualla. Mufti clearly indicates the strong relationship of creation of the modern Sanskritized Hindi and Modern Hebrew as two instances of “national and minoritization of linguistic and cultural practices” (147) and draws our attention for a need to reexamine them. Benedict Anderson has also condemned “copycat role regarding established ‘models’ of nationalism [and] vernacularization” (qtd. in Mufti 149).

Mufti also explains the role Gandhi played in the linguistic split and its propagation. On the one side, he allowed the Urdu written in Persian script for the Muslims, acknowledging it to be “the right of Musalmans” (149) but on the other hand claimed that

the Devangari script should be the sole script for all the languages of India” (149). And declared that “my inconsistency is not quite foolish” (150). It is an account of the temporary friction among Hindus and Muslims as he put it. Gandhi even proposed the name “Hindi-Hindustani” (150) in the full knowledge that “Urdu vale...especially Abdul Haq sahib would not agree to such a one sided decision for the same and could see that this linguistic heterogeneity and plurality poses an insurmountable problem for the idea of a single people and a single nation” (151) as Mufti explains. Therefore, this “Basic Hindustani on the model of ‘basic English’” (151) was favored. Consequently, the modern “high Hindi written in Devangari” (152) script is to make it pure from the “sacrilized element” (152) of Arabic in the Urdu version and its script—a secular self against the religious other i.e. Hindu devangari against the Urdu with its many impurities of Arabic and Persian. Mufti links this secularization project of “hindoostani” language with the apparent secularization of Zionist project, something feared by scholars like Scholem too. Mufti says that “one of the great proponents of Zionism,” Scholem also feared the “religions millenarianism lurking within the secular redemption” (153). This is something Mufti regards as problematic, because in the case of the subcontinent, the anagram of the provinces to be included, the proposed name by Ch Rehmat Ali, became ironically associated with the connection of the land of the pure. Thus religious millenarianism is something that Mufti draws our attention to, not only in both the cases of Zionist project and secularization of the (ostensibly linguistic) Hindustani/ Urdu-e-mualla, but also later associating the anagram of the proposed name of Pakistan (an anagram of all the provinces proposed to be included) with the land of the pure.

Coming back to Azad’s *Ghubar-e-Khatir*, Mufti writes how Azad expresses his own ‘crisis.’ Mufti explains how Azad comes to a *tehqiq* (rational inquiry) made from *taqlid* [customary] in order to seek his *yaqeen* (belief) and how his internal monologues are informed by the influence of “Victorian debates” (159). Or it may be called as the colonial impact on the “Eurocentric imaginary of colonial culture” (157) that Nehru is seen to be muttering in English in his sleep. Through the passages from *Gubar-e-khatir* and Azad’s later developments of thought, Mufti exhibits how his writing and speeches became, like Jinnah’s, a critique of secular nationalistic enlightenment. And how it was a proof that Muslims, who were tried to be marginalized as a minority, were a different question of self-determination which was a separate matter than their minoritization.

Thus in Mufti's views pinning hopes for religious millenarianism on secular redemptive measures, which he believes what Nehru and Gandhi were doing (or even Azad initially), is a convoluted understanding which does not lead to any fruitful results in the long run. In other words, the interpellative tactics of maiming and stereotyping of Muslims tantamount to their economic orientalism. Also, the linguistic gymnastics as discussed by Mufti, contrived even before the already discussed political stratagems employed by the neocolonial power of India in the context of Kashmir too, provide ample background for contextualizing the works of Basharat Peer for analysis.

Mufti's book, therefore, closely links to my research, since his work is a thorough investigation of the history and manifestations of the Jewish question in terms of its emancipatory nature and Zionist colonialist implications. It also links my work where he studies this Jewish question in comparison to the Muslim minoritization issue in India. However, his book does not deal in detail, with the ensuing debate of linking the Jewish question with the Palestinian question, as is dealt with in Massad's book. My research addresses a close link of both Jewish and Palestinian questions. Additionally, my research draws parallels of Palestinian question with Kashmir struggle for independence from an ecocritical perspective. Also, Kashmir struggle, though a case of Muslim minoritization, is not dealt with in Mufti's book (which is a limitation he also acknowledges in his book). I intend to build my critique on Mufti's work and carry out an investigation of the Kashmir and Palestinian issue on common grounds of a postcolonial environmental ethical inquiry.¹⁰

Towards the end of his book, Mufti states that his book basically deals with the question of minoritization of the Jews in Europe and Muslims of India that led to the chain of events of Europe's de-colonialization and Jewish migration, or partition of the subcontinent. However, he indicates clearly that his book does not deal with the disappearance of Palestine as a result of the Jewish question. It is precisely this aspect where my research contributes to fill this gap. In my research, I argue how Mufti's primary argument of religio-secular divide of Enlightenment, pivotal to the question of minoritization in the last millennium's conflict, counterintuitively, helps to build my rationale in my research. I study how land appropriations and impact of wars in Kashmir and Palestine (and even centuries old wars for Native Americans), have imbricated the issues of these lands, as depicted in the memoirs of writers of these places, from an added new aspects of eco-critical dimensions also. More in line with Ashis Nandy, I argue that recovery of pre-modern traditions of religion, is more aligned with peace, and that

secularism, despite its commitment to religious peace, can actually lead to a lot of religious violence. Mufti also makes a similar argument in his book. My selected texts help me to study re-inscription of the topoi that are germane to the study of postcolonial environmental ethic of these lands.

Wael B. Hallaq's book, *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament* (2014), though may not be apparently related, but becomes relevant to my research because it engages with the direct question of nation-state, a concept which is dealt differently in Mufti's book, and both these dimensions of this question of nation-state is related to one of the main thematic aspects of my research that investigates interpellative hegemonies in the context of Kashmir and Palestine. Hallaq's book deals with the concept of nation-state from the perspective of moral philosophy in addition to the other western disciplines of political science and law. Hallaq's basic premise in his book become important to my research when I discuss about the neo/settler colonialism and the resultant concept of statehood in the case of Kashmir and Palestine. As legal and Islamic scholar he establishes in his book that any concept of an Islamic State is absolutely not possible as the principles of Islamic governance are not practiced anywhere in the modern world, and, in principle, cannot function in the modern nation-states conceptual framework.

In this book he addresses those questions on which Sharia was silent so far. According to Hallaq the modern concept of statehood is something, which is simply not present in actual conceptions of Islamic governance. That is why he considers the "theoretical implications of the empirical narrative of so-called Islamic law and its governance" as spurious (vii). In no uncertain terms, he declares that by the modern definitions of statehood, the idea of an Islamic state simply cannot exist because he believes that this idea "entails an aporia" (x). Hallaq argues that some Islamic clergy men or ulema, give Medina's example and find no contradiction between the concept of nation-state and Islamic sharia. But Hallaq simply negates any compatibility, let alone any comparable connection between the two concepts of the modern-day nations-states and the actual conceptual framework of Islamic Sharia. He unpacks these "*inherently self-contradictory*" (xi) terms of nation-state and sharia, as he calls them and declares his book, to be "an essay in moral thought" more than a "commentary on politics or law" (xii). Due to this aspect of its addressing the moral thought, which is one of the major questions that the texts of my research undertake, his book gets related to my work. His discussions about the "paradigmatic Islamic governance,...paradigmatic modern state,...[and]...modern theory

of progress” (xii) makes his work address some of the questions that Peer and Karmi raise in their memoirs.

Hallaq clearly indicates that the criticism levied against Islamic Sharia by the torch bearers of modern progress are absolutely ill founded, because, for him any concept of Islamic state simply does not exist. However, he answers the accusations against him being nostalgic about evoking of the positive age of Sharia, with two reasons. One, that that period is simply not replicated on account of our own shortcomings, if not for any other reason. And, two, the doctrine of modern progress cannot itself withstand scrutiny because of its being always nostalgic, and hence cannot accuse the other of being nostalgic (14). Turning the tables over, he says that the doctrine of progress relates to past when it suits its purposes but does not, when the answers become too tough to handle. Charting out the details of the modern concept of nation-state, he relates it to “perspectivism” (20), as he calls it. He states: “It has often been noted that the state is different things to different people” (19). Each view is occasioned by the fact that it adopts a particular perspective that has been, for one reason or another, privileged over others. Hallaq dismantles the “Weberian bureaucratic, the Kelsenian legal, the Schmittian political, the Marxian economic, the Gramscian hegemonic, and the Foucauldian cultural [which] can all be brought to bear upon a conception of the state” (20). He deconstructs the very idea of state

consisting of fundamental structures or properties that the state has in reality possessed for at least a century and without which it could never be conceived of as a state, being that essential....A state’s history is the process by which the state, as both an abstract concept and a set of practices, unfolds. [Stress original] (21)

Thus Hallaq traces the sources of state to the “international arrangement, mapped out in principle in the aftermath of the so-called Peace of Westphalia (1648)” (26), which is severely questioned in his book that I reviewed here.

Some books by the current scholarship in American Academia, though may not be quite relevant to the specific areas I am researching, but their works become a part of this literature review. This scholarship, instead of discussing the core issues central to the debates of these areas circumvent these sore discourses and endeavor to create a parallel space for their points of view around issues of tertiary importance. Gil Hochberg’s book stand as one example.

Gil Hochberg's book, *In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs and the Limits of Separatist Imagination* (2007), is a literary exploration of creating a space, for strong attachments which draws on the Arab Jewish co-existence of historical times instead of the usual, "constrained makers of polarized identities" (ix). She proposes to give "the Levantine option" (44) and sees it as a new way of seeing those old things. She brings out the historically derogatory perception of the term Levantine, of morally, intellectually, and "spiritually homeless" (48) people who, she feels are no longer, either "Orientals," nor yet fully "European" (47). She is equally reproachful towards leaders of higher standings in Israel, Ben Gurion, who declare to "prevent Levantinism from creeping into [Israel's] national life" (49). She believes that Levantinism can be an "effective way to overcome the hierarchal and orientalist relationship between Ashkenazi (European) Jews and Mizrahi (Arab and African) Jews" (50). Promoting Jacqueline Kahanoff's¹¹ idea of levantinism, Hochberg considers it a way out rather than its historical negative connotations, and believes that Israel needs to embrace it as a "cultural ethos" (52). In this book she favors the need to attend to the writings of Palestinians, Arabs, Israeli, and other Jews who "promote new political discourses of coexistence" (70). She suggests a "more radical move of deconstructing the Zionist agenda and rethinking the meaning of 'Israeliness' by critically negating all notions of cultural authenticity, negativity, or natural belonging," which for her is a "meaningful Levantinism" (72). Her addressing the aspect of radically othering the subject positions makes her book a part of this review. However, the absence of discussion of the sore points of Israeli-Palestinian question in the subtext of her work, leaves a lot to be desired in this book.

I now turn to the literature written separately around Kashmir and Palestine that I address in the following sections. These two sections will be followed by the last section of this review of literature, namely the literature that takes into account both the lands discussed together.

2.2.1. Review of Works on Kashmir

Many Kashmiri as well as non-Kashmiri writers have penned down their concerns for this war-torn region. "The Kashmir Dispute and the United Nations," an article dated as early as 1949, by Josef Korbel, former Czechoslovak Ambassador to Yugoslavia and who served as his country's representative on the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, serves a de facto account of the commission's efforts, failures and achievements. In this article Korbel asserts that United Nations planned a commission that "came to realize that

the Kashmir question was packed with dynamite which not only endangered the lives of the peace-loving Kashmiris but poisoned deeply the relations between the two young dominions of India and Pakistan” (278-9). In this article Korbelt traces the history of the commission’s, alternate, failed and won situations regarding the negotiations they were having with the two governments of Pakistan and India. Korbelt clearly indicates the interpellative stance of India, when it was not agreeing to Security Council being in the role of a Public Administrator and takes into account Pakistan’s principled stance¹² (at least in this instance¹³), according to which, Pakistan was not agreeing to the indefinite nature of the clause of conducting a plebiscite. Finally, the commission’s reports were agreed upon by the two governments and a cease fire was ordered by both governments on 1st January 1949.

However, the commission could only propose for conciliation “but [could not implement] direct compulsory action; thus the commission had no arbitrary means of persuasion and its activities depended entirely upon the good faith and agreement of the disputing parties” (Korbelt 286). Three things can be learnt from this statement of facts by Korbelt and his subsequent comments of this report. He emphasized that in addition to the good faith shown by both the parties there should have been a quick action and “one man to represent the United Nations, rather than a group—as has been done in the case of the Palestine mediator” (286) for carrying out the plebiscite. Pakistan’s interest was to have the fate of the majority of Kashmiris decided on the strength of their votes rather than a ruler like Hari Singh whose loyalties to India brought this ignominious fate on Kashmiris. India’s interest on the other hand was to delay the action as much as possible so that the fate of the plebiscite be molded in their behalf either by buying time for their propaganda or mass murder. History has borne a witness to this policy of mass murder being carried out in Indian held Kashmir since that day.¹⁴

Among many other aspects, my selected memoir of Peer addresses this concern stated in Korbelt’s article. He sketches an insider’s account of a thirteen year old child witnessing the Gawakadal Bridge Massacre of 1990. Born in a small village near Anantnag, also known as Islamabad in Jammu and Kashmir, Peer takes us through his memories of the period of this massacre to its transformation into the battlefield it is today. Apart from some prose articles by Agha Shahid Ali, Peer’s graphic and homely accounts of the valley of Kashmir is a valuable contribution, discussed at length, as a primary text of this research.

This is how Korbel's article becomes mandatory to the narrative of Peer and a part of my literature review.

Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966 (1966) is one of the three books by Alastair Lamb (1930-), that give close observations on the issue of Kashmir. I review the three related books on this subject in this part of this chapter. *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966* (1966), a book written only after nineteen years of partition, revolves round a question Lamb asked, a question, still valid after seventy one years: "What is to be the future of this region where, by a chapter of historical accidents, a Muslim majority entered the age of Asian independence under the leadership of a Hindu ruler" (3)? In answer to this question, Lamb gives the history of these Princely states in India. Though nothing comparable to British monarchs, he explains, these states "were allies of the British Crown rather than the subjects of the British Indian Government" (4) who proved a useful bulwark against Indian Nationalism. But soon these states proved to become a "liability" (5) after the British decision to devolve the power to the dominions, he writes. Though, forsaking power to grant full authority for Indian self-governance was something, Lamb suggests, was "unthinkable" with all its implications for the British Crown, and therefore, this granting of power was "grudging and slow" (9). He considers the Kashmir problem to be a British lapse as he emphasizes on the need for the British to have ensured a "workable representative governments." He clearly indicates that a "popular Kashmir Government could have made decisions about its future which both India and Pakistan would have respected." And thinks that an autocratic and unpopular Maharaja was hardly in a "position to make such decisions" (12) for the people of that land. Although he does not go into its minute details, but another important point that Lamb makes is the linking of the question of Kashmir with the other two princely states of Junagadh and Hyderabad. He questions the separate modus operandi being carried out in the three states; namely that

where a plebiscite has suited the Indian policy, a plebiscite has been held: [sic] in Kashmir, where plebiscite has not suited Indian policy, a plebiscite has not been held. In Hyderabad, where the use of military force by India has been expedient, so that force has been declared to be morally justified. By the same token, in Kashmir where the use of Pakistani military force has not suited Indian policy, so also has it been condemned on moral grounds. (16)

Lamb asserts that India's one nation theory was met with resistance only in Kashmir out of the three states as it was a land with territorial contact both with Pakistan and India. This

book closely relates to my project and the selected memoir by Peer, in which he asks similar questions in addition to raising consequential questions that are the logical outcome of such a convoluted situation, the discussion of which becomes a part of my analysis.¹⁵ Lamb's other two books¹⁶ become a secondary source in my chapter of analysis and so I refrain to discuss about them here to avoid repetition.

There is an importantly valid argument in foregrounding these historical amnesias to study Peer's text. This historiographic study would help us locate the reasons for the degree of interpellated Kashmiri reality that we see in his memoir. In "The Accession Crisis," Lamb substantiates with historical evidences, the stratagems of Indian establishment, and claims that the accession papers that India has been flaunting to its credit were, and to this day, fake. He clearly indicates the "deceptions" (Incomplete Partition 159) and interpellations of Mountbatten, VP Menon, Nehru, Patel, and MC Mahajan resulting from a pre-decided acrimony against Pakistan's stand on Kashmir, no matter how principled that may be. Lamb considers the imbrications of "the mythology of the Kashmir Dispute," as he calls it, a direct result of this "come what may" (158) stance adopted by these 'know all and tell all' crafters of Kashmir imbroglio. The Indian troops flying into "Srinagar Airfield" (157) much prior to the State's accession and leadership of India "acting in a manner verging at times on panic" (148) on 25th October 1947, interpellated the Poonch sector revolting factor and the later chain of events for Pakistan. The narrated facts by Lamb belie all the concocted rhetoric of Indian propaganda or "the Accession story," as he puts it (Incomplete Partition 164), which is being lobbied for three quarters of a century.

Lamb traces a series of vindicating interpellations that Indian government carried out in order to secure the prized land of Kashmir. He simply rules out the possibility of the instrument of Accession as legitimate. He writes about the pair of letters "drafted by V.P. Menon" that the Indian government made public on 28th October 1947, one from Maharaja to Mountbatten and the other from Mountbatten to Maharaja (164). Lamb writes about how the letter, supposedly from Maharaja, was drafted in New Delhi, "before the Maharaja set eyes on it (if he ever did)" (Incomplete Partition 166). Lamb has proved with the help of teleological historical records that this instrument of Accession was not even signed by Hari Singh. At two places he writes, and I quote them at length:

In September 1995 it was reported in the press in the Subcontinent that a law suit had been initiated in the Courts of the Indian-held part of Jammu & Kashmir to oblige the State authorities to produce the original of the Maharaja's Instrument of

Accession of October 1947. It was further reported that this document, according to the State authorities, could not be found: it was ‘missing’ from the State archives....According to Wolpert, V.P. Menon returned to Delhi from Srinagar on the morning of 26 October with no signed Instrument of Accession. Only after the Indian troops had started landing at Srinagar airfield on the morning of 27 October did V.P. Menon and M.C. Mahajan set out from Delhi for Jammu. The Instrument of Accession, according to Wolpert, was only signed by Maharaja Sir Hari Singh after Indian troops had assumed control of the Jammu and Kashmir State’s summer capital, Srinagar. (Incomplete Partition 170, 178)

These stated facts about the ‘missing’ of the Instrument of Accession from the State Archives as late as September 1995, and Wolpert and Lamb’s clear statements that the document was signed (if it ever did) after the Indian troops had taken control over the fate of Kashmir, leave little doubt for the interpellative measures carried out by Indian establishment in making of the Kashmir issue.

The Parchment of Kashmir (2012) is an important book for this literature review because many concerns that are voiced in my primary text by Basharat Peer are debated upon in this book. Edited by Nyla Ali Khan, a maternal granddaughter of Sheikh Abdullah, and a professor in American academia, this book is an anthology of the essays of Kashmiri academics living in Kashmir. Khan wanted her book to be a disavowal of any “insulated elitist discourse.” and therefore, she has compiled the essays of “indigenous scholars and intellectuals, based in the state of Jammu and Kashmir” (vii). Describing her book as providing some possible answers to the “plethora of opinions on the political future of the conglomerate of Jammu and Kashmir,” which, she says, have been causing “irrepressible angst” (1) in her, she presents her book as an access to the political, religious, cultural, and economic discourses from different “positionalities” (7) of the contributors.

In the first essay of this anthology, “Evolution of my Identity vis-à-vis Islam and Kashmir,” Muhammad Ishaq Khan, a former professor and Head of the History Department in the Kashmir University, charts out the cosmopolitan nature of the age old religious history of Kashmir. He believes the years 1953 and 1989 to be a turning points in the politico-religious history of Kashmir; the incarceration of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, in 1953, and the “onset of militancy in the Kashmir valley in 1989” (14).

He writes how tangentially opposite policies of obsequious partisanship of Abdullah, or the trickled effect of Afghan jihad (promoted and backed by Zia ul Haq's so called Islamization) in the shape of armed insurgencies from 1989 onward, were unwelcomed by the peaceful mystic brand of Islam of the followers of Nuruddin Rishi. He is equally critical of the tripartite policies that unfolded in the recent history of Kashmir. First, Khan is critical of Sheikh Abdullah's initially championing the cause of Kashmiris (subsequently put behind bars for this) and not Islam, and later changing tracks by making "Indra-Sheikh Accord of 1975" (15) after the, duly achieved disciplining release, of *Sher Kashmir* from jail. Second, he talks about India's playing double games of "democracy, socialism, secularism, and nationalism" (14) on the one hand and imprisoning Sheikh Abdullah and replacing him with their puppet, Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad (a highly approved move by Hindu Pundits). Lastly, he is critical of the pseudo religiosity of either figures like, Pir Ghulam Nabi who joins "the state congress party rather than cultivate inner piety" (16), or belligerent policies of Jihad by Jamaat e Islami for pro Pakistan policies, and who thought that the "pacifism of *Rishis* and *Sufis*" (25) was antithetical to the spirit of Islam.

Paradise on Fire (2014),¹⁷ "a call to the conscience of humanity"¹⁸ (Hakeem viii), is a biographical account of the Kashmiri leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, a voice for the past two decades symbolizing "people's efforts towards self-determination" (Hakeem viii). Abdul Hakeem traces the struggle of one of the staunch adherents for the demand of compelling India "to fulfil its explicit commitment, to the international community and to the people of J&K, to allow Kashmiris to determine their future" (xi). In the preface of the book Hakeem declares that he is writing under a "pseudonym" for the fear of detention for "sedition" or being labeled as a "Pakistani agent" (xii). He also gives a disclaimer in the beginning of the book that he shies away of being bracketed as any religious zealot associated with Geelani, though he has known him for over twenty years. He explains that he is an Indian and a secular Muslim who loves his country but at the same time believes that "India should own up to its shameful record in Kashmir and start to set things right" (xiii).

In this book, Hakeem is of the opinion that the biggest threat to India's security and stability is not posed by "[patriotic] Muslims but Maoists [or] saffron terrorists" (xiii). As an endorsement he quotes Indian sociologist, Ashis Nandy, writing in the *Hindustan times*: "During the last century [the] most atrocious cruelty has been committed *not* in the name

of religion (though we might like to believe that) but in the name of reason and aesthetics. And secular states have killed more people than non-secular states” (xiii). Hakeem defines his book to be an “objective assessment” of the “crimes against humanity” perpetrated by “US and its allies—both Muslims and non-Muslims” (xiii).

Tracing the history of Kashmir back to 1320 AD, when a Buddhist ruler of Kashmir embraced Islam, Hakeem points out how the Islamic values thus spread and upheld by Sayyad Ali Hamdani were violated by “harsh and oppressive” (xiii) Afghan rule of Mughals in Kashmir. Later, how the neutrality of Gulab Singh, ruler of Sikh kingdom in Anglo-Sikh war, was, customarily, rewarded by the British “literally selling him the Kashmir Valley for Rs. 7.5 million” (2). Hakeem also discusses how Mahraja Pratap Singh’s loss in 1889 was again made a gain by the British, in favor of Dogra rule in 1921. The trickle effect of all these autocratic rulers made a Prime Minister like Jawahar Lal Nehru concede to the Kashmiris in a conference in Sopore that the “Dogra government forced you to lead subhuman existence” (2). Gandhi is cited too, in this book, who, “fully expected” this deed of sale to be made “defunct” with “sheer common sense” (4). Gandhi believed “that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Jammu and Kashmir and the sooner it was done the better” (4). Hakeem speaks of how none of these proclamations of Nehru and Gandhi were meant to be materialized. He also voices how the “peace settlement envisaged” (7) in three stages of cease fire, truce, and plebiscite, were utterly disregarded, and words of India’s own eminent leader, Nehru, were totally compromised when he maintained a viewpoint totally reverse to what is happening in Kashmir. Nehru’s words spoken in 1951 defy his later renunciation of his own principled stance which becomes a leader. Nehru declared: “Kashmir is not a commodity or sale to be bartered. It has individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future” (8) but later he backed out completely on this plebiscite proposal (14).

Drawing on similar thematic, historical, and cultural aspects, this book becomes relevant to my selected primary text of Basharat Peer. Hakeem elaborates on the law of Jammu and Kashmir as distinct from Indian law and the fact that India cannot claim Kashmir to be an “integral part of India” (14) on legal grounds too. He discusses how the law was maneuvered by different government officials to suit to their advantages. The atrocities of “handpicked” rulers like Bakhshi Ghulam Ahmad holding government from 1953-63 and the school teacher, Sheikh Abdullah, who being prisoned to be disciplined, signs the “Kashmir Accord” in 1975 and renounces “his demand for a plebiscite” (12) after

he comes out of the prison. The graphic details, with statistical data, of Hakeem's account etched against the backdrop of all the so called Muslim leaders, the reviling of all assurances and promises of Hindu leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, the "strictly confidential" (12) letters to Indira Gandhi in 1966, the shamelessly rigged elections (except for 1977), the blatant disregard of UN security council resolutions, to the extent, and even more, that L K Advani, the former home minister, is seen to be "personally" supervising "the demolition of the Babri Mosque on 6th December 1992" (14) and calling it a Kashmir problem in 1995, are some of the main things illustrated in this book.

I make this book a part of my literature review as Hakeem has drawn parallels between "Kashmir freedom struggle and two other great freedom movements in the last part of the twentieth century, South Africa and Bosnia" (Hakeem xiii). This book, therefore becomes relevant to my study as I would be drawing comparisons between Kashmir and Palestine, which are also occasionally referred to in this book. Time and again parallels are also drawn, in this book, between situation of Kashmir and the Palestinian problem. Geelani is a staunch spokesperson for the rights of Kashmiri Muslims, Christians, Hindus, and people of other religions.¹⁹ The book also answers the commonly accepted allegations on Geelani of being an open supporter of alleged HM (Hizb-ul-Mujahidin) and Salahuddin.

In the second chapter, Hakeem charts a de facto account of Geelani's life, how his young mind was nourished in a multicultural and multi religious environment, by his Hindu teacher, Master Nitayanand, well versed in Urdu, Arabic, Persian and other languages. Hakeem narrates how his wise and pragmatic approach to face the challenges "with patience and perseverance" (28) was ill used by "Muslim puppet" (23) of a ruler like Sheikh Abdullah. Hakeem graphically narrates how Abdullah's overly secularized policies makes him declare his pledges with Pandit Nehru, as early as in 1948, of bequeathing Kashmir to India, and getting the reward of staying in power for burying the demand for plebiscite. He narrates the Indian policies of subjecting "inhuman and brutal torture" (29) to whosoever raised his voice against these betrayals. Sheikh Abdullah's soiled hands with the "custodial killings" (40), is something, which stands in diametrical opposition to Geelani's ideologically idealistic stance of enabling the people of Kashmir for their right of plebiscite.

This book also become relevant to my study as the principled ideological demeanor of Geelani has been portrayed as an antihero to the vindictive Indian propagandist lobbies who have been able to build Idées reçues for the world with the active, covert and overt support by the compradors like Abdullah clans and the like. Leaders like Geelani have been

constantly questioning the validity of the “lies” (Hakeem 48) which have erected erroneous ontological and epistemological false ideas, *Idées reçues*. Frontrunners like Geelani reflect the same questioning which is espoused in the texts selected for my study. This book discusses the unsolicited partisanship of certain leaders active in the backdrop of Kashmir that relates to my study for its in depth study of interpellative strategies meted out on the top leadership level. However, it does not address the issue of Kashmir from an eco-critical informed perspective. I intend to fill this gap with the study of my selected memoir which helps my study to add to this debate of Kashmir with all its ramifications and raises other concerns.

Victoria Schofield’s *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War* (2000, 2002, 2010) is a book in which she examines the entire political history of Jammu and Kashmir. I make this book a part of my review because of its major discussion of the different factors contributing to the movement of protests by Muslim inhabitants of the Kashmir valley that began in 1989. Since the narrative of Basharat Peer’s memoir, *Curfewed Night* (2010), revolves mainly on the freedom movements of the decade of the nineties, I trace a link between Peer and Schofield’s critique about this decade in the Kashmir history in the main analysis of my selected text for this study.

Tracing the turbulent history of Kashmir, the warped role of its top leaders, and the trials and tribulations of its inhabitants until the present times, Schofield narrates a matter of fact and realistic approach that Pakistan and India have adopted, contrary to their earlier rigid stances. She states that “Pakistan has unofficially modified its position” (xiv) on two main points. Firstly, it does not expect the whole disputed Jammu and Kashmir to be included in the right of “self-determination” (xiv) as Jammu and Ladakh valley are Hindu majority areas. Secondly, Pakistan now partly accepts that there is a separatist movement broiling in Kashmir. For India’s part, Schofield’s (otherwise quite objective analysis but) mildly invidious²⁰ leanings here, makes her state that India “does not realistically expect to include Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the Northern Areas as part of India” (xiv). Concluding from these slightly modified approaches she derives that “the bone of contention between the two countries is, as it has always been, the status of the valley of Kashmir” (xiv).

She further discusses the reasons of Indian priority of keeping the issue bilateral as opposed to Pakistan’s insistence of internationalizing of the dispute in order to involve a third party mediation. This deadlock is traced back by Schofield as early as 1921 and 1924

and the period thereabouts. She quotes Iqbal's verse on this sorry state when he first visited Kashmir in 1921: "In the bitter chill of winter shivers his naked body/ Whose skill wraps the rich in royal shawls" (16). Schofield endorses her point further by quoting from a "representation," presented in 1924, to the viceroy, Lord Reading. In addition to other grievances, this representation was signed and presented by two chief religious leaders:

The Mussulmans of Kashmir are in a miserable plight today. Their education needs are woefully neglected. Though forming 96 per cent of the population, the percentage of literacy amongst them is only 0.8 per cent....So far we have patiently borne the State's indifference towards our grievances and our claims and its high-handedness towards our rights, but patience has its limit and resignation its end...the Hindus of the state, forming merely 4 per cent of the whole population are the undisputed masters of all departments. (16)

The above-mentioned two quotes mark the tone of the book by Schofield. My selected book of Basharat Peer raises many similar political concerns about the specious leadership that could be Pratap Singh, "a courteous tho' opium sodden old gentleman" (Schofield 17), or Dogra rulers unleashing "a reign of terror" (Schofield 18), or the current rulers mentioned in her book and also in Basharat Peer.

Schofield narrates a unique historical maneuver, which might have been quite rewarding if only Lord Mountbatten had listened to Sir Conrad Corfield, the political advisor to the viceroy from 1945-47. It is with a compunction that she says that rather than "listening to the advice of the Indian Political Department, Mountbatten preferred to take that of the Congress Party leaders" (29). Corfield's suggestion was quite convincing in which he believed that if Hyderabad, second largest of the princely states, with its Hindu majority and Muslim ruler, and Kashmir, with its Hindu ruler and Muslim majority, were left to bargain after independence, India and Pakistan might well come to an agreement" (29). Corfield believed that, "The two cases balanced each other...but Mountbatten did not listen to me....Anything that I said carried no weight against the long-standing determination of Nehru to keep it [Kashmir] in India" (29). As for the part of Hari Singh, the maharaja of Kashmir, Schofield quotes his son, Karan Singh, who writes for his father: "Indecisive by nature, he merely played for time," and Lord Mountbatten was sent on a fishing trip on his short visit.²¹ Maharaja, who was noted for his "politically very elusive" (30) strategy brought this fate on Kashmir.

Schofield also points out Lord Mountbatten's discrimination in the demarcation by the Boundary Commission, with the full understanding that this would directly impact the future of Jammu and Kashmir. She cites Lord Birdwood's conviction that "India could never have fought a war in Kashmir" (38) if the Gurdaspur district would have been rightly awarded to Pakistan. In addition to the appeasement of the Sikh community, other factors contributed to the detrimental leanings to favor Indian concerns against Pakistan; the chief among them being, Gandhi's persuading the Maharaja and Maharani "to accede to India" (32), Nehru persuading Mountbatten to leave the "Gurdaspur link in Indian hands for strategic control over the canal headworks" (37), along with the assured "access to the state of Jammu and Kashmir" (37-8), inclusion of Kashmir postal system within India (44), And the wishful thinking of Maharaja Hari Singh for "remaining independent" (39). This last option, though now acceptable in many quarters, was an unacceptable possibility in the eyes of Lord Mountbatten.

These strategies that were meted out by Indian leaders and Hari Singh, led to the extremely holocaustic events of accession to India.²² According to Schofield these patterns caused the armed insurgences in Poonch sector with unofficial aid from the North West Frontier province when the massacred bodies of Muslims from Jammu and Kashmir were paraded in the streets of Peshawar (50). These strategies impacted the future chain of events too which are also vividly described in the memoir of Basharat Peer.

Schofield's in depth analysis of the puppet regimes of Sheikh Abdullah and Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi to safeguard their respective belts of control, along with detailed accounts of "Rann of Kutch" (107), "Operation Gibraltar" (108), "Operation Grand Slam" (109), and "Tashkent Declaration" (112) are not only an enlightening read but also a candid narration of the bolus of confusion that is woven into the issue of Kashmir. Adding to what Schofield's book discusses as the maneuvers at a considerable length, I also discuss the post-partition interpellative dimensions and environmental ethical concerns which I have employed in the analysis of my texts.

Schofield's graphic descriptions of the unspeakable atrocities being committed against civilians are numbing. She questions the possibility of normalcy in the wake of traumatic torture houses of Border Security Forces, BSF, lack of "legal redress" because of it being "draconian" (170), and the retaliations of the militants because of the horrifying carnages—"electric shocks, beatings, and the use of heavy roller on leg muscles...sexual molestations...stretching the legs apart and burning the skin..." (169-70). There are many

similarities between these accounts and the ones narrated by Basharat Peer in *Curfewed Night* (2010). These accounts are so horrendous that it makes it difficult for the reader to come to remotely decipher the validation of either the militants (may that be in retaliation) or the BSF and “army officers” (186) raping of women even tourists.²³ It, therefore, calls for another angle of looking at this whole burdensome scenario which is the gap I intend to fill in my research.

A peaceful environment shattered by the constant presence of militants and Indian army in Kashmir imports other aspects of analysis in addition to the historical, cultural, and political accounts narrated in Schofield’s book. Besides these aspects I examine the text of my selected memoir with the lens of questioning these besotted norms, interpellative dimensions, and ecological concerns that are not so far employed in this reviewed book of Schofield.

Kashmir: The Case for Freedom (2011) is an anthology of essays published by Verso. This book is important for my literature review as it addresses the issue of Kashmir thematically, historically, and ecocritically. In the first essay titled “Introduction,” Pankaj Mishra questions the cold-blooded response of the world for the case of Kashmir when they “fail to keep virtual vigils” (2) while a “secular nationalist argument in India” believes that any concessions given to Kashmiris will either become “radically Islamist,” or will tantamount to embracing Pakistan (4), or may strengthen the separatists. While the first generations’ massacre on Gawkadar Bridge, is documented by Basharat Peer in his memoir selected for my study, Mishra expresses his concern over, what he calls the second generation of Kashmiris being butchered in “the summer of 2010” (1). He strongly argues for this “well educated....Muslim population, heterodox and pluralist by tradition and temperament, and desperate for genuine democracy” (2-3). His account of such savagery on the pretext of hounding “Islamofascism” (3) speaks for the hoax which the tabloid Indian media have been garishly projecting. Mishra strongly condemns the “muzzling and misinterpreting” (5) of the case of Kashmir.

Tariq Ali’s essay, “The Story of Kashmir,” in the same anthology, *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011), traces the history of Kashmir, its people, its monarchal, and political leadership, the details of which are quite similar to Abdul Hakeem’s book, *Paradise on Fire* (2014). This essay is related to my study thematically and historically. While describing the mesmerizing beauty of Kashmir, the “black tulip” (10) grown on the rooftops of houses, and a land of edible “yellow roses” (50), believed to have healing

powers for both body and soul, Ali ekes out the historical and political misdemeanors of both India, Pakistan, and Kashmiri leadership. In his unique, opulent and grandiose style he analyses the dictatorial moves of Indira Gandhi, Bhutto, Abdullah, Nehru, and Jagmohan.

Another essay by Tariq Ali in the same book, titled, “Afterword: Not Crushed Merely Ignored” speaks for the hegemonic, and “high-handed” (133) interpellative measures that Indian forces have rendered the populace of Kashmir. This essay partly addresses these interpellations of “anti-Muslim chauvinism” (133) of Indian violence on Indian held Kashmir. Ali felt “shamed” (132) for not been able to check his mails on time, and tantamount to his ignorance of shamefaced and blatant disregard of the international media that they have always rendered to the sad plight of the Kashmiris. He questions the subsuming of the brutal massacres carried out by the Indian forces under the rhetoric of “War on Terror” (133). His mention of the invitation of the Israeli military officers “to visit Akhnur military base in the province and advise on counter-terrorism measures” (133) calls for a lens of investigation that I am using in my study in order to address the gap in analyses on Kashmir. His essays make the theoretical lens used in my research quite apposite. A study of interpellative strategies that have been rendered by the mentioned leaders, and others too, calls into question the *Idées reçues* built around the ontological realities of Kashmir—a major focus of this research not completely addressed in these essays. My research intends to fill this gap.

Arundhiti Roy’s essay, “Azadi: The Only Thing Kashmiris Want,” in this anthology raises many questions—questions about Kashmir being an integral part of India as claimed by India; questions about the tripartite alliance of these modes of finding the solution for Kashmiris, JKLF, Geelani, and Mirwaiz Umer Farooq. Roy believes that it is difficult to find a balance among these three parties, “the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front’s vision of an independent state, Geelani’s desire to merge with Pakistan, and Mirwaiz Umer Farooq balanced precariously between them” (42). She voices her apprehensions on the turned tabled strategies that Kashmiri Muslims may employ if they get their independence from procrastinations, or “the prevarication of Mahraja Hari Singh in 1947” (68). She believes that these procrastination tactics are responsible for “Kashmir’s great modern tragedy” (70). On the other hand she is equally wary of oppressive and cruel policies of “Hindutva project” (69), and India, which she claims to be “known amongst the knowing as the Deep State” (57). This nomenclature of calling India a Deep State, for Roy, is because

of its manipulative policies, “to subvert, suppress, represent, misrepresent, discredit, interpret, intimidate, purchase and simply snuff out the voice of the Kashmiri people” (58). The ploys or gambits or the “trick[s]” (71) that Indian governments employ in order to keep the Kashmiri “non-violent uprisings” (71) at bay for some more years is something which is also questioned by Roy. By putting a rhetorical question for their “unimaginable amount of public money” (71) is another concern raised by Roy. This money, as she believes, squeezed out of public in order to keep the military occupation, also invokes the study of interpellative strategies in detail which is what I intend to do in my research.

Arundhati Roy’s next article, “Seditious Nehru” in the same anthology is an argument that she builds against the charges of sedition levied against Roy, in a public statement on 27th October, 2010. She demands that if court has ordered for an “FIR” (125) be filed against Roy then a similar posthumous charge should be levied against Nehru for being seditiously demanding a right of self-determination and plebiscite for the Kashmiri Muslims in his statement on 27th October 1947. Quoting Nehru’s words in verbatim, Roy’s demand for declaring Nehru seditious too, becomes counter intuitive for any false charges against her. This argument relates to the social and cultural dimensions of my research, where the writer of the selected text demands for justice for his land, and therefore, this essay becomes a part of this review of literature.

Habba Khatoon’s poetry titled, “Poems by a Queen of Kashmi,” translated by Nilla Cram Crook, included in this anthology, raises a pertinent ecological concern, one of my research dimensions, and I am going to fill this gap which, so far is not yet explored. The imagery and personifications used in her poetry are a great source of inspiration for environmental ethical dimensions in my proposed study and makes this inclusion necessary in this literature review.

Hilal Bhatt’s “Fayazabad 31223” is a real-life account in the same anthology of *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011) in which he traces the reasons for many Muslim youths like him to consider options of becoming freedom fighters after the rigged elections of 1987 which, instead of being a positive step towards a plebiscite, became rather a menace for the Kashmiri people. His account is a horrifying account of a teenager who barely survived the butchery of the “Kar Sevaks” (83) who were returning after the demolition of Babri Mosque, on the train, Fayazabad 31223, which he and his Muslim friends had accidentally boarded in order to go back to their homes in the “criss cross spring valleys” (83) of Kashmir. He escaped this massacre only because he had faked his identity as a

Hindu Pandit. Bhatt's account is an important mention for this literature review as Peer has also described this incident with all its details.

Angana P. Chatterji, who is a professor of anthropology, activist, and co-founder of International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir (IPTK) writes about the atrocities in her report cum article in the same anthology titled, "The Militarized Zone." The article reports the brutalities that have been unleashed by India since 1947. This factual account, along with her other book, *Buried Evidence: Unknown, Unmarked and Mass Graves* (2009) in Indian administered Kashmir is a report for which the writers' own safeties were jeopardized. Chatterji's article narrates, with proofs, "India's maneuvering against Kashmiri determination to decide its own future" ("Militarized" 99). Her book documents pictorial and statistical evidences for the mass graves which the team of IPTK, who were always under a death threat themselves, could produce after studying "only partial areas within three of ten districts in Kashmir" (Buried 21). Chatterji, Pervez Imroz, and other team members of IPTK preparing this report have listed a lot many "fake encounter killings" (Buried 15). Documenting all the evidences in this book, their own lives were exposed to constant risks. Chatterji even had to face legal charges by Indian government on account of stating the facts.²⁴ These two works of Chatterji are a valuable contribution and the two documents support the theoretical perspective I am using in my research. I intend to make effective use of these reports and books in order to strengthen my arguments, a major thrust of my selected memoir of Basharat Peer, *Curfewed Night* (2010).

Mubashir Jeelani's *Lake Ecology in Kashmir, India: Impact of Environmental features on the Biodiversity of Urban Lakes* (2016) is a very recent concern, a variable of which, i.e. environmental ethic, is adopted by me for my enquiry of this present domain. Even without going into the technicalities, we can understand the implications in his study done on the Dal and the Anchar lakes of Kashmir. He points out the richness of the aquatic life of these two lakes which are a great source of a stable ecosystem of the area; river Jhelum being originating from these two lakes. Jeelani has therefore shown his concern about the increasing population phenomenon being "responsible for introducing many undesirable changes to aquatic environment...[resulting in]...over exploitation for economic purposes" (2). Jeelani's study emphasizes the imperative to "study anthropogenic activities on the nutritive status and biodiversity of these two lakes...to understand the magnitude of threat imposed by discharges from urban human settlements to the ecology

of these two lakes so that possible conservative measures could be undertaken to restore the natural lake ecology” (2-3). These ecological concerns are important because “[t]hese varied freshwater ecosystems are of great aesthetic, cultural, socioeconomic and ecological value” (261) and naturally would thrive and exist only in a peaceful coexistence of environment with anthropocentric cooperation; a rarity in a war torn region. Such a study has not been carried out in the domain of literature. As Peer’s memoir, *Curfewed Night* (2010) substantiates enough examples in its text which voice many environmental concerns, I have briefly reviewed Jeelani’s book in order to point out the main concern of ecological balance that he has put forward in his book. It is an ecosophical perspective which takes into account the environmental ethics of a place that I use in my research, and which will be a valuable contribution in terms of postcolonial environmental ethic, which actually, not only, fills a gap but also locates this gap in the first place.

Though this review of literature is far from being exhaustive but it gives a holistic understanding of the directions that the discussions on this war torn region of Kashmir are heading towards. I now turn to the books on Palestine.

2.2.2. Review of Works on Palestine

There is a phenomenal body of literature on Palestine. Though many would be relevant to the aspects I am exploring in my research, but it is impossible to review all these relevant books here. Therefore, in order to avoid an unnecessary repetition, I restrict myself to briefly review a very few of them here as a lot of them become an important part of my chapters of analysis.

Being one, among many others, concerning the established critique on Palestine, Edward Said’s book, *The Question of Palestine* (1979), is still, by far, a basic and indispensable account of the Palestinian question. Though Aijaz Ahmad, in the chapter “Orientalism and After” in his book, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (1992, 1994, 2000), considers later parts of Said’s book as “much weaker” (161) but believes that this earlier (otherwise considered seminal) work was a kind of “preparation” which paved the way “to settle...[his inner] rage...[so that he] could then speak with scholarly precision and measured eloquence” (161) in this book and his other articles like “Zionism from the standpoint of its victims” (1979). Ahmad acknowledges Said’s contributions of articles and this book as “most enduring [and] persuasive insertion of a national liberation struggle into the American imagination” (198).

Edward W. Said's numerous books are reviewed here together for the sake of brevity. In *The Question of Palestine* (1979) he contextualizes his answers to the question of Palestine in the paradigms of colonialism and orientalism. His argument favors a two-state settlement emphasizing peaceful and neighborly relationship between the two state settlements. His book may be seen as an exposé for the facade of the Camp David peace accords of 1978. Said considers that the Arab states and the US disastrously influenced the peace process and ruined any chances of a Palestinian state. In his book, *Peace And Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process* (1996), Said traces the ebb and flow of the much-vaunted peace process, and opines that in the given state of affairs it is very unlikely to produce any real peace.

In his book, *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (2001), Said problematizes the very means through which Israel got established in 1948, and states that "Israel is the recipient of more US aid than any foreign state in history" (2). This book may be taken as a next milestone in the debate of refuting the claims of a cacophony of faulty propaganda. In his earlier book, *Orientalism* (1978), a highly acclaimed seminal work of Edward Said, he gives an in depth analysis of how orientalism became an effective tool in the hands of the orientalists to paint the picture of the orient to their own whims and strategic requirements. He shows how the construct of the orient was used as a means to suit their advantages, resulting in othering the orient to such an extent that the whole world has internalized this ideological creation of the orients. Said showed that this orient entity was used as an effective means to serve the romantic imaginings of the west. It is these invented depictions, the *Idées reçues* that Said discusses in his book, which is one of the core pillar of theoretical inquiry that I use in my study. These *Idées reçues* are also questioned in the texts of memoirs. In fact, Said had praised Karmi's first memoir, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* (2002). My present research will build on the critique and conceptualization of *Idées reçues* with the help of concrete examples from the two memoirs selected for this study.

Joseph Massad's book, *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (2006) is central to the debates I am focusing in my research in the context of Palestine. I am going to survey relevant chapters of this book as part of my literature review. In the introduction of his book, titled "The Opposite of Terror," Massad problematizes the term of terrorism from the opposite points of view; those who internalize and those who interpellate. In other words, Massad questions those who declare

terrorism of what they perceive as terrorism with their subjective positions. Whereas those who take an objective position, he argues, may take opposite of the same to be true and find an element of interpellation in declaring terrorism to be thus for a particular category. For Massad, terrorism only gets defined by the ones who have the means of representation. And therefore, the interpellation (where one is reduced with next to no option), occurs by the one who is representing the meaning of the term.

Citing with facts and figures, Massad presents the interpellative aspects in the speeches, rhetoric, and acts of certain groups of Palestinian-Israeli case, for he finds this case instructive to explore the answers to the question of terrorism. He narrates how, during the British Mandate period, from 1921-1948, when the Palestinian resistance, which “mostly took the form of legal appeals to the British...to international actors to help obtaining national independence,” which later developed into a revolt in the shape of strikes, demonstrations and guerilla action, were met with an iron handed British response. The British re-invaded the country after 1939, “killing over 5,000 Palestinians, and wounding 15,000, exiling and executing the Palestinian leadership, and organizing joint British-Zionist death squads [] that attacked Palestinian villages at night and shot and killed numerous Palestinians.” Massad notes that after Ben-Gurion’s declarative statements (that I will be sharing later), in order to suppress Palestinian revolts, the earliest acts of terrorism by Zionists which included “blowing up of cafés with grenades (in Jerusalem, e.g. on March 17, 1937), and placing electrically timed mines in crowded market places, [were] first used against Palestinians in Haifa on July 6, 1938” (1-2). He also cites the example of how the Zionists responded when British limited its support to Zionist project, due to their terrorist activities. Zionist response was to blow up

a ship with civilian passengers in Haifa in November 1940, killing 242 Jewish civilians and a number of British police personnel, assassination of British government officials, taking British citizens hostages, blowing up government offices and killing employees and civilians, blowing up the British embassy in Rome (1946), exploding car bombs parked next to government buildings, killing hostages as reprisal for government actions, sending letter bombs and parcel bombs to British politicians in London, among others.²⁵ (2)

The reason to narrate these facts and figures, at length, from Massad, is to show the element of interpellation which resulted in the revolt of the Palestinians. Consequently, the hegemonic reactions of the governing authorities are an integral part of my research in the

selected works. Massad quotes these examples and states that Menachem Begin, the mastermind behind these attacks and future Prime minister of Israel, did not consider these acts as “terrorism” at all. It was in the light of such activities that Zionist groups like the “Irgun and later Stern would be called terrorist by the British” (2). Begin headed the Irgun which committed many violent and murderous acts but negated all allegations. The same group perpetrated the massacre of Dayr Yasin in April 1948. When accused of terrorism by intellectuals like Hannah Arendt and Einstein, Begin resorted to deconstruct and historicize the term terrorism itself (3).

Massad concludes that “if opposite of the terrorist is the terrorist, and the opposite of terror is terror” (7) then the term cannot be rendered identification with one’s rhetoric or the other. It boils down to “Nietzsche’s slave morality: You are the terrorist, therefore I am an anti-terrorist” (8). However, Massad questions that if it is “Colonial State violence” on one side and “resistance of the colonized” on the other, it is very strange that terrorism is being identified as the *modus operandi* of the weak rather than the strong. This question, then, states the obvious; the one who has the means of representation gets the edge to represent/ interpellate the reality in his/her way. The collection of essays written in this book, over two decades now, starting from 1993 “analyze the ideological underpinnings” (8) of Zionism from historical perspectives regarding different types of Jews; European (Ashkenazi), Asian, and African (Oriental/ Sephardim), and Palestinian (Oriental/ Arab). Addressing the ideological and interpellative strategies, Massad’s book is a thorough investigation of the Palestinian issue and relates with the Palestinian dimension of my work. This book becomes an integral part of my analysis chapter. However, studying the interpellated areas of Kashmir and Palestine from an environmental ethical dimensions is the gap I intend to fill with my research.

Noam Chomsky, in his book, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians* (1999), examines the origins of the “special relationship” (4), as he calls it, its disastrous consequences for the Palestinian (and other) Arabs, and its danger for everyone. This book becomes imperative for my analysis chapter on Palestine, and therefore, here I restrict myself to this brief introduction about the subject matter of this and other books by Ilan Pappé, Noam Chomsky, and Frank Barat in the next paragraph or two.

Ilan Pappé, in his book, *A History of Palestinians* (2004), “explains the reasons for the failure of Oslo and the two-state solution and reflects upon life thereafter as the Palestinians and Israelis battle it out under the shadow of the wall of separation” (n.pag.).

Both Chomsky and Pappé have co-authored a number of books and are two of the Palestinian issue's most insightful and prominent critical voices. In their book, *Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War Against the Palestinians* (2010), they survey the fallout from Israel's conduct in Gaza and place it into the context of Israel's longstanding occupation of Palestine. In their very latest book, *On Palestine* (2015), edited by Frank Barat, the semantic dimension of language for probing into the problem of Palestine is explored.

However, “[m]owing the lawn’ as they horrifyingly call it. The carpet bombing of an imprisoned population by its occupier, with the support of most Western states, spurred Pappé and Chomsky to write additional contributions” (Barat 6) in this book. Pappé in his essay, “The Old and New Conversations” (2015), consider Palestinians as a people

who continue to suffer from expropriation of their land and demolition of their houses and are exposed to a new set of racist laws that undermine their most essential and elementary rights....And the people of Gaza are still subjected to the barbaric combination of siege and bombardment and shooting in the biggest open human jail upon earth....While their right of return seems to be totally ignored by the global powers. (13)

Pappé considers the emergence of BDS, the emphasis on one state solution and emergence of anti-Zionist peace camp in Israel some ways, where the present rhetoric on the Palestinian issue can be addressed in an alternative way in the twenty-first century.

Pappé is of the view that “by adopting a new discourse, the activists can strengthen their commitment toward struggling against the ideology behind the current Israeli abuses and violations of human and civil rights, whether they take place inside Israel or in the Occupied Territories” (15). Chomsky, in his essay, “Gaza’s Torment, Israel’s Crimes, Our Responsibilities” (2015), considers it as “Israel’s latest exercise in savagery...targeting any civilian who moves, and homes as well” (145). Similarly, Pappé, in his very recent book, *The Idea of Israel: A History of Power* (2014), has asked a very poignant question of strategic importance: “Was the Israeli academy an ideological tool in the hands of Zionism or a bastion of free thought and speech” (5)? Therefore, Barat, Chomsky and Pappé, the three co-writers of the, afore mentioned book, and also in their other works, believe that the acts meted out against Palestinians are savagery. Ghada Karmi’s selected text for this research, though bears out the political critique and apprehensions raised by Chomsky and

Pappe but it also adds a literary and personal touch from an insider's point of view. It also adds an environmental ethic of Palestine to the critique by these two contemporary great literary think tanks.

Another very well-respected voice for the Palestinian predicament is of Eqbal Ahmad, a friend of Edward Said and an academic like him. In a talk with Jim Paul and Joe Stork in October 1983, which got published as "Yasser Arafat's Nightmare", Eqbal Ahmad was very honest about his views about the mistakes the two sides had committed. He, very candidly pointed out that the "Abu Musa crowd" as he called them, were bereft of ideas and vision and so Fateh had "some genuine grievances against the PLO leadership, but [then it] becomes the cannon fodder of a government that has not served the Palestinians well" (18). He was also equally critical of Yasser Arafat's wisdom and said that "He should have started mending his fences faster than he has been able to do with Husni Mubarak of Egypt" (18). According to Eqbal Ahmad, Arafat's complacency and lack of farfetched vision without laying a clear-cut policy for PLO pushed the problems of Palestine to a no return zone. Ghada Karmi's latest memoir selected for this study, brings this critical perspective from a personal point of view, by virtue of her experience for working under the Ministry of Media and Publications. Additionally, she also points out the gaps that the bureaucratic legacy of colonialism has bequeathed to the Palestinian offices where the settler colonizers of Israel use all the available strategies to their avail.

Although Said has also written his memoir *Out of Place* (2000) but the main thrust of his memoir is mostly his personal making of his self, his losses and achievements. Karmi's memoir, though talks about her personal self but her main focus is the disruption of the habitat due to the unfair policies not only of the occupants but also from within the offices of Palestinian authorities.

This, by far is a very selective review of the literature written on Palestine for the simple reason of avoiding repetition since I incorporate these works in my chapter of analysis on Palestine. With this brief review of the books on Palestine, I now move to the works that have studied the two places of Kashmir and Palestine together.

2.2.3. Kashmir and Palestine

Though a lot of research is carried out in different capacities separately on the Palestine issue and Kashmir conflict but apart from occasional journalistic articles of Aljazeera and

Crescent and other dailies and magazines there is very little extensive research done on these two regions taken together.

While some critics have drawn similarities between the two regions of Palestine and Kashmir in their occasional articles as “deadliest unresolved conflicts of our times” (Sehgal n.pag.), others are of the view that “The India and Israel alliance [is] a full-blown romance[, and w]e live in a time when nation-states overtly commit war crimes, are cheered on by bloodthirsty majoritarian citizens, and literally get away with murder” (Osuri n.pag.). Some others believe that it is a result of capitalistic and militaristic powers as “Palestinians and Kashmiris share a struggle for liberation and the right to self-determination against occupying forces backed by the might of the American military-industrial complex” (O’Connell n.pag.). Eric Draitser, a geopolitical analyst, believes that a global economic recession is in the offing because the global economic hegemony is resisting. Similarly, “The United Nations has repeatedly condemned the actions of the occupying powers of India and Israel as war crimes, yet this has failed to result in any measurable improvement in the human rights of the Kashmiri or Palestinian peoples” (O’Connell n.pag.).

Faisal Devji’s book, *Muslim Zion* (2013) talks about the situation of Palestine and Kashmir from the perspective of Israel and Pakistan. Devji has maintained a position where he constantly brackets together the idea of Israel and Pakistan, and attempts to validate his comparison. From the onset of this book, Devji presents the idea of Pakistan as the Zionist idea of seeking a homeland in the foreign land of Palestine. Talking about Christian Zionist tendencies by invoking Hegel’s article, “is Judaea, then the Tutons’ fatherland?”, Devji builds his argument on the model of Hegel’s argument about Germans who were imagining their “homeland in the landscape of biblical Judaea” (1). Hegel objected to the German nationalism with the popular beliefs of his age, of downplaying/shaming Christian tenets as “shameful superstition,” and believing instead in “a nation whose climate, laws, culture and interests are strange ...and whose history has no connection” (1-2) with Hegel’s Germany. Just as Hegel countered these factions of German thought which imagined their homeland “in the landscape of Palestine” (2), Devji too, argues the “ambiguously religious way of imagining nationality in an alien geography” (Devji 2). Pining Hegel’s questioning of such “vicarious cartography...and settler societies” (2), for building his own argument, Devji gives, albeit lackadaisical comparison between Israel’s settler colonialism and Pakistan’s, presumably, expansionist designs in terms of Kashmir, which fall short of any

true research scholarship standards that is expected of a book incorporating such grave matters.

The main thrust of Devji's argument lies in the point that if Zionism was a politically engineered "Protestant enterprise," so was the idea of Pakistan carved out of the united India. He believes that Zionist movement, "a political form," led to the creation of Israel in 1948, and a similar design of "Muslim Nationalism" resulted "in the founding of Pakistan a year earlier" (3). The element of comparison, and not its thesis, makes this book a notable part of my literature review. Since my analysis of the two areas is based on the thematic, cultural, social, and ecocritical dimensions as depicted in the memoirs of Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi, Devji's book's review helps me eke out the outlandish comparisons between Israel and Pakistan's situation which are neither supported historically, nor in the lived-in experiences of these two memoirs under study in this research.

His convenient bracketing of the two states of Israel and Pakistan, and validating his argument with the political leadership of the likes of Zia ul Haq, whose own loyalties to the cause of Pakistan are highly questionable, tantamount to be a garish fillip for the world tabloids not supported, not only by the two texts under study, but most of the historical records and literature written around the two regions in any capacity. This counter narrative becomes imperative for this review when it shows strongly invidious ways of analysis with a counter intuitive critique on the very idea of Pakistan, not only by Devji but writers like Salman Rushdi and Farzana Sheikh. Especially, Devji's own "proctological view of history" (7) which lacks validity from many substantive analyses on the two areas.²⁶

Basically, Devji presents the idea of "Muslim Nationalism" (9) as a boogie man in order to question the very foundations on which Pakistan was conceived. Many critics have criticized this mode of thought; Devji's equating seriously flawed idea of Israel, and Pakistan—a land where majority of a nation are already living, as was the case of Pakistan, is entirely different from an implanted idea, and implanted people, exported from another land as was the case of Israel.

Luke McDonagh's critique of Devji's book is quite important to be included in this review of literature. McDonagh, a Senior Lecturer in the Law School at City University of London, has dismantled many myths that Devji builds around the birth of Pakistan and Israel. In his "Book Review: Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea by Faisal Devji," he

clearly indicates that the analogies drawn by Devji, validating the idea of the birth of Pakistan and Israel in 1947 and 1948 respectively of nation states on the religious philosophy are flawed. For Devji, both the states imposed their respective languages of Urdu and Hebrew on the native people whose own languages were different. Another similarity that Devji draws is that of their ideology. He asserts that if Pakistan could claim different pockets of Muslim majority areas, then on the same principle, the Jews claim a nation for all the Jews of the world. McDonagh brings out another quite “counter intuitive” similarity made by Devji. McDonagh problematizes Devji’s justification that Israel’s plans to include Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon are akin to Pakistan’s plan to include Kashmir (n.pag.). However, McDonagh points out that Devji’s book is basically about the historical aspects of Pakistan and therefore, cannot stretch the comparison with Israel on account of this phenomenon’s impact on Palestine. He considers that Devji’s comparison would have been unpardonable if he had given a complete comparison between the two states situations because that is simply not possible. However, in my view, the goading of such an idea is enough to mold the discussion in a totally unrealistic comparison in the first place, but the audacity with which such a comparison is suggested rests on other manipulations, many of which I explore in my work in order to dispel the bolus of confusion created by writers like Devji.

In order to give a rough idea about the insubstantiality of his claim, it may be seen that his comparison falls short when the question of expansionist designs of Israel is compared with Pakistan having never acquired any further land, rather to have lost it in 1971 to the expansionist insurgent factors of *Mukti Bahini Tehreek*²⁷ in, then East Pakistan and now Bangladesh, by the Indian establishment.²⁸ Further, apart from the much bashed about militancy factor, Pakistan has always been abiding by the UN mandate. On the contrary, however, it can be argued that Indian establishment has been successful in carrying out its designs for both Bangladesh and Kashmir. Therefore, the comparison can hardly be validated on factual grounds, and the texts of both the memoirs of Peer and Karmi, do not bear out any of such claims, rather they write about the extreme manipulations carried out by the occupiers.

The “proctological view” (9), to use Devji’s own term adopted by him for analyzing the two areas together, is what makes the inclusion of his book imperative for this review. My research counters the validity of such an analysis with such an askewed stance. Substantiating my points with the text of memoirs under study and also the secondary

resources, my exploration establishes that just as Faustus had read out of context, Devji puts forth his flawed thesis of yoking together the case of Israel and Pakistan. It is more of a colonialist bad legacy which they bequeathed their colonies, in Pakistan's case, a conniving distortion of the borders, to keep the room for future discourse open, and in Palestine, a scavenging mandate in order to satiate and facilitate vulturine factions of the world on a foreign soil.

Sumantra Bose's *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007) is a book by a professor of political science at London School of Economics. In an interview about his book, Bose admits the limitations of his subject that "hate cannot be studied in the framework of political science" (Bose, *Contested Lands* n.pag.). He believes that the study of institutions doesn't really have an explanation of resurgence of hate that may be studied in other multidisciplinary fields of history, social psychology, anthropology, even literature, or so he suggests. He therefore studies the contested lands discussed in his book, from the perspective of peace process.

In *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007), generally finding many similarities in these conflicts, Bose contextualizes "distinct histories and contexts" (1) of these regions. The intersectional nature of his research makes his book a part of this literature review from the perspectives of literature, and I review the selective portions of this book relevant to the two areas under study in my research. Tracing the factors responsible for these "intractable but not insoluble" (1) conflicts, Bose is of the view that it is inadvisable to make a "fetish" (2) of the borders that separate these conflicting zones. The "hermetic segregation...[and]...ethnonational ghettos" (3) are also not a viable solution, he notes. Postponement of directly addressing issues, which, unfortunately is the case in Palestine and Kashmir is not an option according to this book.

Bose's gripping and captivating style of writing explaining the spoiling of the natural and picturesque habitats of Bosnia, Kashmir, and Palestine is the first thing that strikes a reader to appreciate the perspective of peace that he uses for his analysis. He talks about the bridge that was rebuilt around 2005, in order to facilitate "a fortnightly bus service cross LOC" (156) between Srinagar in "Indian controlled Kashmir," and Muzaffarabad in "Pakistani controlled Kashmir" (156) but at the same time, draws attention toward the "multitiered fencing system along 734 kilometers of the 742-Kilometer LOC to deter cross-LOC movement by insurgents" (160-1). Contrary to the implications Devji draws in his book, Bose's arguments and validations, support facts and figures that is maintained by

almost all critics and writers mentioned in this research. He also notes with concern, the installation of the fencing system “connected to a network of motion sensors, thermal imaging devices and alarms acquired from the United States and Israel.” Bose views “the bridge and fence imagery [as] illuminating of reality” (161) as double confounded and deliberately befuddled state of affairs. The issue of the annexation of the Kashmir valley became a “thorny exception” (166) in otherwise peaceful transfer of power in other princely states like Hyderabad, for example.

Bose foregrounds two factors mainly responsible for this problem; Hari Singh’s vacillation on the Kashmir issue, and the diabolique role played by National Conference (NC), a party initially founded “by a charismatic ex-school teacher, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah” (167-9). Bose indicates that “Kashmir’s right to self-governance” (169), which was considered safety valve by Sheikh Abdullah, did not materialize. He further emphasizes on the fact that Pakistan sponsored aggression to bring the rightful record of partition to an equilibrium was used effectively against Pakistan by Indian governments after Kashmir issue was internationalized. Quoting Lord Mountbatten, Bose writes that the accession, which was supposed to be “ratified ‘by a reference to the people’” was never consummated. And, finally, “from 1953 onward Indian governments embarked on a strategy of incrementally revoking Indian-controlled Kashmir’s self-rule” (169).

Resultantly, according to Bose’s analysis, Indian “hegemonic control” (170) finally made the mock power battle, between the titans of Indian government and Sheikh Abdullah, show India as the king of the jungle with Abdullah merely a pawn crushed, while the people of the valley have been put to the most brutal torturous fate ever since. Bose, in his very lucid style, concludes about the hoaxes and the eye-washes, put forth by the Indian governments, and the stooges and the dummy heads of the Kashmiri leadership.

Bose’s elaborate detailing of the strategic hegemonic policies meted out in “Indian-controlled Kashmir [or] a draconian police state” as he calls it, makes this book an important component of this survey. These hegemonic strategies of “[m]ass arrests, arbitrary detentions, and violence by hired thugs” (171), and virtually non-existent civil rights are similar to the graphical depiction in the primary texts of Peer used in this study.

In the chapter titled “Israel and Palestine” in this book, Bose discusses how the “areas designated as state lands” (207) and declared as Gaza Strip are egregiously stated as the cancer “steadily drain[ing] the State of Israel” (207-8). He considers it the bitterest of

ironies that these rightist analysts go further in these interpellative analyses to declare that Israel would be grateful if Gaza is taken “off its hands” (208). Bose clearly indicates that Israel propagandize itself as the magnanimous player, while Palestine is the shackle around its neck. Bose also writes his concern about this specious state of affairs, which is bought, on its face value, by those nations around the world who can put their weight around for bringing peace.

The factual accounts narrated by Bose, in addition to the concerns, mentioned here, makes his book an integral part of this survey. It is seen that Ghada Karmi’s memoirs raise the same issues, along with many other concerns. Her works are replete with graphic manifestation of some of the episodes mentioned in Bose’s book in addition to many alarms that she voices. I address and analyze the same in my research. Bose considers both Kashmir and Palestine-Israel issue as having “zero-sum” (190, 214, 292-3) character. Bose talks about the transformations from barrier to bridges, from “Iron curtain to a linen curtain,” or a “sovereign Palestinian state alongside Israel” (Bose 297). With my critique, I discuss the dimensions of human emotions, of hate (engineered) and compassion (natural) that Bose points out, as the limitations of his field of study of political science. I also add the dimension of environmental ethic of these two places which may shed a new perspective for some peaceful negotiations.

2.3. Conclusion

I have reviewed selected works in this examination of related literature on Kashmir, Palestine, and works on the two lands taken together, which has helped me in contextualizing my research dimension. Due to a huge body of literature written around the two areas of Kashmir and Palestine, it was very difficult to select from an array of equally important works relevant to my study and I had to leave out many works and resist the temptation of making them a part of this chapter. This decision was based precisely on the relevance and importance of these works. Many important works are not a part of this chapter because it would have been a monotonous repetition of these works as I have brought in their arguments in the chapters of my analyses. For instance, Arundhati Roy’s works like *Field Notes on Democracy* (2009) and *Capitalism: A Ghost story* (2014), and seminal works of scholars like Walid Khalidi, J M N Jefferies, Jonathan Shneer, Ilan Pappé, Shlomo Sand, Noam Chomsky, Rashid Khalidi, and Edward Said, to name only a few, are quite instructive for the analyses of my primary texts and provide the linchpin of my

argument, but, as mentioned, I have refrained from making them a part of this review to avoid being overly repetitive.

Through this review, we have also seen that the literature on Kashmir and Palestine considered together, is either polemical or quite brief at best. Likewise, there is hardly any criticism of any extensive length on my primary texts, perhaps on account of their being relatively new texts but also because their subject matter is factual and self-explanatory in addition to being problematic. I therefore, focused on thematic, historical, cultural, and ecocritical body of critique in order to contextualize my study and determine the research gaps that my research is likely to fill. With this review, I am able to identify the gaps in the present scholarship on the two areas. It may also be noted that no research work of the scale of a dissertation is done on the literature concerning the two regions taken together. My research is likely to plug this gap by studying the comparable and contrasting features as portrayed in the two memoirs for possible further inquiries in this direction. This review of related literature has also given me clarity to select the theoretical aspects that I have applied for this inquiry. It also provides me with a relative degree of confidence to use this knowledge effectively during the course of the analyses of my selected primary texts. With this I now turn to the next chapter to discuss the theoretical framework and tools of research that I use in my analysis.

Notes Chapter2

¹ Since I will be discussing Basharat Peer's text as stated in the title of my thesis prior to Ghada Karmi's memoirs, the stated phrases of 'Kashmir and Palestine' and 'Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi' will be followed thus across the entire research document.

² Sibghatullah Khan, in his PhD dissertation titled, *Between Homes and Hosts: Life Narratives of South and Southeast Asian Diasporic Academic Women in America* (2013), has also made effective use of this theorizing of Smith and Watson while discussing the memoirs of his selected academic women living in America. He believes that "[i]t is the interplay of all three 'I's that knits up most of autobiographical narratives...The narrated 'I' is constituted, through memory, by the narrating 'I'. This is a process of self-creation based on memory. But the narrating 'I', taking the lead, brings forth all kinds of narratives" (Khan 38-9).

³ Smith has quoted this term in the appendix of her book, as stated by Georges E. Sioui who has proposed the term *Amerindian autohistory*.

⁴ See Dabashi, *Post Orientalism* (2009).

⁵ As a precursor to Said, Dabashi cites a very learned scholar from Iran, Allama Muhammad Qazvini (1877-1949), who was a genuine Allama, unlike the later scholars who were bequeathed with this title, undeservedly sometimes. Muhammad Qazvini, only 27 years of age in 1904, reaches London, is very fond of meeting with very many Orientalists of that time and later after two decades of living in Europe and studying in Europe, makes an observation, which is long before Foucault (1926-84) or Edward Said (1935-2003) have presented their respective theories of knowledge and power and orientalism respectively. Qazvini writes in his brief autobiography that "the number of fake and would be scholars, and indeed charlatans, is infinitely more than the number of genuine Orientalists and real scholars...Without the slightest sense of shame or fear of being scandalized" (Dabashi 75) these orientalist flaunted their erroneous and faulty scholarship which they could not dare do for Latin or Greek languages. Qazvini accused Louis Massignon and Henri Masse and other orientalist like them as having "phantasmagoric conjectures, illusory theses, drug-induced illusions, and opium assisted gibberish". Dabashi traces the etymology of the term of orientalism and cites that Qazvini published a short essay in *Iramshahr*, a journal in Persian, from Berlin, in 1922, titled, "Orientalism and Occidentalism" (Dabashi 77), in which he notes his eye witness accounts about what Said writes half a century later. According to Qazvini, Orientalism, a benign discipline starting from the European travelers, more in the vein of "oriental fantasies" (Dabashi 78), later gets developed into a full-fledged political discipline in the wake of colonial interests. However, Dabashi writes, that there were marked acknowledgements of Qazvini and other scholars in the magazine, in terms of "exemplary model of scholarship" with "no ill will towards the west" (Dabashi 79).

⁶ Discussing Said's Orientalism, Dabashi clearly points out that Said categorically accepts that his work is lacking in the study of German Orientalism. However, according to Dabashi, the generalizations that Said made for a scholar like Goldziher are not entirely correct. It is true that most of them, Goldziher in particular, was historicizing the "Islam's too exterior theology and jurisprudence" with advertent or inadvertent consensus on Islam's "latent inferiority" (Dabashi 85). Dabashi thinks that this is unjustified an allegation for scholars like Goldziher at least, since, though a devout Jew, Goldziher was convinced in his heart of Islam's superiority to "satisfy philosophical mind" (Dabashi 87). However, Dabashi says that in principle Said was right about Orientalists but not completely for Goldziher. He defends Goldziher's scholarship on principled stance of a scholar's "legitimately critical angle on any aspect of the subject to which he has devoted his life" (Dabashi 86). Secondly, he believes that there were orientalist who actually adored Islam, like Goldziher, and therefore, cannot be bracketed with the ones who went out of their way to defame Islam. Dabashi defends Goldziher on the basis that he completely "identified with Islamic Intellectual history and with Muslim scholars", like the scholars of Alazhar University where he studied. And also on account of the fact that "anthropomorphism in Islamic theology" (Dabashi 87), though existed long before in Islam, was pointed out and studied by Goldziher, as Dabashi advocates. As a further proof, Dabashi quotes Goldziher, how he wanted to "elevate Judaism to a similar national level" (Dabashi 87) as Islam.

⁷ He gives example of two of her books, *No Logo* (1999) and *This Changes Everything* (2014). The latter one being about the hazards of climate change.

⁸ From henceforth, cited as *Discovery* only.

⁹ For detailed accounts, see chapter 3 of Mufti's book *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (2007).

¹⁰ My work studies the interpellation of the Kashmiri and Palestinian people as subjects, just as Mufti studies the interpellation of Lessing's play's Jewish protagonist as a subject when he is summoned by Saladin to ask of him a problematic question about Abrahamic religions in the chapter of Jewish minority.

¹¹ See the detailed explication of the term Levantine in the second chapter Gil Hochberg's book, *In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs and the Limits of Separatist Imagination* (2007).

¹² Sentence submitted as part of an article for possible publication and has been run through turnitin.

¹³ The reason for this remark at this point is due to the later unprincipled state insurgencies that complicated the situation instead of resolving it. The discussion of which will come in subsequent chapters.

¹⁴ Sentences submitted as part of an article for possible publication and has been run through turnitin. The part continues till the part of the next endnote

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* (1992) and *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of Kashmir Dispute 1947- 1948* (1999)

¹⁷ The writer of this book says that he is using the pseudonym, Abdul Hakeem for himself, for security reasons although he says in the beginning of the book that he lives in UK. He says that he has closely observed Syed Ali Geelani for the last twenty years and has been with him all this time.

¹⁸ This quote are taken from the foreword of Hakeem's book written by Lauren Booth, London, 2013.

¹⁹ See Chapter 5 of *Paradise on Fire* by Abdul Hakeem.

²⁰ I say invidious because Schofield seems to have bought India's rhetoric against Pakistan on many occasions [see page xv]. Also, while tracing the earliest periods of "imperial history" (1) as she calls it, back to king Ashoka's rule in 3rd century BC. However, when she comes to the mention of Muslim period, she mentions Shahab ud din as "the first great king" (2) coming to throne in 1354 AD with no mention of the Buddhist ruler of Kashmir, Rinchan, who embraced Islam in 1320 AD at the hands of Syed Bulbul Shah [see Hakeem 15, and CN 182] . There is another place where a Muslim, may that be a Shia or a Sunni, would find the description about their beliefs rather odd when she says in a quite declarative note that "Shia Muslims believe that Prophet chose his son in law and cousin, Ali, as his successor. Sunnis believe that Prophet's role in revealing God's laws and guiding people ended with him" [see note on page xv of preface]. I also say mildly invidious because there are places in the book where a matter of fact and clear cut principled stance is maintained by Schofield [see, for example, page 16].

²¹ Sentence submitted as part of my published article and has been run through turnitin. Maybe accessed at <https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.17.1.0083>

²² See Schofield, [chapter 3 titled, "Accession"]

²³ See Schofield [page 186]

²⁴ They escaped any legal persecutions on account of Chatterji living/ being a US citizen.

²⁵ I am quoting Massad's end note here which states the source of all these facts and figures. "For a list of these attacks, see Walid Khalidi, "The United States and the Palestinian people," in Walid Khalidi, *Palestine Reborn* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1992), 151–152, 168–170."

²⁶ See, Shlomo Sand, Ilan Pappé, Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, Victoria Schofeild and many others cited in my bibliography.

²⁷ Though there were erroneous policies of West Pakistan's political manouvers at that point and time that need to be understood to carry an equal blame in the breaking up of the country, but the *Muktee Bahini Tehreek* and its successful perpetrators are never highlighted in the same space as Pakistan's 'militancy factor' in the context of Kashmir.

²⁸ Though the role of internal political maneuvers in Pakistan can hardly be bailed out in the separation. However, this discussion is out of the context of the present research and out of the scope of the present research.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The review of literature and the subsequent gaps pointed out in the previous chapter provide me with the rationale to engage the theoretical framework I am using to study my primary texts. It also helps me select the research methods that are most relevant to this study, the discussion of which become a part of this chapter. I intend to discuss the importance of theoretical perspectives and research methodology. With this theoretical framework, I examine the memoirs of the selected writers from Kashmir and Palestine.

3.2. Theoretical Framework

My research uses a bricolage of theoretical perspectives in order to study the issues raised in the selected texts. My main lenses comprise Althusser's concepts of ideology, interpellation, and hegemony¹, Edward Said's conceptualization of *idées reçues*, and postcolonial environmental ethic as theorized by Deane Curtin in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005).² My multiple lenses address the cultural, political, and sociological aspects of the primary texts. The intersectional nature of concerns raised in my primary texts help me read them in the space provided by the theoretical parameters of Althusserian Marxism, postcolonialism, both in its classical form as well as its new dimension of environmental ethic, and certain moral concerns offered in the texts under study. For the sake of clarity, before the conclusion, I divide this chapter in two main parts about theoretical framework and research methodology with their respective sub-parts given as under for convenience:

➤ Theoretical Framework

- Rationale for theoretical framework
- Tracing the concept of hegemony: Gramsci and Althusser
- Althusser's concepts of ideology, interpellation, and state apparatuses
- Said's theorizing of *idées reçues*/ accepted ideas
- Environmental Ethic: Intersectional study of postcolonialism and Environmentalism

➤ **Research Methodology**

- Textual Analysis
- Phenomenological Hermeneutics as Research Method
- Ethnographic and Historiographic Methods

➤ **Conclusion**

3.2.1. Rationale for Theoretical Framework

In order to provide a convenient understanding of the theoretical framework used in my research, I borrow from Peter Barry's assertion about "a clear affinity between Gramsci's 'hegemony,' Althusser's 'interpellation' and Foucault's³ 'discursive practices'" as discussed in *Beginning Theory: An Introduction of Literary and Cultural Theory* (2002). I argue that all these theoretical standpoints relate to "the way power is internalized by those whom it disempowers, so that it does not have to be constantly enforced externally" (118).

Aijaz Ahmad also, in his book, *In Theory: Classes, Nations and Literatures* (1992, 2000), considers Louis Althusser and Edward Said, as theorists, among others, for their "seminal and defining positions" (3). Ahmad believes that, for their "particular ideas that have generated many other" theoretical trends, both Althusser and Said hold "defining positions in the epistemological field" (3). "Althusserian Marxism," with its "notable issues of colony and empire," as Ahmad notes, was not offered any "real reading" by most British critics including Colin Macabe, Terry Eagleton, or Perry Anderson (319-20). It is the "eclecticism of theoretical and political positions" of these theorists including "individual Marxists like Gramsci" (5) that Ahmad speaks of, and I make use of, in the multi-pronged approach of my theoretical framework. Before we explain this kinship between the two Marxists, Gramsci and Althusser's concepts of hegemony, it is imperative to understand that, though Althusser partly draws his inspiration from Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Gramsci's model is subsumed under the framework of Althusser. The rationale for this incorporation may be validated after developing an understanding of Gramsci's model of hegemony discussed in the following section.

3.2.2. Tracing the Concept of Hegemony: Gramsci and Althusser

Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* (1926), that he wrote when Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime imprisoned him, is the most effective document for his theory of cultural hegemony.

Gramsci (1891-1937) describes hegemony as what “the dominant group exercises throughout society,...[which may be as various as] intellectual, moral and political hegemony” (12, 58). It is, what he believes, is exercised, “through ‘domination’ [,] ‘intellectual and moral leadership’” (qtd. in Schwarzmantel 100). In the book, *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's Prison Notebooks*, (2015), John Schwarzmantel asserts that “Gramsci puts this very clearly, when he says that a social group (and clearly he means here classes in a Marxist sense) exercises its supremacy both as dominion (dominio) and as direction (direzione). The former is exercised over enemy groups (whom the ruling group intends to ‘liquidate’) and the latter over ‘kindred and allied’ groups who are attracted to and subordinated by the intellectual leadership of the ruling group” (Schwarzmantel 100). The terms like ‘dominant group’ and ‘social groups,’ used by Gramsci, play a decisive role in bringing out the difference between his concept and Althusser’s theory relating to hegemony of repressive state apparatus RSA and ideological state apparatuses, ISA.⁴

The following sections will deal with the development and Althusser’s re-articulation of the classic Marxist theory.

3.2.2.1. Theorizing a Re-Articulation of Power, Resistance, and Ideology: Subsuming of Gramsci’s Concept of Hegemony in Althusserian Model

In this section, we study how Louis Althusser, makes a re-shuffle of the classic Marxist theory because he argues that contrary to Marxist reliance on economic base, ideology plays a decisive role and hence works as the base on which Althusser raises the edifice of his theory. In other words, Althusser discusses different manifestations of ideology and argues that ideology is the pivot around which the whole Althusserian theory rests. He believes that ideology influences all the other elements of Marxist theory, as we would shortly see.

Althusser’s concept of hegemony differs substantially from that of Gramsci because of his use of the term “‘civil society’—as opposed to ‘political society’” (Bidet xxiv). For Gramsci, the civil society with constituent elements of “knowledge, culture and ethics” (Bidet xxv) plays a pivotal role in bringing about a revolution. This revolution, as per Gramsci’s view, may eventually, overcome the hegemony. Whereas, Althusser considers the institutions of the civil society like schools, law, and politics “as elements of state machinery” (Bidet xxv). These elements of civil society, for Althusser, enable the bourgeois to secure its hegemony and domination and may aid the perpetuation of

hegemony. Althusser is of the view that “Gramsci did not systemize his institutions” and his thought remained, largely “in the state of acute but fragmentary notes” (242).⁵ He further believes that “the model of the ethical state” that Gramsci borrowed from Croce as a “utopian ideal” (219) could never be fully realized. At one place in his famous essay, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” Althusser writes that, for Gramsci, the difference between the public and the private is not duly accentuated because Gramsci believes that the distinction is inherent within the bourgeoisie law whether it is public or private. Therefore, due to the fragmentary nature of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, Althusser adds a new dimension of systemization of institutions and their subsequent role. However, Althusser does recognize contributions of Gramsci, for whom Althusser acknowledges to have traveled a substantial distance on the road of theorizing about hegemony⁶ (242) by adding some role of the institutions like churches, schools, and trade unions in a civil society. Although, Althusser makes effective use of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony,⁷ his re-articulation of Gramsci’s theorizing, that classifies different forms of hegemony, subsumes Gramsci’s theory of hegemony under the Althusserian model.

3.2.3. Althusser’s Concepts of Ideology, Interpellation, and State Apparatuses

The central thesis of Althusser’s theory involves the concepts of ideology, ideological state apparatuses, and repressive state apparatuses. He develops his basic argument of interpellation, one of the primary lens for my research, from these concepts. At many places of his posthumously published manuscript, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (1970, 2014), he uses it as a verb and defines interpellation as: “all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects” (190, 264). At several other places he states: “there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects.” And “Ideology Interpellates Individuals As Subjects [*sic*]” (187, 195). He also uses the term “miscognition” (173), i.e. misrecognition, instead of recognition, in the basic argument for his theory of interpellation—one of the key elements used in my theoretical bricoleur for this research. Thus in order to develop a working definition of interpellation (that we would finally arrive at the end of this section) and to invoke the theoretical lenses of ideology and interpellation, as theorized by Althusser, it is important that we may become familiar with some additions and derivations that this Marxist theorist has conducted vis-à-vis the classic Marxist theory to which Gramsci had already made some additions prior to him.

In the first chapter entitled “To My Readers,” of his posthumously published manuscript, Althusser declares that his favored title for the first volume of his book be “The Reproduction of the Relations of Production (exploitation, repression, ideology)” (Althusser 2). In other words, problematizing the term of ideology, Althusser asserts at this place, that he is about to embark upon sketching a theory of what he would “call the *Ideological State Apparatuses* [sic] and also of the functioning of *ideology in general* [sic] [or] a *theory of ideology in general* that is still lacking in Marxist theory as such” (2, 173). A voluminous part of Althusser’s book is allocated to detailed discussions developing this theory of ideology, ideological state apparatuses, productive forces and relations of production. It would rather be more appropriate to say that the entire thesis developed in this book is a complete overhaul of edifice of Marxist terms of base, ideology, and the superstructure, which Althusser speaks of as “not dealing with an inversion at all (that magic formula of Hegelian or Feuerbachian Marxists!)⁸...but a rather strange reshuffle” (187). As a reshuffle, therefore, as pointed out earlier, Gramsci’s model of hegemony is likewise reshuffled and incorporated as per Althusser’s theorizing. It is therefore, imperative to understand the restructuring of Marxist theory as conceptualized by Althusser, relating to the key terms of productive forces, relations of production, ideology, ideological state apparatuses, and interpellation.

Doing a complete realignment of these Marxist terms, Althusser presents the topographical base for his theory, and I use this readapted theory as one of the main theoretical perspectives in this research. In the first place, while discussing the concept of productive forces, Althusser views the modes of production in a society as capitalistic modes of production because of their being based on cooperation. To explain these capitalistic modes of production he gives the example of “colonial ‘forced labour’ (on big plantations owned by whites, or for road-building and other construction projects)” (Althusser 24). And these modes depend upon the instruments, and agents that may be called “(labour power)” (24-5) of production. Combining these elements he gives his well-known equation, which he terms as the “famous equation: *productive forces = (unity) means of production + labour power*” (25). This implies that the modes and means of production, and the existing labor power of a given time, constitute the productive forces (which are owned by State).

Althusser further deduces from this equation and concludes that modes of productions cannot solely depend upon productive forces alone but need to have another

element, namely; relations of production. The resulting equation could then be stated as, ‘modes of production = productive forces + relations of production.’⁹ For Althusser, this dependency of modes of production on productive forces, play a pivotal role in the social formations of any given society. Where, a detailed discussion on the term ‘relations of production’ will follow shortly, here I only state that they are factors or relations that aid the productive forces. Any imbalance in equitable distribution of these overlapping elements causes a skewed relationship in these elements of productive forces, relations of production, and modes of production, usually resulting in exploitation of one element over the other.

The interplay of these elements propels the discussion, ipso facto, towards further aspects relating to ideology, like “functions of production,...functions of exploitation,...[and]...functions of repression” (41). This interrelationship leads to making the concepts of ideology, ideological state apparatuses, ISA, repressive state apparatuses, RSA, and interpellation, as theorized by Althusser, and used as core aspects for the theoretical framework of this research.

Althusser believes that productive forces (State) are directly influenced by the relations of production. In fact, he asserts that “mobilizing productive forces [is possible only] under the aegis of relations of production” (45). It is therefore mandatory to study this term in relative detail. Apart from the parenthetical clarification of Althusser’s term ‘relations of production’ which he defines as exploitation, repression, and ideology (2), he explains this term as relations of a very special kind, which work differently in class and classless societies. Althusser defines “the relations of production in class societies as relations of the one-sided distribution of the means of production between those holding them and those without them” (28). The disparity between the “personages” (28) of different classes, some, holding the means of production while others not holding them aids the capitalistic modes of production dominating the other modes of production. Even in classless societies, Althusser states, “these personages hold the means of production and appropriate a share of products of labour of the agents of production without providing anything ‘in return’” (27). Thus, in capitalist regimes, even for classless societies, the surplus-value or the remainder of the produce is kept for these personages. This modus operandi compels Althusser to propose his theory for the real rationale or the background forces of ideology and ideological state apparatuses, ISAs, and repressive state apparatuses RSA’s, as he calls them.

Building on one of the variants of Marxist theory, Althusser raises question as to which should be given precedence over which, i.e. production forces, or relations of production. He states that the former, i.e. production forces, was favored by Stalin while Lenin and Mao Tze Tung favored relations of production. However, this preference of 'production forces' over the 'relations of production' is something Althusser contests strongly. He believes that it was Stalin's undue adherence to the production forces that brought about menaces like Nazism "whose methods and magnitude are stupefying" (216). He is also of the view that "a different politics" (216) would have been more profound and helpful in keeping massacres like Nazism in abeyance.

By suggesting 'a different politics,' Althusser points towards the importance of relations of production for social formation over the productive forces. He asserts that relations of production work and perpetuate under the influence of an ideology. Relations of production are therefore, the dialectic of "consciousness" (12) for Althusser, and consequently the symbolic manifestation of an ideology. Now if these relations of production have the dominant features of exploitation and repression, the resulting ideology will naturally have dire consequences.

Giving his thesis statement, he states: "'Within the specific unity of the productive forces and relations of production constituting, a mode of production, the relations of production play the determining role, on the basis of, and within the objective limits set by, the existing productive forces'"¹⁰ (209). He points out though, that the precedence of relations of production over productive forces need to be compatible with each other to maintain a balanced social formation.

Furthermore, for Althusser, the productive forces (State) and relations of production, responsible for social formation or ideology, contrary to Marx's reliance on the economic base, are quite independent and autonomous in a structured whole. One aspect may be dominant over the other in this structured whole but Althusser sees economy as the last determining factor of dominance as opposed to Marx's emphasis for an economic base. Giving examples of 1917 Russian Revolution and Chinese Revolution and calling them the "weakest links in a chain known as imperialism," Althusser validates his theory by questioning:

How is it possible not to see that if these revolutions, which triumphed in technologically backward countries, could, and can overcome the backwardness of

their productive forces in a relatively short span, the reason is the state of the productive forces at the international level, especially the very advanced state of *technology*? (216)

Therefore, Althusser asserts that it is the relations of production for social formation that play the decisive role, no matter what the advanced levels of productive forces may be, as he points out in the examples of the two cited revolutions. The examples of these revolutions endorses Althusser's thesis of ideology as a lived relation between men and the world, or a reflected form of this unconscious relation.

I say unconscious relation, because it is the culminating point of Althusser's theory about "*Ideology in general*" (174), one of the core conceptual lens used in this research. Disputing Marxist statement about ideology that "*Ideology has no history*" (174), Althusser deconstructs the "centred [*sic*]" (181) aspects of Marxist ideology and Marxist assumption about ideology having no history. Althusser questions the "imaginary assemblage" (175) or the concept of ideology in the connotations of, empty and vain, dream like entity and emphasizes that ideology is always rooted in history.

Althusser negates the notion of ideology having no history and gives his two thesis points for the concept of ideology. In the first place he believes that "ideologies *have a history of their own*" and secondly, even if we believe, under certain conditions, that ideology has no history, he asserts that ideology's "history lies outside it),...not in a negative sense, but in an absolutely positive sense" (175). He believes it to be so because instead of being "non-historical" it is "omni-historical" for Althusser. Adopting "Freud's proposition that *the unconscious is eternal*" and juxtaposing it adroitly with his own proposition of ideology being omni/ ever present and all-encompassing, he proposes his theory for ideology. He states that he is adopting "Freud's formulation word for word and writ[ing]: *ideology is eternal*, just like the unconcious" (Althusser 175). This theory of ideology is something which Althusser maintains specifically for 'class societies' but declares that it must be extended to 'classless societies' eventually.

Furthering our understanding over the theoretical concepts used in my research of ideology, ISAs, RSAs, and interpellation, it may be seen, that Althusser presents two theses; one negative and the other positive (181). As the negative thesis which he declares as "*THESIS I... Ideology represents individuals' imaginary relation to their real conditions of existence...[or] (ideology = illusion/ allusion)*" (181). This implies that invariably, the

individuals in a given society are living in an illusion of ideology that they think represents reality, but is, in fact, illusory and imaginative to the real conditions of their daily lives. He gives the example of priests or despots who sell beautiful lies to people and people think that they are obeying God but they are, in fact, obeying the priests and despots, “generally allied in their imposture” (182). The second interpretation to the same negative thesis (Althusser’s first thesis for ideology) is that ideology is an allusion, which is “just as false” (182) for Althusser. It is not the passive imagination of the victims but a “material alienation reigning in people’s very condition of existence” (182). Concluding Althusser’s two statements for his “*THESIS I*”, which, for him, have a negative implication, it is seen that whether ideology is treated as imagination or material alienation, it is an imaginary distortion not representing the existing relations of production but an imaginary relation to the relations of production.

Althusser, therefore, proposes “*THESIS II*” according to which, “Ideology has a material existence. [It does not have] an ideal, idea-dependent [ideale, ideelle] or spiritual existence, but a material one” (184). Althusser presents this as the positive thesis because instead of being depending on an imaginary idea, he believes ideology has a material existence because it has always existed in a given apparatus or “in the practice or practices of that apparatus” (184). These practices, Althusser asserts, are the material manifestation of the ideas and beliefs ensconced in the ideology. It is this second thesis of Althusser, the different aspects of which are used as a part of theoretical framework in this research.

The different aspects of “*THESIS II*,” which proclaim for ideology having a material existence, are stated by Althusser as “two conjoint theses:

- 1) There is no practice whatsoever except by and under an ideology.
- 2) There is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects” (Althusser 187).

The first, out of these conjoined points, refers to the material manifestations of ISA and RSA and the second is about interpellation.

Establishing the relevance and importance of these cardinal points of Althusser’s thesis vis-à-vis to this research, it may be seen that the first point is about the pervasive impact of ideology on the entire fabric of society. Contrary to Marxist classic theory, Ideology for Althusser has evolved from a fundamental repressive state apparatuses, RSA, a repression exercised by the state power, government, the administration, the army, and

so on, to ideological state apparatuses, ISA, workings of religious, educational, family, political, legal, and the communication ISAs etc. Traditional Marxist theory believes that:

1) the state is the (repressive) state apparatus, 2) state power and state apparatus must be distinguished, 3) objective of the class struggle concerns state power and state apparatus [which is used] by the classes....4) the proletariat must seize state power in order to destroy the existing bourgeois state apparatus. (241)

To this theory, Althusser adds the ubiquitous influence of ISA on all social formations and even RSA. In other words, according to him, ideology or ideological state apparatuses influence even the repressive state apparatuses that the government exercise over its subjects.

The differences between RSA and ISA as stated by Althusser, bring out the relative importance of his theorizing about ideology and ideological state apparatuses. Making a very infinitesimal, yet quite critical differentiation between state power and state apparatuses Althusser brings out the differences and similarities between RSA and ISA in order to establish the validity of ideology on the workings of a society. He states that “while there is one (Repressive) State Apparatus, there is a plurality of Ideological State Apparatuses” (243). RSA functions by violence and ISA through ideology. But Althusser problematizes his theory by saying that both state apparatuses, repressive and ideological, work simultaneously by violence as well as ideology. The only difference is that RSA “functions massively and predominantly *by repression* (including physical repression), while functioning secondarily by ideology” (244). This implies that both the apparatuses have inherent elements of repression as well as ideology which Althusser calls as “double functioning” (245) of both RSA and ISA. He also acknowledges “diversity” and “contradictions” between the two but asserts that “it is ultimately the ruling ideology which is realized in the Ideological State Apparatuses” (245). In other words, there may be inherent paradoxes in different ideological state apparatuses on account of plurality of the modes of its manifestations. For Althusser, ISA is like a gestalt as it is more difficult to handle and pin down on account of its complex nature as compared to RSA, which, if it works simply, works by way of repression only.

After an exposition of first of the two conjoined theses that: “there is no practice whatsoever except by and under an ideology” we come to the central thesis of Althusser, interpellation, one of the primary lens used in the theoretical framework of this research.

Before coming to the core discussion about interpellation, Althusser mentions a positive connotative function of ideological recognition which endorses our understanding of a given matter, which he calls an “inevitable and eminently natural reaction of exclaiming (aloud or in ‘the silence of consciousness’): That’s obvious! That’s right! That’s true!” (189). This positive ideological functioning recognition is set apart from what he calls is the “function of *miscognition*” or interpellation. This theory of interpellation is subsumed under the aegis of Althusser’s theorizing of ideology having material manifestation as compared to its earlier Marxist imaginative associations. Therefore, when Althusser says that “all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects” (190, 264), it is the manifestation of his theory of ideology having materialized in the miscognition or interpellation of subjects, i.e. human beings.

The term, ‘concrete individuals’, is the ineluctable assertion of Althusser’s predicate that: “there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects...[and] Ideology Interpellates Individuals As Subjects [*sic*]” (187, 195). Ideology in the subject is something which Althusser regards as material manifestations behind everything s/he does. Resultantly, there are different ideologies or ISAs that are manifesting as a material presence in the form of legal, political, familial, religious, and social ideologies etc. These ISAs are responsible for the making of, or interpellating, individuals and societies as subjects, who may be torn between their individual/collective ideologies and orders they receive.

Explaining it further, Althusser writes that “ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or ‘transforms’ the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there!’” (264). Warren Montag, in his book, *Althusser and his Contemporaries: Philosophy's Perpetual War* (2013) explicates Althusser’s meaning of interpellation in an example where an individual is hailed to stop “to answer questions that presuppose the agency of the individual in question” (137). That is why Althusser claims that “[t]he existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same thing” (191). Thus, after a detailed discussion above, theory of interpellation may roughly be described as a phenomenon where concrete subjects internalize certain ideologies implicitly or explicitly and where one is reduced with next to no option but to work under the pressure of these

ideologies. In other words, a working definition of interpellation can be that it is a limitation that an individual of a society has to observe because of the limited choices that he is reduced with. I develop the definition of interpellation further in chapter four of analysis.

Thus, the evolution of these theoretical lenses of hegemony, RSA, ISA, demarcating the factors of productive forces, relations of production, ideology and interpellation, as proposed by Althusser, serve as the basic tool of inquiry in this research. The selected primary texts for this research are replete with examples where the narrators/writers and the others they write about undergo multiple interpellative hegemonies. In addition to this, there are ample examples in these texts (regarding Kashmir and Palestine) manifesting Althusser's concept of Ideological state apparatuses and Repressive State Apparatus. There are several examples in the selected memoirs that testify to the hegemonic interpellative measures of the governing for the governed subjects who may be called as interpellated individuals.

With this detailed discussion about the theory of ideology and interpellation, I now move to my next subsection in which I discuss the next pillar of this theoretical framework.

3.2.4. Said's Theorizing of *Idées reçues*/ Unconditionally Accepted Ideas

This brings us to another dimension of analysis of this intersectional research where it conforms to certain aspects of Said's postcolonial conceptualization and explication of the phenomena of imperialism, colonialism and orientalism. In his seminal book of postcolonial theory, *Orientalism* (1978), Said (1935-2003) builds his argument about the conceptual constructs of orient that later developed into an unquestioned accepted conformity, *idées reçues*, as he calls them. Aijaz Ahmad, though no champion of this book of Said, acknowledges that "Said's *oeuvre* is by far the most magisterial, the most influential but also possibly the most ridden with ambivalence and inner contradictions" (13). However, even with all the critique and vitriol that Ahmad renders Said's *Orientalism* (1978), he does acknowledge the "unforgettable" (177) contribution it made in the scholarship of Flaubert and others.

Discussing the so structured stereotypical image of the orient, Said proffers that all the theorizing of western scholarship comprises of diverse elements ranging from building of Suez canal as a result of "Napoleonic expedition (1798-1801)" (122) and politics of Henry Kissinger (1923-). Said believes, that Napoleonic voyages serve "as a sort of first enabling experience for modern Orientalism" (122). Other scholarly pursuits of Fredrich

Shlegel (1772-1829), “creation of a vocabulary and ideas” of Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) and Ernest Renan (1823-1892), went into creating the edifice of an abstract and romanticized orient to serve the Bacchus of western orientalists. Said deconstructs the workings of “Institut de France [which] was commissioned by Napoleon to form a *tableau generate* on the state and progress of the arts and sciences since 1789...[employing the most] historical-minded of generalists” (126) like Sacy to be in the team of writing/constructing historical impasses.

Said believes that this body of knowledge and reality produced a tradition, a Foucauldian discourse, which, contrary to being dependent upon the originality of the author, depended more on the substantial manifestations of his work. Said theorizes this “material presence or weight,” as being “responsible for the texts produced out of it.” He notes that “[t]his kind of text is composed out of those preexisting units of information deposited by Flaubert in the catalogue of *idées reçues*” (94). This mechanical and unmindful transference of preexistent body of knowledge is the main theme of *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, a short satirical work by French novelist, Gustave Flaubert (1821-80) published posthumously in 1911-13. The above quote/ definition of the term *idées reçues* of Said entails two very important points that he validates with examples. First is the importance of the written word, i.e. text, and second is the reception of a particular idea and its propagation. Said trusts that the textual evidence is important because once we face a situation we tend to recall anything that we might have had read about it. Secondly, it is the “appearance of success” (93) of a particular text due to the fact that its hypothesis has remained unchallenged so far. In order to explicate this second reason of favoring the text Said gives an interesting analogy of the fierceness of a lion. In his view all the books that we may have read about the fierceness of the lion may be our accepted idea or *idée reçue* upon which we may bank our understanding about the lions.

Similarly, he asserts that all the western scholarship regarding the concept/ or *idée reçue* about the stereotypical projection of the orient, became our *idées reçues*, because of “the dimensionless silence of the Orient” (95). This was so because Said believes that the Orient was not strong enough to counter it. And, so, according to Said, “Orientalism overrode the Orient” (94). He questions these accepted ideas/ *idées reçues* in his book and there are ample examples of such platitudes being questioned by the texts of the selected memoirs of this study. Thus applying Said’s theorizing of *Idées reçues* we would see how the selected two texts from Kashmir and Palestine break the “dimensionless silence[s]”

(Orientalism 95) and expose the erasure the people of their lands are being put under besides stating environmental ethics of their respective lands. The next section deals with this final theoretical dimension discussed below.

3.2.5. Environmental Ethic: Intersectional Ethos of Postcolonialism and Environmentalism

In the introduction of this chapter, I briefly mentioned about environmental ethics, the third important aspect of my selected theoretical framework. I also mentioned that though a number of theorists have theorized about the term environmental ethics, I take Deane Curtin's posited theory in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005), as the third aspect of my theoretical framework.

Curtin defines an environmental ethic as a moral belief which is a combination of “environmental justice, social justice, and economic justice as parts of the same whole, not as dissonant competitors” (7). Rather than an “imported” understanding of the term environmental ethic, he emphasizes on the need to understand the “indigenous environmental resistance movements that are emerging around the globe” (13), and that is why he calls it a “new environmental ethic.” According to him, this “new environmental ethic be plural-voiced [that] needs to reflect the world of diverse places and peoples” (ix). This “new environmental ethic emerges from the voices of those diverse people around the globe who are determined to defend their homes, now and for generations to come” (14). Therefore, Curtin proposes that in order “to arrive at a better environmental ethic we need to become good listeners to cultures that are different from our own” (9). This would enable us to perceive an “environmental ethic,...that is coherent, but also diverse enough to include the world's diverse people and places” (13).

Examining “colonialism and neocolonialism” in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005), Curtin guards us against “American ideas of the human relationship to nature [which, according to him is]...a historical, cultural, and economic amnesia.” He reminds us that “contemporary globalization...is colonialism dressed in new clothing.” In order to “fully respond to colonialism and globalization [the way] they have unfolded over the last five centuries, [his theory proposes that] we need an environmental ethic that connects social justice with environmental justice” (25). Therefore, he believes that we need to learn a lot from “colonial resistance literature.” Curtin advocates for a new generation of researchers who would “expand resistance to neocolonialism to include a

politically informed environmental ethic.” And thus I use Curtin’s view to explore “an outline for such a postcolonial environmental ethic” (48)¹¹ in the selected literature of Kashmir and Palestine.

My research makes use of such a postcolonialism environmental ethic which is in dialectical dialogue with environmentalism. This is one of my principle lens of inquiry in my theoretical framework. What Curtin presents in his theory is actually a need of the present times and it has many precedents before it. For instance, an inquiry of postcolonialism in conversation with Marxism is presented in the book by Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus. In their edited book, *Marxism, Modernism and Postcolonialism* (2004), they introduce the subject matter of their book as a contribution to discourses about Marxism as “the theoretical perspective best suited to accomplishing the concerted and effective critique of the violence of the contemporary world order as well as of the ravages of the colonial past¹² (3). Likewise, parallels between postcolonialism and feminism are nothing new to literary theory.¹³

This postcolonial environmental ethical dimension of inquiry that Curtin theorizes in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005), is in dialectical conversation with environmentalism. This intersectional nature of this lens of “postcolonial environmental ethic” that explores a dialectic relationship between postcolonialism and environmentalism is like some recent developments in postcolonial studies, as we see in postcolonial Marxism (mentioned above). Besides Curtin’s work, there are other theorists who have explored and theorized this mode of inquiry, some of them using this term as it is and some writing about it in a slightly variant capacity. Their works, more or less, serve as seminal sources of inquiry in this field next to Curtin’s. These books and articles may include Nixon’s “Environmentalism and Postcolonialism” (2005), Huggan & Tiffin’s “Green Postcolonialism” (2008), Roos and Hunt’s *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives* (2010), with some earlier works like that of Guha’s “Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Perservation: A Third World Critique” (1989) and *Environmentalism: A Global History* (2000), and Spivak’s “Attention: Postcolonialism!” (1997). These are only indicative rather than being an exhaustive list. These works that I discuss here briefly, endorse and add upon Curtin’s theory and since I make use of them to endorse my argument, it may be in order to do a brief over view of these ideas.

In their article “Green Postcolonialism” (2008), Huggan and Tiffin¹⁴ believe that the “imperial expansion” has led to a continuous repetition of “the ideology of imperialism” (6), and therefore, they establish an imperative for “a postcolonial environmental ethic” (7). They argue that the strands of both postcolonialism and ecocriticism in green postcolonialism cover each other’s blind spots. Their thesis point incorporates a critical dimension of social justice in environmentalism. It is this element of social justice that is the converging point of green postcolonialism that I use as a theoretical tool in this research. My primary texts are replete with these questions of environmental ethic, as it is come to be understood, not only by Huggan and Tiffin but also developed by Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt in their anthology mentioned above. Similarly, postcolonialism, for Nixon, stretches the ecocritical perception to more “transnational ethics of place” (*Environmentalism and Postcolonialism* 239). I make use of their theorizing adapting it to my discussions in the contexts of Kashmir and Palestine.

The intersectional nature of this postcolonial environmental ethic, although indicated in different parameters by Ramachandra Guha and Gayatri Spivak as early in 1989 and 1997, in their respective articles, endorse my argument in my research’s theoretical framework. Guha declares his critique of the radical environmental movement of deep ecology from the perspectives of an “outsider” (72) to the American environmental debates and contextualizes his discussions from an Indian perspective. Spivak¹⁵ also draws attention to her being subjected to interpellation in diverse ways on account of her refusal to situate herself in “global migrancy” (162). She frames her discussion in the context of Bangladeshi poet, Farhad Mazhar, which is what I desist discussing in detail here as it is already discussed chapter 1. Since the selected memoirs under study here display different forms of exploitation, reviewing their texts in a postcolonial environmental ethical perspective is an essential part of this exploratory research. It is what I term eco-postcolonialism, the detailed discussion of which is a part of the coming chapters.

In addition to the bricoleur of theoretical framework discussed above, since there is an ethical dimension to a postcolonial environmental inquiry, I find it relevant to mention some relevant elements of moral theory, and ethics—a philosophic investigation of morality,¹⁶ in the analysis of my text. A brief overview of converging features of moral theories that I may find relevant to my research will be of avail.

John Rawls is quoted by Mark Timmons in his book, *Moral Theory: An Introduction* (2013) with the definition of moral theory: “Moral theory is the study of

substantive moral conceptions, that is, the study of how the basic notions of the right, the good, and moral worth may be arranged to form different moral structures” (Timmons 1). In order to establish the importance of moral theorizing, Timmons studies the aims, roles, categories, structures, and the questions concerning the evaluation of the moral theories (3). Timmons states that “moral theory concerns questions about the morality of actions (what to do) as well as the morality of persons (how to be)” (6). For this purpose, he explains the right, the good, and actions of moral worth. Where, “The Right or Deontic¹⁷ concepts” are actions that are either obligatory, wrong or optional; the good actions have the elements of intrinsic and extrinsic¹⁸ or instrumental value; the actions with moral worth or aretaic value are basically the evaluation of persons and their characters. The categories of right and good actions explain (what to do) and the third category of moral worth¹⁹ is about (how to be).

The category of moral worth or aretaic value engages the evaluation about a category of a morally good person or morally bad person defined as positive moral worth or negative moral worth. A person with positive moral worth, working on positive character traits, is then called a virtuous person, while the one possessing negative moral worth, functioning on negative character traits is a vicious person. This is the theory of moral worth or theory of virtue or theory of value (Timmons 10). This theory of value as part of moral theory determines which thing has intrinsic value (good or bad) and why that thing has that intrinsic value. This theory of value as part of the moral theory also concerns the goodness or badness of a person as manifested through his/her actions and attitudes. He also discusses “moral epistemology”, “moral semantics”, and “moral metaphysics” (17) under the meta-ethical questions of morality. For him, consistency determinacy, and applicability are the modes of evaluating any moral theory. These aspects of moral theory are something that may be seen (or not seen) more in the national character of India and Israel in the related textual discussions.

Similarly, Charles Larmore, in his book, *Autonomy of Morality* (2008), has challenged the autonomy of human reason evolving as the single binding source of reasoning after the watershed movements of Enlightenment and Scientific Revolution. He studies morality of modernity and asserts that it is erroneous to divorce morality from the vicissitudes of history—which, he considers one of the very important component to study moral philosophy (3). This aspect of his theory, quite suitably, becomes a part of the analysis of selected memoirs of Peer and Karmi.

With this detailed discussion about the three main theoretical aspects of *Idées reçues*, theory of ideology and interpellation, and postcolonial environmental ethic, that I use to study the concerns of my selected texts, I now discuss research methodology and research methods that I find relevant to my theoretical context.

3.3. Research Methodology

My literature review and theoretical framework have helped me to streamline the research methodology and research methods I am using in my research. Contrary to a positivistic research, a methodology more suiting for scientific research, my work is qualitative in nature and favors discursivity with no fixturs in meanings. A qualitative analysis, because of its discursive elements, is interpretative, explorative, and phenomenological in nature. The retrospective nature of my primary texts qualify them for the use of qualitative method(s) of inquiry. I therefore, make use of a textual analysis mode, a phenomenological hermeneutical method, a historiographic mode of analysis, and an occasional ethnographic method of explication.

3.4. Research Methods

Underscoring the need to initiate a “[r]esearch training...in a research environment where the emphasis is on learning by doing,” Gabrielle Griffin considers her anthology, *Research Methods for English Studies* (2005, 2013), an important contribution in the field of exploring and employing new and diverse research methods for qualitative research. She is of the view that understanding and employing different research methods will “impact on the research findings we generate” (4). The multipronged theoretical perspective fittingly allows for a multidimensional interpretations without aiming for any closure. However, a rather elaborate discussion will be quite helpful for contextualizing these research methods employed in my research; namely textual analysis, phenomenological hermeneutics, historiographic, and ethnographic means of inquiry.

3.4.1. Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is considered as the “staple of English studies research” (12) by Gabriel Griffin in her book, *Research Methods for English Studies* (2005, 2013). Discussing Catherine Belsey’s chapter in her book she explains how Belsey’s textual analysis is informed by “additional research methods” such as the “context of the cultural artefact under scrutiny, the context of its production, its content and its consumption” (12). Belsey

emphasizes upon consulting the “original sources” instead of going for the “second-hand accounts,” as she believes that they may be colored by some personal biases (12). As Belsey notes in her essay in this book, “working. Textual analysis as a research method involves a close encounter with the work itself, an examination of the details without bringing to them more presuppositions than we can help” (Belsey 160). This importance that Belsey attaches for referring to the original sources while keeping in view the content, cultural, and production context of the artefacts or texts is the paradigm I use for doing the textual analysis of the selected works for this study. Belsey believes that there “is no such thing as ‘pure’ reading: interpretation always involves extra-textual Knowledge” (Belsey 163). Therefore, throughout the textual analysis of this qualitative inquiry I have mostly engaged the interpretative method using the primary lens stated in the theoretical framework section. However, Griffin notes in the introduction of her book that for Belsey, “textual analysis relies on other and additional research methods as well as a methodology or perspective (in her instance, a feminist one) to give focus to, support and illuminate the reading one produces” (12). Therefore, other research methods may be seen as subsumed under textual analysis as a research method.

3.4.2. Phenomenological Hermeneutics as Research Method

Terry Eagleton’s argument in his book, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (1983, 1996) that “[p]henomenological criticism is an attempt to apply the phenomenological method to literary works” (51) and his asserting that Hans-Georg Gadamer’s book *Truth and Method* (1960) favored hermeneutics as an important method of “textual interpretation” (57), allows me an understanding to use phenomenological hermeneutics as a research method. The phenomenological aspect of my research leads my exploration’s thrust toward phenomenological hermeneutics, which entails two concepts, namely phenomenology and hermeneutics that need to be explained and understood to be applied across my work. It would be helpful, not only, for our better understanding of the nature of any qualitative research project in general, but also, this one in particular. It also helps us to establish the need of this research method in my study.

Terry Eagleton has traced the concept of phenomenology in his book, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (1983, 1996) from the German Philosopher, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Discussing Husserl’s concept of phenomenology, Eagleton explains how Husserl emphasizes upon ignoring anything beyond our immediate experience. He terms this consideration of direct understanding as “phenomenological reduction” (48). In other

words, Husserl believes that “all realities must be treated as pure ‘phenomena,’ in terms of their appearance in our mind, and this is the only absolute data from which we can begin.” Husserl also believes that “[p]henomenology is a science of pure phenomena” (*Literary Theory: An Introduction* 48). This science of pure phenomena coupled with the phrase, “appearance in our mind,” to my understanding, complicates the concept and keeps phenomenology steer clear of any tendentious associations, on account of its emphasis on immediate experience, either with Formalistic approach, or, with strictly speaking, any empirical approach. Husserl problematizes this concept because on the one hand, he is advising to ignore anything beyond our immediate experience but on the other, he uses the understanding as appears in one’s mind. Eagleton’s explanation resolves this complication when he states that phenomenology is “a science of human consciousness—human consciousness conceived not just as the empirical experience of a particular people, but as the very ‘deep structures’ of the mind itself” (49).

Illuminating it further, Eagleton gives the example of a perception of a rabbit, when one sees it. According to him, it is not just looking at a particular rabbit but it also entails “the universal essence of rabbits and of the act of perceiving them” (49). The perception of a rabbit thus observed, also has the background essence of all that he has known about the rabbits so far. Equating this example in the literary paradigm of research it may be seen that this phenomenological inquiry is not strictly “an objective reality, but what in German is called *Lebenswelt* reality as actually organized and experienced by an individual subject” (51). He further clarifies that “[p]henomenological criticism will typically focus upon the way an author experiences time or space, on the relation between self and others or his perception of material objects” (51). Eagleton quotes several precedents of this phenomenological method to literary texts. He also describes how it is a “wholly ‘immanent’ reading of the text, totally unaffected by anything outside it” (51). This immanent reading poses some limitations which are resolved by one of the celebrated pupils of Husserl, Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) and his most celebrated successor Hans—Georg Gadamer (1900-2002).

Heidegger has theorized about “hermeneutical phenomenology” in sharp contrast to earlier “transcendental phenomenology” of Husserl in his work *Being and Time* (1927) (*Literary Theory: An Introduction* 57), where, hermeneutics is defined by Eagleton as “the science or art of interpretation” (*After Theory* 23). And in his work, *Truth and Method* (1960), Gadamer discusses hermeneutical/ textual interpretative method of inquiry.

Together, Heidegger's concept of "hermeneutical phenomenology" and Gadamer's hermeneutical/ textual interpretative method form the basis of one of my research methods in this exploratory study. Employing this method of hermeneutical phenomenology, I inquire about the meaning, relevance, and cultural and historical alienation of my primary texts. Working and negotiating within the temporal and spacial bounds of phenomenology, this method overlaps with Belsey's textual analysis and historiographic and ethnographic methods discussed as under.

3.4.3. Historiographic and Ethnographic Methods

I also engage historiographic and occasional ethnographic mode of inquiry as modes of research method across my work. First, I discuss the ethnographic method.

A number of critics have discussed ethnographic research methods.²⁰ Dictionary definition of an ethnographic study renders it the classification in which the ethnographer becomes immersed in the culture as an active participant and records extensive field notes. In the Preface of his book, *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research* (2007), Michael Angrosino states: "*The ethnographic method* involves the collection of information about the material products, social relationships, beliefs, and values of a community" (Angrosino xv). Whereas, going beyond the binaries of lived experience and text is suggested by Dr Ann Gray when she underscores the conceptualization of "identity-in-culture" (Gray 7, 188). A working definition that may be seen to converge many diverse points about ethnography serves for my project too. Defining ethnography, Karen O Reilly, in her book, *Ethnographic Methods* (2005) states: It is an

iterative—inductive research [with a] direct and sustained contact with human agents, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures) watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledge the role of theory, as well as the researcher's own role and that views humans as part object/ part subject. (3)

While O Reilly states the irreducibility of human experience, Griffin considers the importance of such richly written accounts as "micro-ethnographies." The "cultural and social practices" (11) are the main concerns of ethnographic method of research for Griffin.

Rachel Alsop's chapter in Griffins anthology, titled, "The Uses or Ethnographic Methods in English Studies" discusses different types of ethnographic research. According

to her, “an ethnographic research methodology is the depth and length of engagement with the subject matter, of the ethnographer’s immersion in the field” (115). Though I am not an ethnographer “participating and observing” (115) myself, I become a participant observer through my writers’ eyes, who are the ethnographers of their particular realms. Also, a borrowed statement from the doctoral thesis of Sibghatullah Khan fits my context: “I, as a researcher, am not an ethnographer myself but an analyst or a critical reader of ‘ethnographies’” (Khan 190), works for me too, as my selected memoirists for this study are the ethnographers for their lived in experiences narrated in their texts.

Out of the five types, namely “ethnographic realism, confessional ethnography, dramatic ethnography, critical ethnography, and self- or auto-ethnography” (Alsop 115), my research falls mostly in the last two categories of critical and self- or auto-ethnography. Alsop sees critical ethnography as a type that “situates the culture within a wider framework whether that is socio-economic, historic, symbolic or otherwise...[while] self-ethnographies or auto-ethnographies centre [sic] on the culture of the ethnographer him-or herself, thereby eradicating the differentiation between the ‘signified’ and the ‘signifier’” (Alsop 116). As the two writers of my primary texts become the ethnographers for their lived experiences of their habitats, their memoirs are treated as ethnographies, and the ethnographic method is also used across my research.

And finally, my use of the theoretical framework of environmental ethic imports the historiographic mode of inquiry. Historiographic method compliments the other methods mentioned above and is also endorsed by Griffin too along with other methods she mentions in her book cited above (Griffin 12). The simplest understanding of historiography may be stated as that it is the “critical reading of works of history” (Spalding 1). Though she does not particularly talk about historiographic mode of analysis, she considers that “post 9/11 oral history plays an important role” (Griffin 9) and can be used as an investigative mode in certain situations.

However, Eileen Ka-May Cheng’s book fills this gap and offers historiography as a mode of analysis in her book, *Historiography: An Introductory Guide* (2012). Historiography, until it was institutionalized in the nineteenth century, to mean “a collection of data on the historical past,” is derived from its root word, history. Nadia Abu El-Haj²¹ states that the word history, in turn, comes from the Greek word “‘*istoria*,’ which originally meant, quite simply, research” (14). While Cheng considers that

“historical writing is as much a product of its time as any other historical development, and can therefore serve as a lens into major trends and developments in the history of Western Civilization...[And] historiography can illuminate an integral aspect of historical analysis—its subjective and interpretive character—and in so doing demonstrate to readers what makes history such an interesting and complex subject” (1-3).

I deduce a working definition of historiographic tool of inquiry from El-Haj, and also from Cheng’s book, *Historiography: An Introductory Guide* (2012). Incorporating Jameson’s suggestion of the need to emancipate historiography from European conventions (Cheng 98), I use historiography as a method to inquire about the political, social and economic history of the two regions under study, as presented across the texts of the two writers.

In order to understand the validity of a historiographic method of inquiry with respect to my research, we need to understand the basic difference between environmental ethic that is the main concern of my research and unchecked environmentalism. A postcolonial environmental ethical inquiry requires certain aspects that are at “critical loggerheads” with blanket assertions of environmentalism. Drawing from Nixon’s works (also cited in the bibliography), Roos and Hunt have pointed out these opposite concerns in their book, *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives* (2010). They write that

between schools: postcolonialists emphasize hybridity, while ecocritics emphasize purity; postcolonialists study displacement, ecocritics focus on place; postcolonialists tend toward cosmopolitanism, ecocritics toward nationalism; postcolonialists work to recover history, ecocritics seek to sublimate or transcend history. (4, 5)

Since the selected texts for this study draw upon these differences between postcolonialism and ecocriticism and exhibit preferences for a postcolonial environmental ethic, it therefore, gives me the confidence to use it as a main aspect in my theoretical framework. As, a postcolonial environmental ethic is a concern that looks into all the three dimensions of postcoloniality, environmentalism, and ethic, this understanding about the basic difference between an environmental ethic or postcolonial environmental ethic and environmentalism stands pivotal to my critical inquiry in this project. It is followed by my use of

historiography and ethnography, overlapping with the other two methods of hermeneutical phenomenology, and textual analysis to analyze the texts selected for this study.

3.5. Conclusion

Belonging to the two troubled lands of Kashmir and Palestine, the truth in the selected memoirs for this research may be sought by employing a multidimensional methodological approach explained in the discussion in the pages above. For the sake of convenience, see the flow chart of my theoretical bricolage at the end of this conclusion, given on the next page. Without specifically pointing out which particular research method I am applying for analyzing any particular part of my texts, I use these methods on discrete as well as overlapping units of the texts. The selected research methods enmesh with the theoretical dimensions used as lens of inquiry in this research and complement them. Therefore, in order to achieve an objective critical verve, these perspectives and methods will aid me in the next chapters of critical analyses of the selected texts. The preceding discussions about the theoretical framework and research methods are the *sine qua non* for the upcoming analysis without partaking any Universalist claims or essentialist positions.

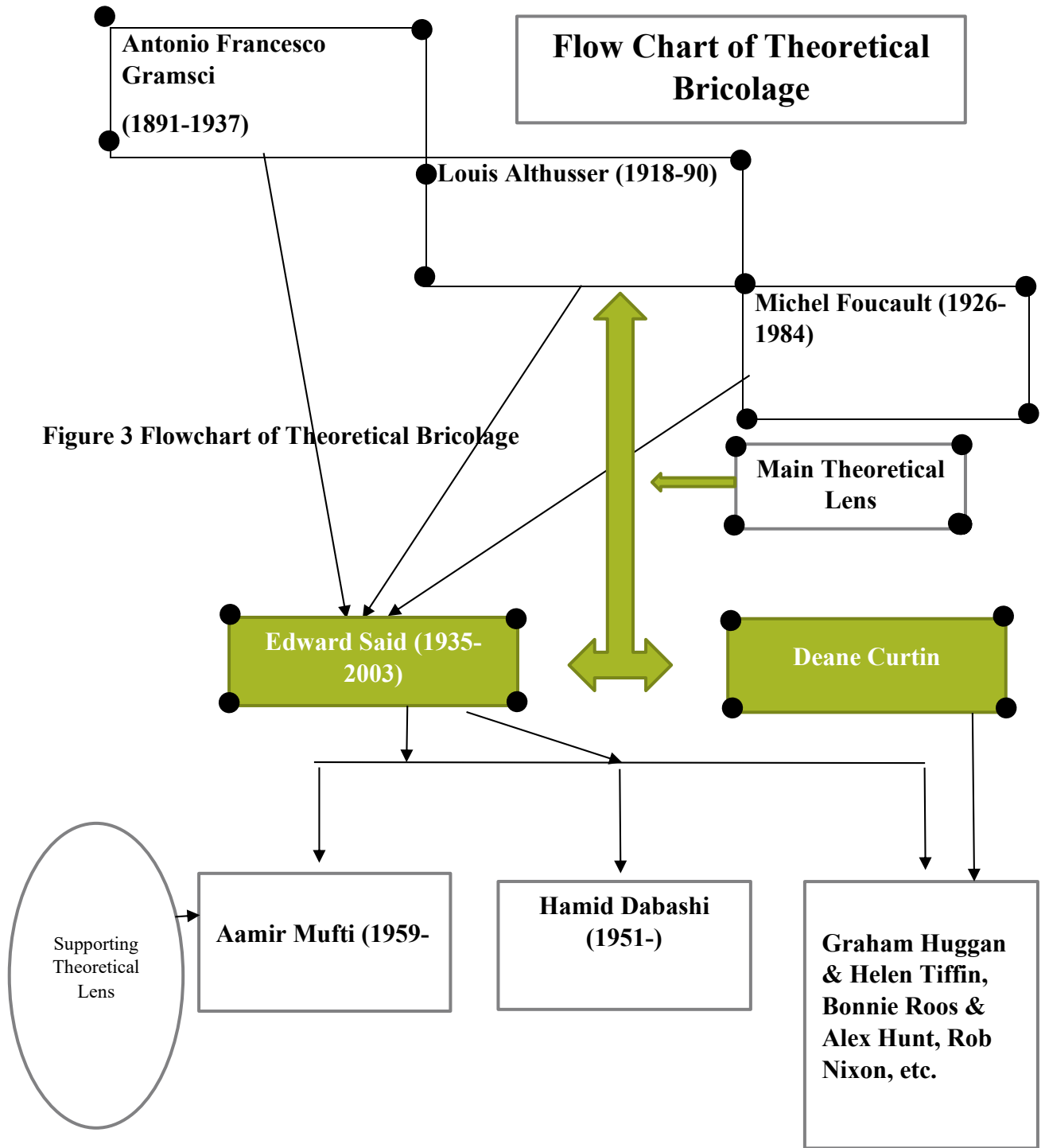


Figure 3 Flowchart of Theoretical Bricolage

Notes Chapter 3

¹ Although Althusser has borrowed from Gramsci's concept of hegemony but he has theorized it in different parameters. I have subsumed the concept of hegemony under Althusser's considerations. Though I have brought in Gramsci's model in subsequent discussions in my research.

² As Deane Curtin is pioneer in coining the term of postcolonial environmental ethic in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005), his theorizing becomes one of my core theoretical lens, while, Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin's article, along with Rob Nixon, Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt, and Ramachandra Guha's (though his article was in 1989, he has not used this term but I incorporate other relevant dimensions from his work) works soon follow and each add an important dimension to this term. Therefore, while Curtin's work stands as my basic text for reference, I strengthen my argument in my analysis from these other writings as secondary resource material.

³ Foucault's theorizing about discursive practices, and Panopticon, though, not a part of the aforementioned, main theoretical lens, but will be subsequently brought up during the relevant portions of my textual analysis.

⁴ The abbreviation of ideological state apparatuses ISA and RSA for repressive state apparatuses will be used at most of the places in this text henceforth, interchangeably used with its complete form at certain places.

⁵ This reference has been taken from Althusser's famous essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: (Notes towards an Investigation)," (1970) which is translated by Ben Brewster. The subtitle given in parenthesis is added by Ben Brewster himself, which, he says, is part of an ongoing study. This translated essay is provided as Appendix 2 in the complete manuscript of Althusser, *On the Reproduction of the Apparatuses of Production*, the second edition of Althusser's posthumously published book, from which Althusser had extracted the text of this famous essay. This complete book is published by Verso in 2014, edited by Jacques Bidet and translated by G. M. Goshgarian with some modifications in the original translated text by Ben Brewster. However the moral rights of the author have been asserted. All subsequent references for Althusser's essay or from this book cited at different places in my research are from this Verso Publication of 2014, titled, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*.

⁶ See the footnote of his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," on page 242, provided in the text of the manuscript, as explained in endnote number 6 above.

⁷ As I also make use of Gramsci's theory in certain places in my research.

⁸ Althusser makes a generous use of parenthesis and italics in his text in order to elaborate on his point.

⁹ In my entire research, single speech marks i.e. ' ' are either used for emphasis or any neologism that I have done, or, are used in the terms of regular usage of a quote within a quote or, when used in the cited text.

¹⁰ This translated essay, "On the Primacy of the Relations of Production" is provided as Appendix 1 in the complete manuscript of Althusser, *On the Reproduction of the Apparatuses of Production*, the details of which are provided in end note 5.

¹¹ See also (Huggan 7) and (Roos 3) cited in the bibliography.

¹² See *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies* (2004). I have also made this intersectional and interventional dimension of inquiry in one of my published papers "Shades of Postcolonial Marxism and *How To Get Filthy Rich In Rising Asia* (2013): A Sociological Concern" in *Kashmir Journal Of Language Research (KJLR)*. ISSN 1028-6640 Volume 21. Issue No 2. 191-202.

¹³ See the symbiotic relation between the two theories in *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (2004) by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (pg. 101-2) also exhaustively discussed and made use in PhD dissertation of Sibghatullah Khan (2012).

¹⁴ Graham Huggan (1958-) is Professor and Chair of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Literatures at the University of Leeds, UK. A leading postcolonial critic, he is the author of 13 books, including *Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment* (2010) and *Nature's Saviours: Celebrity Conservationists in the Television Age* (2013). And Helen M. Tiffin (1945-) is an Adjunct Professor of English at the University of Wollongong, Australia, and an influential writer in post-colonial theory and literary studies.

¹⁵ The end of the article has the following footnote: "Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Dr Spivak gave this lecture at a symposium on "Post-colonialism and Global Migration" during the "Steirischer Herbst Festival" in Graz, Austria in 1997".

¹⁶ See fig. 1.3. "Main Divisions of Philosophical Ethics", in *Moral Theory: An Introduction* (2013) by Mark Timmons.

¹⁷ Explaining the actions as *obligatory*, *wrong*, or *optional*, Timmons defines them as *deontic* concepts or categories (from the Greek term *deon*, which means duty) because they concern what one morally ought to do (and hence has a duty to perform) or morally ought not to do (and hence has a duty not to perform) (Timmons 7).

¹⁸ See chapter 1 of *Moral Theory: An Introduction* for detailed discussions. Timmons explains *intrinsically good*—is for the goodness to be located in that thing, where *extrinsically good* is to say that it possesses goodness because of how it is related to something that is intrinsically good (8). For this he gives the example

of money which is considered a good thing to possess. However, he explains this by asking, “But what is the source of its goodness? It seems pretty clear that the goodness of money is not somehow internal to the pieces of paper and bits of metal that compose it. Rather, the goodness or positive value of money is explained by the fact that it is useful *as a means* for obtaining things and services that are either intrinsically good or contribute to what has positive intrinsic value. Thus assuming that money has positive value of some sort, its goodness or value, we say, is extrinsic” (Timmons 8).

¹⁹ Explaining the category of moral worth or aretaic, Timmons enumerates its three states as “*intrinsically good* (or valuable), the *intrinsically bad* (or disvaluable), and the *intrinsically value neutral*” (9).

²⁰ See for instance, Dr Ann Gray’s *Research Practice for Cultural Studies Ethnographic Methods and Lived Cultures* (2003), Karen O’Reilly’s *Ethnographic Methods* (2005), and Michael Angrosino’s *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research* (2007).

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Chapter 4

‘Absences,’ ‘Invisible Presence(s),’ and ‘Militant Nationalism’¹: Basharat Peer’s *Curfewed Night*

Freud calls Repudiation (Verwerfung) unusually strong defense mechanism.
(Spivak, Attention: Postcolonialism! 166)

The heady, rebellious Kashmir I left as a teenager was now a land of brutalized, exhausted and uncertain people....The Conflict might leave the streets, but it will not leave the soul.
(Peer, *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* 217)

A brutal cycle of insurgency and counter-insurgency, which has claimed more than 70,000 lives since, turned Kashmir into the most militarized zone in the world. Indian soldiers were given immunity from prosecution even if they killed unarmed innocent Kashmiri civilians.

(Peer, *A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen* 12)

Do not forget we have given our today for your tomorrow.
(Baker 138)

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine Basharat Peer’s *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir*² (2010). Studying *Curfewed Night*, I argue that just as postcolonial studies has emerged from its borderland status and eventually established its validity against the pervasive universalist Eurocentric claims.³ Similarly, the textualized borderland of Kashmir, being one of the highest military zones in the world, extends the capacity of a postcolonial appraisal. With an attention to social justice in the debates of environmental ethics, Peer’s text offers a scope for studying postcolonial environmental ethic of Kashmir, like many other borderlands already studied in these dimensions.⁴ This thesis point foregrounds postcolonial critique, not only in its classic model of upholding the principles of social justice against marginalization and erasure, but also engages in a sort of contrapuntal reading with some counter-discourses like environmentalism. This premise also highlights the aspect of capitalism in these debates, enlarging its capacity to accommodate moral theories, which is one of the major concerns of postcolonial mode of inquiry. Studying appropriation, in terms of land, culture, and resources as engines of

colonialism, I examine how the implications of this neocolonialism meted out to the marginalized Kashmiri identity may be fueling an environmentalism due to its amnesiac relationship to the “wars of dispossession,” as Nixon suggests (239). I study these environmentalist constructs that have caused dispossession of Kashmiri people and disregard their ongoing marginalization and erasure. This environmental amnesia is increasing in manipulation, resulting in cultural, ideological, and socio-economic concerns for the Kashmiri identity. By linking social justice with environmental justice, my approach is to redress the political, economic, and environmental myths. I propose to distinguish between postcolonial environmental ethic and blanket assertions of environmentalism which have led to an “economic Orientalism” (Robbins 110), “economic expansion” (Guha 78), and an “ecological apocalypticism” (Hunt 11). As discussed in the previous chapter, I use the tripartite analytical mode of investigation that engages Althusser’s theory of ideology and interpellation, and eco-postcoloniality (my neologism as mentioned in the introduction) which engages pre-modern moral theory. Engaging my lens of inquiry, I study the text by Peer to evaluate how and to what extent he states the environmental ethic of his land and presents the case of Kashmir.

Born in 1977, Peer is a prolific writer and a South Asian (Kashmiri) journalist, who studied politics and journalism at Aligarh Muslim University and Columbia University, USA, and currently is opinion editor at *The New York Times*. Interweaving his personal trajectory with the national authoritarianism that has emerged in the recent times, Peer, traces the lived in experiences of his childhood, adolescence, and a part of his adult life, in his memoir, and discusses the “militant nationalism” (*AQO* 14), not only in terms of different Kashmiri factions but also in the form of belligerent Indian nationalism. Peer’s concerns in his memoir, the primary text for my analysis, gets strengthened from the arguments he raises in this later critical book. I therefore, occasionally bring those parts of his second book in my analysis that contextualize the issues related to his homeland of Kashmir. This book gets referred to in my analysis also because the discussions which are left out in his memoir are picked up and critiqued upon, after a gap of seven years, in this second book, from the personal and the political perspective in the ongoing phenomenon of ‘Kashmir.’

I propose, that from the marginal space of Kashmir, his works are a timely catachresis⁵ engaging in a contrapuntal dialogue with the imperial projects⁶ of the empire. With an attention to social justice, his writing also extends the capacity of a postcolonial

appraisal in the debates of environmental ethics against the pervasive universalist Eurocentric claims. I also argue how, on the one hand, Peer's memoir discursively articulates and questions the territorial claim of India propagated through its neocolonial policies, and on the other, problematizes the open question of Pakistan's role in the Kashmir issue, simultaneously engaging with the environmental concerns in the troubled land of Kashmir. His memoir can be seen as what Dabashi, asserts in his book that "primacy ought to be given to local geographies, to polylocality of our historical exigencies, the polyvocality of our voices and polyfocality of our visions" (145). It is Peer's polylocal, polyvocal, and polyfocal stance that I explore in this chapter.

Narrating about his incentive to write about growing up in a marginalized space of pervasive military presence, Peer admits that he was ashamed to see the books on every conflict zone of the world every time he walked into the book stores. Everyone "had told their stories: Palestinians, Israelis, Bosnians, Kurds, Tibetans, Lebanese, East Germans, Africans, East Timorese and many more." It was due to this shame of not writing about Kashmir that he felt obliged to "return and revisit the people and places that haunted [him] for years" (CN 95). He also writes about his decision to quit his job as a reporter to become a full-time writer, and how he has to explain the logic of becoming an author to his father and family, in order to trace lost land and lost "memories...[of]...his eternal home in thought,...looking for" (CN 105) himself.

My suggested title of this chapter correlates with the dimensions I am exploring in the selected texts under study. So that the textual phrase of 'Absences' signify the appropriation of land, culture, and resources, resulting in erasure and loss of human life, marginalization and suppression, and racism, all being postcolonial concerns, a form of which is "economic expansion" as suggested by Ramachandra Guha ("Radical" 78). The phrase 'invisible presences'⁷ in the title imply interpellative ideological hegemonies, a manifestation of an Althusserian re-theorization of classic Marxism, resulting in double colonization, "imperial expansion" (Huggan 6), and "economic orientalism" (Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 110). These phenomena invoke subversive strategies for social justice and decolonization. The last phrase used in my title, 'Militant Nationalism' calls for a postcolonial theorization, antithetical to the blanket assertions of environmentalism. It educes for the interstitial space of "environmental justice"⁸ (Curtin 7) in the debates of "postcolonial environmental ethic" (Curtin 48) (Huggan 7) (Roos 3). The following

sections of critical analyses of *Curfewed Night* (2010) relate to the three phrases used in the title of this chapter.

After this brief introduction of *Curfewed Night* and Basharat Peer, I divide the analysis of my primary text in the following sections that correspond to the theoretical dimensions I discussed in my previous chapter.

- All Well, ‘only in the eyes of the beholder’: Economic Expansion, Marginalization, Erasure, and Racism in *Curfewed Night*
- Economic Orientalism Versus Social Justice: Interpellative Ideological Hegemonies and Subversive Strategies
- Ecological Apocalypse in ‘Gaza Strip of Kashmir’: Economic and Cultural Imperialism and the Questions of Postcolonial Environmental Ethic

4.2. All Well, ‘only in the eyes of the beholder’⁹: Economic Expansion, Marginalization, Erasure, and Racism in *Curfewed Night*

Peer charts out his lived-in history as a teenager in the troubled decade of the nineties. Being the first born of a civil servant and a school teacher, with a towering, yet assuring figure of his grandfather, Peer writes about the extraordinary moral act of his grandfather in adopting his father Ahmad in his childhood initially, and later giving his daughter, Hameeda in marriage to this adopted son. He writes about the cosmopolitan nature of life in the Kashmir valley with the “imam” giving long sermons from the pulpit on the one hand and young men thronging to the neighboring town of Anantnag with its “Heaven cinema” adorned by a collage of posters with “hypertheatrical expressions” on the other (CN 9). Peer recalls the multicultural nature of his upbringing, with Abraham Lincoln being one of his heroes, and his Sundays spent “reading *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *The Merchant of Venice*” (CN 12). But despite the apparent tranquility of their lives, he writes, he was “beginning to get a vague sense of the troubled politics of Kashmir” (CN 12).

Tracing the troubled politics of Kashmir, Peer, like an ethnographer, unmasks the imperialistic elements in the history of Kashmir. He links it to the story of Emperor Ashoka, many Sufi Saints, and the sixteenth century queen, Habba Khatoon. He uses the phrase “imperial Delhi” (CN 129) for Emperor Akbar who treacherously captures Yusuf Shah Chak and leaves his wife to mourn in the streets of Kashmir and reduced to becoming a metaphor for pain and longing. The peaceful couple are “caught in the imperial politics of Akbar, the Mughal emperor of Delhi” (CN 130) after Akbar invades Kashmir in 1585. Peer

writes, Yusuf Shah considering resistance futile, visits Akbar's court for peace talks. He is rewarded with imprisonment and sent to Bihar to die in anonymity. Peer writes how "Yusuf Shah's imprisonment and betrayal by Akbar has become a metaphor for the relationship between Delhi and Srinagar" (CN 130). Therefore, Peer's narrative may be seen as a quest to weave his personal narrative in his memoir with the political history of Kashmir. Peer then goes to trace the grave of this peaceful king of a peaceful valley of peaceful people, after whom, he says, "Kashmir was never free" (CN 131).

Peer also narrates about the historical interpellative strategies that the British colonizers subjected this land to and used human tools to carry out their military exercises. He writes that Gulab Singh was not a ruler of Kashmir, he was the ruler of Jammu and had "worked his way up to be a general in Ranjit Singh's army." He was rewarded by the British for his treason of staying away from the battle in 1846. The British sold Kashmir to him for "seventy-five lac rupees" (CN 123). Peer further writes that Gulab Singh grabbed all the wealth that he could retrieve and "promoted *begaar* (forced labor)." Peer gives reference of the book of a Srinagar based British historian, titled *Cashmeer Misgovernment* by Robert Thorpe, which Peer finds in his father's library. He quotes Thorpe at length:

None save those who have seen such can fully realize the horrors. Patiently the Kashmiris toil onwards through the drifting snow....Slowly the conviction fastens upon them that they shall never quit those frightful solitudes, never see again their homes or those who dwelt there waiting for their return, far off in the sunny vale of Kashmir" (CN 123).

Like any modern-day hegemonic autocracy, Pratap Singh plans to silence Thorpe, and as Peer tells us, Thorpe is attacked with daggers. This brave writer dies at only thirty years of age and is buried in a Christian cemetery behind Lal Chowk in Srinagar. This is one example from many, of the Repressive State Apparatus RSA in Kashmir history that was used to silence the voice of truth. These RSAs are quoted by Gul Muhammad Wani, a Professor of Political science at the Kashmir University, in his article "Political Assertion of Kashmiri Identity" (2012). Wani also quotes Robert Thorpe's words:

Robert Thorp writes, [sic] Towards the people of Cashmeer we have committed a wanton outrage, gross injustice, and an act of tyrannical oppression which violates every human and honourable sentiment which is opposed to the whole spirit of

modern civilization and is in direct opposition to every tenet of religion we profess.
(126)

Thus the RSAs working on the Kashmiri identity have a long historical evidences, due to which the Kashmiris have been reduced to adopt extreme measures of resistance to record their grievances.

We come across a very similar account of the atrocities of Dogra rule in Lamb's third book on Kashmir titled, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948* (1998-1999), Lamb tells us that G.T. Vigne's book, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountainous course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*,¹⁰ written in 1842 is one of the earliest accounts of the atrocities meted out by the Dogra rule. Citing from this book he writes:

[A]n insurrection had taken place near Punch against the authority of Gulab Singh. He had gone in person to suppress it, and succeeded in doing so. Some of his prisoners were flayed alive under his own eye....He then ordered one or two of the skins to be stuffed with straw; the hands were stiffened, and tied in an attitude of supplication; the corpse was then placed erect; and the head, which had been severed from the body, was reversed as it rested on the neck. The figure was planted by the wayside, that passers by might see it; and Gulab Singh called his son's attention to it, and told him to take lesson in the art of governing. (*Incomplete Partition* 116)

The marginalization and erasure cited in the quotes above ensues as a consequence of the economic expansion of the sale of the vale of Jammu and Kashmir to Gulab Singh for seventy five lacs (\$ 300,000 approx.) by Lord Lawrence in 1846. It puts a binding seal on the fate of hapless people of Kashmir who were sold "alongwith the land" (Azmi 45). Wani, also views the "marginalization of Kashmiris" (126) beginning with 1586 Mughal colonialism and 1846 sale deed to Dogra Gulab Singh. A similar traumatic scene of death and torture that the reader is forced to witness through Basharat Peer's eyes in his memoir *Curfewed Night* (2010) makes his narrative a reiterative statement about suppression and erasure of the marginalized Kashmiris across centuries.

Another thing that Peer is trying to portray in his memoir is the fact that economic expansion is something that has never worked with the peaceful nature of this land. Even the great Indian Emperor Ashoka, who founded this "Srinagri (the City of Wealth) around

250 B.C. on the outskirts of what is modern Srinagar” (CN 111), renounces violence after one bloody battle, and becomes a Buddhist. Much later, in the early fourteenth century, a Tibetan prince Rinchana, a seeker of truth, becomes the ruler of Kashmir and wants to convert to Hinduism. “But the Brahmin priests refused to convert him, unsure which caste Rinchana would have” as Peer tells us. His Muslim friend and adviser, Shah Mir, tells him about Islam. He sleeps in his palace to wake up to the Muslim call of prayer, and watches a Sufi saint, Bulbul Shah, praying the Morning Prayer at the bank of river Jhelum. Rinchana goes to him, asks him questions and once satisfied by the answers, embraces Islam (CN 182). Around fifty years later, born in 1377AD, Nooruddin Rishi, a mystic, is initially mentored by Lalleshwari, a Brahmin woman, who “after much suffering at the hands of her in-laws, rebelled and became a mystic, preaching oneness of God and arguing against the ancient Hindu caste system” (CN 180-1). Later Nooruddin Rishi meets with Muhammad Hamdan, a Sufi from Iran, and both then focus on social reform, being critical of both “orthodox Muslim priests and the Brahmins for reducing religion to empty rituals” (CN 181). These are the cosmopolitan and feminist features of this land, where a Muslim saint is taught by a Brahmin woman (Abdul Hakeem too, talks about Geelani’s cosmopolitan upbringing in his book *Paradise on Fire*, as discussed in Chapter 2). An Indian Emperor, Ashoka, not only renounces bloodshed but becomes a Buddhist, while Rinchana, a Tibetan prince becomes a Muslim. Peer, while tracing some aspects of Kashmir’s ancient history and nineteenth century, as stated above, seems to be doing a historiographic study. It is this peaceful understanding of Islam that Peer advocates as opposed to what he witnesses and records—the tale of bloodshed, dispossession, marginalization, loss of life, and erasure that he is forced to bear, and the reader, through Peer’s eyes.

Coming to the events closer to partition, Peer writes in the first chapter of his memoir, *Curfewed Night*, titled, “Fragile Fairyland,” how the recent historic appropriation of land starts with (seriously questionable) accession of Hari Singh with his decision “to join India” (CN 13). Sheikh Abdullah supports this decision because of his friendship with Nehru, but instead of giving the much sought Kashmir’s “autonomy” (CN 13), it is “eroded” with “Indian installed puppet rulers” (CN 14) that catapults into total disregard of any cosmopolitanism that this land is known for. Peer is highly critical of this marionette factor of Sheikh Abdullah’s signing a “compromise with the Indian government” giving up “the demand for the plebiscite that the UN had recommended” with the usual bounty of his spending “the remaining years of his life in power”¹¹ (CN 14). This political and monetary

reward was an incentive enough in this “trusted old political football” of Kashmir as Roy puts it (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 90). And, as Curtin notes in his book, *Environmental Ethic for a Postcolonial World* (2005), that “capitalism is a dynamic system. Its health requires constant expansion to include new markets and new access to resources. A fire without fuel quickly dies” (21). Therefore, Peer disapproves of Sheikh Abdullah’s political maneuvers for his capitalistic gains. Factors like Sheikh Abdullahs have been providing diverse kinds of fuels to the fires of capitalism and colonialism for their own capitalistic gains (as we saw in the first chapter in the discussion of situating my texts). He is one of the many examples of a comprador class who, being “internal colonialists” (Nixon 234), are perhaps more ruthless than the actual colonialists.

While, Peer considers such moves as bringing about the marginalization of Kashmiris, he invalidates severity of the resulting chaos and does not reprimand vindictive moves by the Indian establishment to gain Kashmir with the fake instrument of accession that we discussed about in the first and the second chapter, the way it deserves. Throwing the militancy factor completely in Pakistan’s court as Peer insinuates without saying it openly, he does not account for the records of history. As we are reminded of the state of affairs at the time of partition by Lamb, one of the earliest historians of this region that the Poonch revolt of the 1830s against Dogra atrocities is equated to the Poonch revolt of the last week of August of 1947. However, the “unrest and spasmodic violence in Poonch” turning into “an organized opposition to the Dogra Dynasty” (*Incomplete Partition* 123), popularly insinuated with the possible connections with Pakistan’s involvement, can hardly be validated as per the stated factual accounts of historians like Lamb and others.

On the contrary, there is enough discourse in many books of impartial writers¹² who inform about many instances like de jure “direct Indian military intervention in the State of Jammu & Kashmir” as early as 5 May 1947 with the result that when “India overtly intervened in Kashmir on 27 October, the Maharaja of Patiala lost no time in joining his men, some already in the field in Jammu and Kashmir” (*Incomplete Partition* 130-1). Thus, the appropriation of land, resources, and Kashmiri life is a phenomenon that commenced even before partition. Though these facts do not get the due space in his memoir but Peer’s larger argument that he builds in his memoir overcome such lapses and the appropriation of lives, land, and resources find a restatement as his first hand experiences in his life narrative.

Peer resents the state of affairs which disrupt the cosmopolitan nature of his teenage habitat. His uncle Bashir, being a “fashion icon” with “his baggy jeans and checked shirt and slicked back hair, like John Travolta’s in *Grease*” (CN 25) and the young men making fun of each other when they are unable to understand the Arabic phrases in the mosque (CN 21), speak for the multicultural aspect of this land. Rattan Lal Hangloo, a distinguished professor, and currently chair of the Department of History, in University of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, in his article, “The Voice of the Past Misconstrued,” considers *Kashmiriat* as quite unique a character of this land of Kashmiris. According to him, this exclusive indigenous model of Kashmir culture is quite pluralistic in its purport, but not quite syncretic. He sees the nationalistic agendas of both India and Pakistan responsible for the divisive politics of the region. Tracing the Brahmin, Buddhist, and Muslim traditions of this land, he argues that one form of religion did not reject the other but was rather an “unending process of incorporation that culminated into the syncretic ethos of *Kashmiriat*” (Hangloo 46). However, it is interesting to note that Professor Hangloo’s thesis point of ‘syncretic ethos,’ denies his earlier mentioned point of Kashmiri culture being pluralistic but not syncretic. Counterintuitively, Peer’s point of view of Kashmir’s culture being pluralistic and not syncretic is endorsed by professor Hangaloo himself in the same article, when he gives examples of Brahmin Pandit students’¹³ hatred and animosity.

Condemning the recent burning down of Char-i-Sharief, on June 2012, one of the important pluralistic symbols of Kashmir’s existence, an anthropologist, Shubh Mathur also, traces the importance that “Sufism holds in Islamic societies” (54). Many writers have written about how Kashmir has managed to develop a pluralistic approach and defied all forms of harsh caste system and any oppressive policies of a “succession of Hindu Rulers” (Mathur 54). While professor Hangloo’s point of pluralism is something that should be the lynchpin of today’s societies, and his quoting from various Brahmin, Mystic, and one Quranic source in his article, goes a long way to prove this, but unfortunately it cannot be a reality unless the extremely racist and belligerent Hindutva nationalistic projects, or interpellative strategies of ‘Ikhwan’ conundrums are revised, or (the already restrained) *Jamaat* projects are kept at bay.

Peer clearly indicates that commonly known as Ikhwanis, were men

armed by the Indian government and given free hand—immunity from prosecution for their crimes....They tortured and killed like modern-day Mongols, [and were] armed and funded by the Indian army and went on a rampage, killing, maiming, and

harassing anyone they thought to be sympathetic to the Jamaat or the separatists.
(CN 170)

This is also validated by Muhammad Junaid, in his article in the book, *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013), where he writes that these Ikhwanis

operated within a gray zone beyond the pale of law. Officially, they were still militants, but ones who did the dirty job of killing and torturing on behalf of the State. Still describing itself as Ikhwan, from its earlier days in the resistance, it went on a rampage and turned their camps into death cells, where sympathizers of the resistance movement were tortured or killed. (180)

This grey zone of occupation¹⁴ and buying and training these Ikhwanis to work for pro India politics, is what I consider as the economic expansion. Thus Peer talks about two militant factors, one who became militants in the decade of the nineties as a result of extreme suppression and marginalization (with or without training in Pakistani camps), the other are the feigned militants, who are paid mercenaries by the Indian government, known as the Ikhwanis, or one of the more brutal form of McCarthyism.

This economic expansion is a pervasive element of what Peer calls “the war economy,” because he states that the “only institution that had thrived in Kashmir throughout the conflict was a bank.” He would often find himself facing a “billboard announcing yet another licencee for a stockbroker in Bombay and Delhi.” Resultantly a lot of money is being invested in shares and stocks. His friend, Ayaar, after three years of unemployment finally becomes a stockbroker with his office in “one of the many newly-built ugly malls in Srinagar.” Every time a customer walks into his office, Ayaar “metamorphosed into a stockbroker” and “like a passionate Evangelist, continued preaching to strengthen the faith of his converts.” Peer, however, points out the irony of the building of memorials for the disappeared young, alongside the “gaudy glass facades” (CN 109) of the shopping malls. He is highly critical of this economic expansionism amidst “the armored cars, funerals, shutdowns/ strikes, fear and despair” (CN 109). Such gaudy facades erected adjacent to memorials of the disappeared youth of Kashmir points out the malevolence and the disdain for the people of Kashmir. This shows that the neocolonial power neither seem to care a damn for the humanity nor for the scenic appropriation. This

is a phenomenon that benefits “a tiny elite while exacting tremendous social and environmental costs” (Guha "Radical" 80) for the Kashmiri other.

Peer talks about all these strategies of marginalizing Kashmiris which start in Kashmir’s recent history with the Indian government rigged state elections of 1987, when one of the polling agents, Yasin Malik is “arrested and tortured” for no apparent reason (or perhaps he may have defied the underhand rigging in these state elections). This results in a “bottled-up resentment against the Indian rule and the treatment of the Kashmiris erupt[ing] like a volcano.” Malik becomes the leader of young guerillas, after getting “training in Pakistani camps between 1988 and late 1989” (CN 14) and secretly trains many more within Kashmir. Peer is critical of this State enthused marginalization that coerces many like Malik to demand for their rights.

Peer is resentful of these marginalizing strategies that disrupt his tranquil young life, where he is living with his father’s pluralistic exhortations to “read the Bible” for improving his language skills and internalizing “the story of Ishmael and Isaac” (CN 29). He writes about how the impact of the rigged elections of 1987 and the subsequent racism of arrest and torture start a series of subversive measures of many marginalized Kashmiris like this twenty one year old Yasin Malik, who in retaliation in 1989, kidnaps “the daughter of the federal Indian home minister” against the demand of the release of “their jailed friends” (CN 14). For the next two months, Peer writes, “the Indian government responded ruthlessly. Hundreds were killed and arrested after Indian troops opened fire on pro-independence Kashmiri protesters” (CN 15). Just as in one of the episodes in *The Jungle Book*, “Colonialism used racism to support its economic agenda” (23), as Curtin writes, Peer clearly indicates the racism of Jagmohan, “an Indian bureaucrat infamous for his hatred of Muslims” (CN 15) who is consciously appointed the governor of Kashmir two days prior to 20th of January 1990.

Thus, the sad plight of the Kashmir’s marginalized people rise to a fearsome crescendo, when, Peer, as only a mere thirteen year old, witnesses the Gawkadal massacre on 20th January 1990. This protest starts as a reaction to Jagmohan’s “orders to crush the insipient rebellion” (against the rigged elections and incarcerations of innocent Kashmiris). Peer reports in his memoir:

Throughout the night of January 19, Indian paramilitary men slammed doors in Srinagar and dragged out young men. By morning hundreds had been arrested;

curfew was imposed. Kashmiris poured out onto the streets in thousands and shouted slogans of freedom from India. (CN 15)

This protest is met with the harshest brutality. The ‘unarmed’ protesters are “crossing the dilapidated wooden Gawkadal Bridge in Maisuma when the Indian paramilitary, the Central Reserve Police Force, opened fire.” As a result, the trapped protestors are killed, and for a young Peer, it is “the first massacre in the Kashmir valley” (CN 15).

Gawkadal massacre may be the first massacre in the Kashmir valley for a thirteen year old Peer, but many such massacres have gone down in colonial history. Jallianwala Bagh massacre / Amritsar massacre of 1919 with the similar orders of opening fire by Colonel Reginald Dyer, or Wounded Knee massacre of Native Americans in 1890, or the Turkish genocide of the Armenians in 1917-1923, or Lydda valley massacre of Palestinians by the Israeli Army in 1948 (discussed later), or the recent Rohingya massacre in 2017 are some examples of the same strategies of marginalization, loss of human life/ ethnic cleansing, racism, and erasure meted out by colonial powers.

Jallianwala Bagh massacre was one of the darkest chapters of colonial history. However, there was still some humanity in the firing squads. They did not butcher the already dying and wailing human beings (or did they?). Writing about one of the survivors of Gawkadal massacre, Peer writes that Farooq was pretending to be dead and waiting for the soldiers to leave. However, “a Kangri” (a burning coal) from the firepots that Kashmiris carry around, is burning his cheek and he turns his face to avoid the burn. Peer writes: “The murdering officer saw him. ‘This bastard is alive,’ Farooq heard him shout. The officer ran toward him, kicked him, and a volley of bullets pierced his body. He lost consciousness” (CN 119). It is a sheer miracle that Farooq remains alive and is able to narrate his erasure, which Peer records in his memoir. Therefore, Gawkadal massacre, a watershed in Kashmir’s history, with the soldiers becoming worse than animals firing bullets into any stirring body takes this phenomenon out of the usual definitions of colonialism and imperialism. Jagmohan’s orders bringing about the Gawkadal massacre reminds one of Spivak’s words, I mentioned earlier, about India inheriting the “administrative structures of the Empire” (161).

Any amelioration in these neocolonial administrative structures is not seen as possible so far. Especially, when it is still an ongoing phenomenon till the close of the second decade of this millennium. It is, what Curtin calls “the real dynamics of

colonialism....Exploitation must be made to seem ‘natural,’ so there is no alternative” (25). Several other similar incidents of heinous brutality are recorded by numerous other writers. For instance, even after two decades of the armed insurgency that Peer has written about in his memoir, similar incidents are still reported and recorded every day. In a 2013 anthology, *Of Occupation and Resistance*, MC Kash, a rap artist from Kashmir, writes in his narrative, “The Life of a Rebel Artist,” that a 15-year-old boy, Inayat, who happens to be a bystander when the Central Reserve Police Force, CRPF opens fire on an *unarmed* crowd. He gets injured in the thigh. Lying on the road, when the boy cries out for help, “[a] CRPF Gypsy came speeding by and ran over his helpless body. If this wasn’t enough, the Indian troopers got down from the Gypsy and stomped on Inayat till he lay dead” (Kash 65). How ironic that the boy’s mother and other women of the neighborhood walk down to the “posh residence of Omar Abdullah” (Sheikh Abdullah’s son) (Kash 66), to get the child’s body retrieved from the police. Peer and MC Kash and several other writers seem to be questioning these Herrenvolk-ian traits of Indian administrative structures in which young children as young as 8-year-olds, are murdered on a mass scale. Shubh Mathur in her book, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016) quotes Sumantra Banerjee, who has written about the “Indian home ministry as the postcolonial inheritor of colonial strategies” (116). To which I add, that it is not just a matter of inheriting the administrative structures that Spivak speaks of, or colonial strategies that Mathur points out, but also implementing the same colonial measures of marginalization, erasure and racism with the worst possible inhumaneness, that makes expansionist neocolonialism of India toward Kashmir, a new portent that needs to be investigated in the parameters of environmental ethic at length and points out to another phenomena I discuss in the conclusion.

Every incident that Peer narrates is a tale of brutality of its own kind. Writing about a train incidence about a survivor, his friend Hilal Bhat, an instance which is also narrated by Bhat himself in the anthology, *Kashmir: The Case of Freedom* (2011) with the title, “Fayazabad 31223.” Writing about it in the chapter titled “Shalimar Express” in his memoir, Peer tells us that this is something that happened one year before he joined Aligarh University. After an extremist Hindu mob had demolished the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, a few kilometers from Aligarh, with the Hindu right led by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), arguing that “the mosque had been built after demolishing an ancient temple,”¹⁵ triggering religious violence throughout India. Hillal Bhat, like other Kashmiri students is on his way

to Kashmir when the *Karsevaks*, the Hindu right activists, start “attacking them with crowbars and daggers,” calling them Kashmiri Muslim terrorists and pushing and kicking “injured students off the moving train.” It is sheer luck and Bhat’s presence of mind that when they approach him, they are tired (of killing), and on their asking, Bhat makes use of his surname, common to both Hindus and Muslims, declaring that he is a Hindu and from a Hindu family. Bhat says that he feared they may check his identity card or “worse, ask him to drop his trousers so they would see whether he had a foreskin.” He barely escapes the erasure, which he could witness on the platform; when other undergraduate students being chased and killed by these extremists on the train station. His ninth-grade friend, Farhat Razak isn’t so lucky and is “stabbed to death” (CN 61) with his body later being found on the railway tracks. Story of Bhat or Razak is one of the innumerable episodes of racial violence, absences in world’s contemporary understandings, and planned erasure meted out to the Kashmiri life and identity.

Peer’s narration about the atrocities by the security forces, unparalleled curfews of the decade of the nineties, and alienation of Kashmiris is a story of a Muslim majority cosmopolitan region, marginalized and put under erasure. Like any civil society, the people are worried about their youth taking up arms against the hegemony but they are hardly left with any choice when they, with their lives put under erasure, are always “apprehensive of being spotted by Indian troops” (CN 35). He narrates how his own cousin, Tariq, a normal youth like many others, who listens to music and requests for songs on the radio-shows, romanticizes guerrilla fighters with their badges on their chests and beautiful sports shoes (CN 23), and becomes a militant. While, his aging father, a retired police officer, is going berserk with the sense of loss and cries out: “When I was in the police, nobody in my jurisdiction dared disobey me. My son has crossed the border without even telling me” (CN 32). However, when the same son returns alive as a hero, he is seated on “a velvet-covered cushion” (CN 33), with the protocol of a bridegroom. When he talks everyone listens to him “as if Tariq were Marco Polo” (CN 34) but then, who finally is killed with “a raid on his hideout...[for,]...[h]omecomings for militants were short-lived,” and so the soldiers stop knocking on his parents’ door (CN 37). One can trace ambivalence in Peer’s narration about ordinary youths like his cousin, Tariq because on the one hand he points out that Tariq crossed the border to get the training but at the same time he also brings out the interpellation of these youths who are left with no choice but to adopt this road to militancy.

Even amid the troubled times of growing up in a highly militarized zone, Peer graphically expresses the diversity of the rich culture of Kashmir, the loss of which he laments. His juxtaposition of the expression of grief with a sense of humor, at times, reminds one of Charles Lamb's combining of humor and pathos in his essays (only in spirit not in form). It not only speaks for his good fortune of being born in a literary family, but also the level of cultural insights that he is able to convey because of his comfortable background. His life narrative brings out the irony between a life that could have been Kashmir's and the annihilation, death, and destruction being meted to the valley of Kashmir.

Peer laments the loss of such a carefree, and yet caring environment of Kashmir, where everybody knows everybody. When one or two militants amongst these villagers inform and coax all the villagers to fly to safety as the militants are planning to "attack a convoy of Indian troops" (CN 41), and they do not have the power to stop them, but consider it their moral obligation to inform their brethren to move to safety. Peer explains the torn position of his household which is just like many in Kashmir, in which his grandfather grabs the bag of "family's academic degrees, professional documents, cash and passbooks." But the family is suddenly struck by the realization of the loss of culture in the form of books that Peer's father has collected, when his mother says, "What about the books? [and Peer says:] We [all just] looked at one another" (CN 42). This serious plight of the fast emptying village is juxtaposed with Peer's sudden urge to laugh when he sees his friend Yusuf running into the field "with his left hand covering his left cheek as if it could stop the bullet" (CN 43), after they all hear a gunshot.

This humor and pathos strike the reader in another incident also when his uncle Bashir, a shopkeeper, forgets to tell the soldiers the rehearsed name of his intended destination as Anantnag and not Islamabad, its preferred name among Kashmiris. The slip of tongue weighs heavy in consequences as the favored name of Islamabad instead of Anantnag is also the capital of Pakistan, and therefore, the poor soul gets beaten up for taking the latter name. Peer tells us that Bashir does not have the courage to go anywhere for some months after this incident, but one day a flight of soldiers, looking for some batteries, are mischievously directed towards Bashir's shop. As soon as the soldiers are out of sight, Bashir starts cursing the boys for their cruel prank and then breaks down and cries his heart out from the sheer fear of soldiers.

Describing the winters of 1989-1990 as the longest and most eventful in Kashmir with Gawkadal massacre in January 1990 and his Kashmiri Hindu and Pandit class fellows leaving for good in February 1990 when Peer goes back to his school. The sense of loss of a friend for a thirteen year old Peer is enough to get bitter, when, on the one hand he witnesses Gawkadal massacre, and on the other, is informed that the militants have killed “hundreds of pro-Indian Muslims[,]. . .political activists[, and]. . .hundreds of Pandits” (*CN* 22). Here again we can trace some ambivalence on Peer’s part. He could have made use of some of the facts that other writers are writing. For instance, Jagmohan’s policies that “wanted Pandits to leave so he could deal with Muslims with an ‘iron fist’ and work toward larger designs of occupation” (Shah 17), or the details of the protest of the Kashmiris in the streets, as described by many writers. Roy describes the protests as “India’s violent occupation.” Roy also narrates how young boys throwing stones are arrested and “the police pull[] out their fingernails—every nail, on both hands” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 71) only because they are demanding their birth right denied to them.

It seems that at times Peer gives in to the pressure of the pervasive libeling rhetoric about the militancy factor, and at times, he talks about it in an apologetic manner. He narrates the fascination of young boys romanticizing the weapons like “the magical Kalashnikov. Made in Russia, a gift from Pakistan, . . . known to have powers greater than Alladin’s lamp” (*CN* 23). This narration needs to have been elaborated further. Peer could have traced the possible and the actual sources of these arm deals as one of the legacies of colonialism or the current imperialism. He does not address this aspect of militancy though, as some of the recent writers are currently expressing. For instance, in an article titled “Did I Kill Basit Mir, the Rebel?” (2018), the writer asks one friend about another friend who was killed, as to “[h]ow, when, why?” the deceased was killed. His friend answers in these words: “The questions punched me in my face. ‘You are a Kashmiri aren’t you and you should always remind yourself that you live in a prison without a trial. The only way out is rebellion’” (Muzafar n.pag.). In other words, the answer to any Kashmiri killing is a bitter resignation of other Kashmiris, implying that there may be no justification for any killing because they know that they are living in a prison without a trial and therefore they are interpellated to adopt this path to rebellion.

Instead of raising such poignant questions, the only extent Peer defends the cause of militancy is to show a human side of a militant of the early nineties with the words that these young militants are after all young boys who “would join us for a game of volleyball,

leaving their guns lying casually on the grass by the volleyball court” (CN 25). Peer’s familiarity with a number of these boys, some of whom are friends or even cousins, like Tariq, makes him distressed and he restrains from probing any deeper. He does not speak what other writers like Gautam Navlakha state without any inhibitions. One may give a leeway to Peer for keeping a lid on the more difficult questions because his larger argument about the suffering of his brethren overcomes such inconsistencies in his narrative once he narrates about the erasure of his milieu. He is disturbed about the disruption of an easygoing Kashmiri life, where he, as a young boy, is playfully interviewed by the shopkeeper as to why he and not his grandfather, Masterji, has turned up to buy meat on a particular Saturday. And then he is jokingly asked by the other shopkeeper about his mock interview about his grandfather.

The state of perpetual war and suppression in the decade of the nineties raises questions of sheer survival for the eventual loss of human life and Peer questions the embittered war on humanity resulting in so many instances of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, PTSD. When, many fathers like that of Tariq’s grow old in a few days; and the mothers are seen to be “arranging and rearranging the plates and bowls on the kitchen shelves, flitting out to fix the clothes drying on the line in the courtyard, and then disappearing again to buy sugar when there is already sugar in the house” (CN 32); or when mothers become hysterical on hearing their sons’ disappearance or deaths. “My dear, tell me they are lying. Tell me you saw my rose! You were there, too. You must have seen my rose” (CN 36) are the words spoken by such frantic mothers who have lost their sons.

In these times of consuming sadness, where “most schools remain...closed almost all the time” (CN 57) under the pervasive military presence, and where the Indian troops, “throw gunpowder over the houses and then fire mortars, and the entire village is burned down in an hour” (CN 20), Peer can hear “echoes of Kashmir in the pages of Hemmingway.” He says, Hemmingway “had written about a faraway war and yet I saw only Kashmir in his words.” Especially, Peer could not have related more with the words of the ambulance driver in Hemmingway’s *Farewell to Arms* where he says of gunfire: “I could not see the guns but they were evidently firing directly over us” (CN 63). Peer writes about these experiences of oppression at several places in his memoir. He writes about his own parents’ near death experience in a mine blast (CN 68); his facing extreme racism for many months after the Delhi attack on the Parliament in 2001, when, though being a journalist, he is unable to find a place for rent; the arrest of a bookish academic, a lecturer at Delhi

University, who, according to Peer (later proved also), could not have any possible connections to the dead terrorist in “India’s 9/11” (only in the eyes of hardliners of Bharatiya Janata Party or BJP) (CN 84); or burning down of oldest libraries in Srinagar with the rarest of manuscripts, or destroying of 600 year old shrines, are examples of blatant negation of human rights. His heart cries out what another writer, S M. Zaffar speaks of as a phenomenon that Kashmiris are never viewed as Indians but in the university campuses are “forcefully” tried to be converted into ones (qtd. in Shah 249). Peer seems to be asking some rhetorical questions; ‘What do the colonizers want?’ That there should be no retaliation. The appropriation of land, life (bodies), space, culture, resources, marginalization, and sheer erasure of a humankind be acquiesced to.

The story of armed militancy of the decade of the nineties is replaced by the unarmed struggle of the Kashmiri youth, the stone pelters of the first decade of this millennium, especially in 2008. This ongoing Kashmir’s nightmare is retold in many books like, *Until My Freedom has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2013) by Sanjay Kak, or anthology, *Of Occupation and Resistance* (2013) by Fahad Shah, or anthology, *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013) by Kamala Viswewaran, or *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011) by Pankaj Mishra, Tariq Ali, Arundhati Roy, and others. Sanjay Kak believes that “twenty years of this presence has resulted in a deeply militarized society...highest concentration of soldiers in the world—more than Afghanistan, Iraq or Burma” (x), which Fahad Shah in his article, “Kashmir: A Colony of India,” states as “one of the most militarised zones on earth with more than 6,00,000 Indian troops and around 1,00,000 policemen” (200). Suvir Kaur calls it “cynical might of the Indian security apparatus in Kashmir (and elsewhere)” (Diary of a Summer 18). Kak believes that this deeply militarized society has been recently pulled out of the penumbra of guarded Indian ‘national interest.’ Kak, a pundit activist and a writer, writes that exposing the brutalities of military officers is considered a crime, and when any remote reference to “fake encounters” is given, it is spurned as matters of “sub judice” (xxii) by, supposedly responsible officers of the military. “[T]he truth gets killed and pseudo-narratives, rich in propaganda, are offered to the masses” (200), as Fahad Shah puts it.

Kak observes the severity of brutalization as tactics of appropriation of “smashing all the precious windowpane glass, and after that, with pointed cruelty, systematically destroying the kitchen” (xx). Then, to quote one example from millions, the loss of life can

be seen when “[s]tone-pelters were being hunted down with the dogged tenacity that not long ago had been reserved for armed militants” (xxi). Roy, in her usual mocking and satirical tone resonates the oppressor’s preferred phrase in the context of Kashmir; the “jihadi elements” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 61). While the living Kashmiri youth are watching aghast why the Tathir Square Egyptian revolution is given so much media coverage, while the blood of 112 Kashmiri youngsters is being put under erasure. Stone pelters are vilified as social misfits, drug addicts, or mentally ill with problems at home, or paid (and sponsored by Pakistan).¹⁶

Kak considers it one of the oldest disputes in the world whether, as he says, one traces “its origins to the anti-feudal struggle against its autocratic maharaja in the 1930s. Or say that Kashmir is the unfinished business of the end of Empire, of the Partition of British India, carved up into India and Pakistan in 1947” (xii). Kak is highly critical of the Indian reactions which have “ratcheted up the mechanisms of coercion” with the new toy in their hands; the supposedly “‘non-lethal’...high pressure pallet-gun that shoots out high velocity plastic pallets” and kills a man the first day it is used, as Kak tells us (xiii). He describes the early militancy, which has metamorphosed into an unarmed struggle of stone pelters, or what he calls as the naked chested (for these *sang baz*, often bare chested, taunting and mocking the paramilitary) young men as an “emerging superpower” (xiv). Roy also defines this phenomenon of “ordinary people armed with nothing but their fury” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 71) rising up against the Indian Security forces. When the texting facility is snatched from the hands of these young revolutionaries, they take to the social media of twitter, facebook, and youtube to tell the world of their daily occupations, suppression, erasure, and stories of sheer survival.¹⁷ With undeclared, but severely implemented forms of local curfews (S. Kak xix), and “graffiti like ‘Indian Dogs Go Home’ and ‘Freedom Now’ on the walls of Srinagar alleys” (Hafeez 62), is something which is making India’s grip beginning to look slippery in Sanjay Kak’s views.

Though Peer does not mention these later developments in the Kashmir movement, his memoir stands as the pioneer text for recording the erasure of Kashmir. Every incident that he narrates in his memoir is now substantiated by a number of writers in the second decade of the twenty-first century. And all these writers are young people who are recording their own experiences, and therefore, any incident that Peer writes, can be, and in fact is, the experience of a normal Kashmiri identity. At many places in his memoir, Peer narrates instances of constant threats to Kashmiri life. His own near-death experiences as a school

boy, when once, traveling by bus, he and the other passengers are caught in a cross fire between the militants and the paramilitary forces.

He writes that as a young school boy, he is crouching under the bus seats wondering “[w]here would a bullet hit the most” (CN 39)? Narrating another harrowing incidence (a routine in occupied Kashmir), Peer writes that once he and his brother, Wajahat are watching *The Three Musketeers* late into the night with heavy curtains pulled (again a routine ritual in Kashmir) and the brightness of the television dimmed to the minimum so as not to draw attention of the outside “curfewed night lay[ing] in silence like a man waiting in ambush.” When suddenly, the “rumble of military trucks outside blurred the duels” (CN 49) of the movie they are watching. By narrating this incident about himself and his brother, that while they are watching a western movie like *The Three Musketeers* juxtaposed by the night patrol (a routine in Kashmir), it seems that Peer is consciously bringing up the cosmopolitan aspect of a Kashmiri existence.

The next morning they hear the announcement from the mosque’s public announcement system that the village is “cordoned off [and] [e]veryman and boy must assemble on the hospital lawns by six. It is a crackdown. Every house will be searched. The women can stay at home” (CN 49). This crackdown, which Peer writes in his memoir, is graphically described in many places in the novel, *The Collaborator* (2011) by Mirza Waheed. Peer writes that Kashmir is “rife with the stories of soldiers misbehaving with women during crackdowns” but expresses extreme helplessness of Kashmiri menfolk in such situations. The gathered up men folk had to pass one by one in front of the “masked *mukhbir*, a Kashmiri man who had become a collaborator and identified militants and their supporters.” Some mukhbirs were suspected militants “beaten into submission” (CN 50) and some worked for money. Peer says that he is let off after a light interrogation but his neighbor’s son, Manzoor, a chatty youth of sixteen, is not so lucky.

Peer questions these phenomena of what Shubh Mathur has also pointed out with minute details in her book and in various other of her articles. Peer narrates that he could hear cries and shrieks from the room next door of the men and boys being tortured and Peer is thinking about how would Manzoor’s “reedy body bear anything” (CN 52)? It seems that it is a planned erasure of the Kashmiri youth. Mathur believes “the age of its victims [is] a remarkable feature of this phase of the repression....It is teenagers, young men and women in their 20’s and even children as young as 8 or 9 who are shot or beaten to death in the streets by police and paramilitary forces, or detained, tortured and charged with ‘waging

war against the nation” (138). Peer is raising his pen for the pervasive military presence interrogating young boys and changing the schools into military camps; “young men tied with ropes being taken into the part of the school building occupied by the military;” the young students hearing the cries of the prisoners being tortured; and “speculating about the forms of torture our uniformed neighbors were employing” (CN 56). Or when young students like 12-year-old Adil Ramzan is shot while watching an azadi procession and the government forces do not allow anyone to pick up his wailing body. When eventually some youngsters manage to carry his body to the hospital, the army barges in and shoots him again in the hospital.

It seems that this kind of behavior is not possible from human beings. The question then is, who are these who are butchering these young ones? The narrator of this incident, Uzma Falak, who blogs for *New Internationalist*, London, seems to be asking in her article, “Mausoleum of Memory, Portrait of Resistance.” Her musings in her narrative can be a possible explanation. She says that a possible explanation for reason for this otherwise incomprehensible behavior of barging in the hospital even and committing unspeakable crime like shooting the child may lie in his memento. In his diary, which his siblings have preserved with his other things, Adil had given as an answer to a question. Adil had written an answer to a question in his journal: “Explain Liberty, Justice, and Sovereignty’ ... He had answered the question in a neat handwriting. One has to pay a heavy price in this land on engaging with such words” (Falak 79), she writes.

The massacred city of Srinagar in the decade of the nineties was an equal hostage to the brutalities of the militants, Peer writes. They kill the vice chancellor of Kashmir University because their demand of release of hostages is not met with the next target being the prominent Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims siding with Indian government. Hizbul Mujahidin, a pro-Pakistan militant group assassinate the head priest of Srinagar, Maulvi Farooq, who is deemed as “a controversial politician” himself as Peer tells us, but he is also the son of the founder of almost a hundred-year-old school in central Srinagar to educate Kashmiri Muslims. Paramilitary forces open fire on the slain priest’s funeral procession. Peer writes: “Bullets pierced the coffin; pallbearers and mourners fell. About a hundred men were slain. Their blood soaked shoes lay on the road after their bodies were carried away. People forgot the head priest’s assassination; anger rose against India.” The strangeness in this triangular kind of blood thirsty phenomena hits the reader, when it can be seen that the militants slay a Muslim priest but the paramilitary jump into the arena and

massacre the unarmed mourners without provocation. One cannot bail out the felony of killing this priest by the militants but their crime dims in comparison to what paramilitary forces do with these unarmed civilians. Is it not a manifestation of “*democratic despotism*” (Mamdani 281)? The expression of this massacre and erasure later seeks way “into poetry and painting” (CN 120) when other ways of expression (of even grief) are denied to them.

“Death and Life Under Occupation: Space, Violence, and Memory in Kashmir” is the essay by a Kashmiri academic from City University of New York, Muhamad Junaid, in the book, *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013). He writes,

Paramilitary patrols picked up young men and teenagers on the streets, beat them up, and left them maimed. They broke into houses, shattered windowpanes, harassed men, and molested women. No cases were registered. No deaths were investigated. No warrants were produced before making arrests. No assessments for compensation were made for the properties damaged. Given their long experience with state violence, Kashmiris expected no such gestures either....State violence was nothing new in Kashmir....Given the network of occupied spaces in urban and rural regions, Indian soldiers could relatively easily quarantine public spaces. (159-160)

Junaid, himself belonging to Kashmir, is an eyewitness of all this bloodshed and massacre, lucky enough to have escaped the death trap of Kashmir. He is a scholar living in diaspora and has barely escaped the State violence meted out to the Kashmiris. Thus, perhaps, Hafsa Kanjwal, is right in pointing out that “it is perhaps not useful to ‘transcend’ political conflict, but rather, foreground it as working alongside other arenas of conflict” (23), as many rightist narratives would likely to argue otherwise.

Peer extends his critique of this perpetual war in Kashmir, not against the (one time) militants, but the civilian life, property, and human psyche in the next section of his memoir (which I discuss shortly). His second book, *A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen* (2017), also depicts the strategic syphoning of land and human resources when he cites examples of brilliant Doctoral students, winning “highly competitive national scholarship[s]” (AQO 70) commit suicides because of their belonging to the Dalit community, as they fall prey to the racist treatment by the authorities. He cites the example of Rohith Chakravarti Vemula, an Indian PhD student at the University of

Hyderabad and author of the book *Caste is Not a Rumour*, who commits suicide on 17th January 2017. Peer writes:

Vermula and his friends, with their instinctive understanding of structural injustices, extended support to other marginalized communities and expanded the debate beyond caste to speak out against the continuation of death penalty, rights abuses in Indian-controlled Kashmir, violence against the tribals in central and southern India, and prejudice against Indian Muslims. (*AQO* 71-72)

Peer tells the extreme marginalization that Vermula and his friends have to bear, who are barred from entering most university administrative buildings, even from eating in the hostel mess. Their rooms are locked and a picture of them, as Peer tells us, captures their banishment, where, “three Dalit students are walking, carrying their cotton mattresses, a few bags, and a large portrait of their great leader B. R. Ambedkar” (*AQO* 74). Vermula is excruciatingly marginalized by University authorities after this. His stipend, which he has been sending home to his mother is frozen, and he commits suicide with the “blue flag of the Dalit movement” (*AQO* 75).¹⁸ Thus, as Peer informs us: “So a young ‘scholar’ who wanted to f**k Hindutva [Hindu nationalism] ended up f***ing himself” (*AQO* 76).

This economic expansion of neocolonial strategies meted out by Indian establishment is similar to what Mahmood Mamdani, a Herbert Lehman Professor at Columbia, contextualizes as “local despotism” (92) in his book, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (2001). It is, what may be called as, “an ensemble of spatial strategies and violent practices that the occupier state employs to dominate physical space in a region” (Junaid 161). Perhaps, it is time for writers like Peer and these critics to recall the declarative pledges of founders of RSS like M. S. Golwalkar: “Minorities must live by the grace of majority; only a Hindu can be a true Indian; those whose faith did not originate on this sub-continent are foreigners. Muslims, Christians, Jews and Parsis would have to adopt the Hindu culture” (Azmi 81).¹⁹ The state of perpetual war (against civilians), militarized zones i.e. “Bunkeristan” (*CN* 46), as Peer neologizes it, unending curfews, marginalization, erasure, land appropriation,²⁰ loss of life, and racism lead to questions of sheer survival, consuming sadness, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, and a call for social justice which are discussed in the following section of analysis.

4.3. Economic Orientalism versus Social Justice: Interpellative Ideological Hegemonies and Subversive Strategies

Peer, after narrating the incidents of indelible marginalization as part of his growing up experience in the decade of the nineties in the first part of his memoir, titled “Memories,” takes upon himself the moral imperative of writing about the brutalized Kashmiri survivors. He considers that as a Kashmiri, a lucky survivor, and a man of letters, it is incumbent on him to write about the opprobrious interpellations that are meted out to the humanity of Kashmir. His narrative may be seen as the resonance of Lamb’s rhetorical question: “Why, then, should the expansionist career of the Dogra dynasty be permitted to have ‘such a permanent consequence’ (Crisis 146)?

His earlier reporting job in Kashmir that his newspaper had deployed him to, inspires him to write about his homeland and to bring its erasure into the open. Therefore, in the second section of his memoir, he quits his journalism job in Delhi as a news reporter to revisit his homeland, the people, and places that “had haunted” (CN 95) him for years. He feels that by any ethical standards of morality it was demanded of him to bring truth to the world, the reasons for contemptuous orientalism factor (or if I am permitted to say, the orientalismizing factor) against Kashmiris. For, as we are reminded, “[t]he sale of the Vale to the Dogras was an act in which even the British took little pride” (Crisis 147). As a moral imperative, Peer takes it upon himself to make the world understand the gravity of the plight of this part of the world not only as “a distant abstraction” (CN 60) but to grasp the real implications of the situation.

In order to comprehend the reasons of subversive strategies of the current uprising in Kashmir as a vote of no confidence against the expansionist measures, in which Peer’s memoir stands as a pioneering text of this century, it is important to understand the interpellative measures that are creating an eyewash for the world to let the Indian anathema against the Kashmiris go scot free. One of the earliest examples of this baloney after partition (besides the episodes mentioned above in section 4.2.) was the pledge Nehru gave to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 31st October 1947: “Our assurance that we shall withdraw our forces from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave decision regarding the future of this state to the people of state is not merely a pledge to your government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world” (Azmi 50).²¹ While, a fact that was spoken in no unclear terms, by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to Lord Mountbatten

exposed this smooth talk the next very day, i.e. 1st November 1947: “The accession [of Kashmir to India] was not a bona fide one since it rested on fraud and violence and would never be accepted by Pakistan....Accession was the end of a long intrigue” (Azmi 35).²²

This long intrigue in history of this land (as we partially saw above in section 4.2.) is a grave manifestation of Althusser’s theory of “*Ideological State Apparatuses [sic]* and also of the functioning of *ideology in general*” (2, 173) or theory of interpellation, a primary lens of this research. In order to study the interpellations that Peer exposes, it is important to study some historical interpellative strategies that are not part of his narrative and yet our full understanding is not possible without accounting for these historical vindictive maneuvers. This historiographic mode of analysis, as we would shortly see, intermeshes with both interpellative aspect of inquiry as well as postcolonial environmental ethical perspective that are explored in this study.

For all practical purposes, I propose a working definition of interpellation, as derived from Althusser’s theorizing of the term: ‘Interpellation is a process of accepting and internalizing the cultural values as they are presented to us without much choice left but to accept. The primary reason of acceptance and internalization is the governing ideology which basically manipulates everyday individual and collective decisions. This ideology then translates into the lives of concrete subjects of a given society (in this case, Kashmir), who are interpellated as subjects of the society. These interpellated subjects are reduced with not much of a choice but to obey the interpellating forces of Ideological State Apparatus, ISA and Repressive State Apparatus, RSA.’²³ Thus according to Althusser’s

two conjoint theses:

- 1) There is no practice whatsoever except by and under an ideology.
- 2) There is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects. (Althusser 187)

In other words, Althusser views every practice in a given society to be under the influence of the governing ideologies, and secondly, these ideologies always impact the subjects of a given society (which is about Kashmir in this chapter and, is about Palestine that we would explore in the next chapter). This interpellation that may have started long before partition, is seen to be constantly fed by Indian ideologies which have translated into one of the most militarily brutalized place on earth with hardly any alarum of concerns for the conscience of the world. As Gautam Navlakha reminds us:

In Kashmir, the death toll of over 70,000 acts as grim reminder of the scale of suppression. The non-acknowledgement of this is a story in itself: of how this truth is suppressed and manipulated so blame can be cast on the movement, and people's perceptions can be manipulated. By suppressing truth not only are Kashmiris robbed of their right to articulate a lived experience, but they are also denied the hope that the truth will surface. (98)

This sledgehammer of denial, deceit, and cunning, which was always used by colonializing powers or "colonial despotism" (Mamdani 276), was also used by Radcliff when he was demarcating the boundaries between India and Pakistan. It is, as if he stopped short of drawing the line through. The question is, who commandeered his scale? What were the factions that played the interpellative role? A dip into the historical and critical insights of some literature on Kashmir is helpful to understand the factual grounds of this imbrication of Kashmir culminating into "questions of sheer survival" (Guha "Radical" 81). It may help us to see to what extent do we find the expression of these facts in Peer's memoir.

Several United Nations representatives like Sir Owen Dixon and Dr. Frank P. Graham and many others deployed in the decade of fifties, observe that the course of action adopted by Sheikh Abdullah "was in conflict with the principles behind the various proposals for a Kashmir plebiscite which the Security Council had indicated were the best means for deciding the State's future" (Lamb Crisis 62). This observation clearly speaks for the interpellative measures India has been resorting to employ, with the puppet, yet ostensible leaders in the shape of Sheikh Abdullah.

In his other book, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948* (1998), Lamb points out the lapse on the part of the final British administration which "cast a shadow over the entire process of decolonization in the Subcontinent." The consequential "incomplete Partition" (19) is the history of Kashmir. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin write in their book, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (2000, 2007):

Whether in India, Africa or the West Indies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the first nationalists were also modernizers, whose programme was less to effect a rejection of colonialist culture than to adopt its practices. This process of political and cultural 'brokerage,' as some historians have called it, involved these early decolonizers in a profound complicity with the imperial powers from which they sought to emerge as free agents. (56)

Thus this statement holds true for the complex situation of Kashmir where the imperial power factor, “along with political, economic and cultural models, persisted in many cases after independence” (Ashcroft 57), which, as already mentioned, is what Spivak terms as India inheriting the ‘administrative structures of the Empire’ (Spivak 161).

These administrative state apparatuses manifest as a pervasive phenomenon which Peer expresses as a motif in his memoir. It is the constant interrogatory threat that Kashmiris are subjected to. Every time a patrol is walking down the streets brings a natural reaction for a Kashmiri to take his hands to his pockets for his identity cards. This threat to identity is so reprehensibly intimidating that a “soldier stopping near you meant trouble. It meant an identity check, a possible beating, or a visit to the nearest army camp” (CN 47). Rows of Kashmiris can be seen walking in parallel lines with their raised hands, right hand slightly raised higher “holding firm to the identity card” (CN 50), anticipating interrogation, which Peer says, “is worse than interrogation” itself (CN 52). Even parts of schools complexes, becoming out of bound for school going children, while in the remaining half of the school building, even young children “had to carry identity cards” on themselves; “body search[es]” (CN 55) being a routine; grandfathers being harassed for not “carrying an identity card” (CN 79). This is a manifestation of what Althusser calls “interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there!’” (264). This constant threat of being singled out is what every Kashmiri dreads. It is the “miscognition” (Althusser 173) or misrecognition, instead of recognition. In other words, instead of being recognized as a familiar ‘Hey, you there’ a Kashmiri identity becomes a case of misrecognition in which he is interpellated as ‘Hey, you there!’ This basic argument for Althusser’s theory of interpellation can be seen as a manifested ideology in Kashmir having materialized in the miscognition or interpellation of subjects, i.e. Kashmiri human beings.

On completion of his studies, Peer moves to Delhi as a news reporter. Though Peer had experienced racial treatment while he was looking for place to rent, he starts to like the city and is pretty wrapped up in its humid heat, when one day his editor says, “Basharat! You are going to Kashmir” (CN 74). He reaches Srinagar’s city center, Lal Chowk, and comes to The Press Enclave renamed as Mushtaq Ali enclave, a reminder, so to say of State interpellation (as will become clear shortly). Peer writes that one day in September 1995, Yusuf Jameel, the celebrated BBC radio reporter, walks into his office with a junior reporter, Mushtaq Ali, where Jameel receives a parcel, left for him by an unknown veiled

woman. When he starts to open it, the telephone rings in the adjoining room, Mushtaq Ali starts opening the parcel with the bomb and dies in the hospital after three days, while Jameel being in the other room gets injured. “Everyone believed,” Peer writes “that Indian army had sent the package to silence Jameel” (*CN 75*), but commemorates (read interpellate) the place by renaming it after the one who is bombed to pieces, i.e. Press Enclave is now called Mushtaq Ali Enclave to show a soft image to the world. Fahad Shah, an eminent journalist and a finalist for the Manthan South Asia Award 2011, writes about many such State interpellations. It is a manifestation of what Althusser calls Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses, ISA’s and RSA’s:

The media is gagged. Local cable news channels are banned. Journalists on the ground are barred from reporting the truth, from writing about the killings, the torture, the spate of curfews. Many journalists have been ruthlessly beaten up in broad daylight and a few have also been detained. (Shah 4)

It is during the two weeks of his reporting job in the winter of 2001, that Peer gets his epiphany to “tell the stories” (*CN 79*) about his brutalized homeland after meeting Maqbool Sheikh, a man Peer can never forget; the only “autopsy expert at the police hospital” of Srinagar and “the most intimate witness of the costs of armed conflict.” Working under two hundred dollars a month, with no telephone, is always approached with a knock at his door, Peer writes, Sheikh has “conducted autopsies on more than eleven thousand bodies of civilians, militants, and soldiers between 1990 and 2001. “The law of the land” (read the Ideology of the oppressor) requires that the bodies be categorized with specific categories because it dictates “how their families live and are treated by the law” (*CN 77*). This means that there is a hierarchy in the categorization of the bodies. This man, like thousands in Kashmir, a family man, is interpellated not only to carry on doing this under paid job, but also face the psychological challenges of keeping his son from getting devastated by the loss of human life and destruction around, when at times, he finds himself, “standing in a heap of torn limbs,” struggling to “ensure that the fingers [he] stitch[es] to a hand are of the same person” (*CN 78*).

The scene deteriorates dramatically once there is the news of an attack on the parliament, proclaimed as India’s 9/11 by the rightists, and a saga of “economic orientalism” ensues, as suggested, though in a different context, by Robbins in his book *The Beneficiary* (110). Kashmiris are called by a bad name and hanged too. Peer is tasked to report further from Kashmir. He interviews Kashmiris on Srinagar streets and the

ordinary people, due to utter despondent situation of their everyday lives, want a war, for they are tired of “dying every day” and believe it to be “better than dying slowly every day” (CN 81). In the wake of this attack, several wrongly alleged people are “booked under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (POTO).” Peer calls POTO (2002) a draconian law because this law was opposed even by the “Indian opposition parties and civil rights group such as Amnesty International” (CN 85). Peer further questions this arm twisting of even the law, of a vindictive move of Advani to appoint a controversial figure like Rajbir Singh, “a lowly subinspector” (CN 86). Singh had risen to the prestigious position of assistant commissioner in the anti-terrorism cell of Delhi police in a matter of a few years and appointed as head of investigation for the Parliament attack. Peer also raises his voice for a social justice by questioning the jingoistic politics of L. K. Advani, to appoint an equally jingoistic judge, Sive Narayan Dhingra, known as “the Hanging Judge” (CN 88). It may also be viewed as one of the worst examples of McCarthyism.²⁴ These are some of the many examples of Repressive State Apparatuses RSA’s which cause interpellation of incarcerations, deaths, and killings for ordinary people.

Peer traces the ideological interpellation carried out in the case he is assigned to follow. He is consigned to investigate into another suspect of Delhi attack, who is arrested on Singh’s directions on December 15. He talks about this thirty two year old Delhi University, Arabic Lecturer, Abdul Rahman Geelani, a bookish academic, who could not have any possible connections to the dead terrorist in the parliament attack. He traces the brutality manipulated in Geelani’s trial, in which the witnesses’ video testimonies are interpellated by censoring and deleting any part that goes against their pre-decided case against the alleged criminals. No less than the assistant commissioners like Singh, “request the media not to relay that part of the interview,” with the result that the media continues to “ignore the trial” (CN 90). This is what a Professor in Kashmir University, Hameeda Naeem calls as the “oppressive national interest” (218), where “the advocacy or defense of human rights is not acceptable to the state. Any such effort is met with tortuous punishment, and even assassination” (Naeem 220). However, Peer also narrates about the principled figures of Ram Jethmalani, one of India’s most respected lawyers and a former federal minister, who agrees to defend Geelani in the higher courts without payment. Jethmalani stands the ground to argue Geelani’s case amidst the activism of the Hindu extremist Shiv Sena of burning Jethmalani’s “effigy as a traitor and threaten[ing] him with consequences if he honored his promise” (CN 91).²⁵ Finally Geelani is acquitted of all charges and is back

in the university, teaching. Peer questions these RSA's which Indian hegemony exercises and even the life of a simple academic or any ordinary person is constantly exposed to risk.

The haunting memories of marginalization, erasure, loss, and racism experienced in his childhood in the decade of the nineties are brought back in his professional life in Delhi in the earlier half of the new millennium, and after covering cases of Geelani, visiting Mushtaq Ali (The Press) Enclave, and meeting with the autopsy expert of the hospital, Maqbool Sheikh, Peer is convinced enough of the economic orientalism meted out to the Kashmiri identity. Like the famous Kashmiri poet and a Professor in American Universities, Agha Shahid Ali, whom Peer says that he has only met through his literary responses to Kashmir, in his books—*The Country Without a Post office*, *Half Inch Himalayas*, and *Rooms are Never Finished*, Peer also has the moral injunction to write about “the fear, the tension, the anger, and the hopelessness of our experience” (CN 95). He quits his job in Delhi and heads back to his homeland negotiating his way out of the pressing heat of Delhi.

Coming back to Modern Srinagar, in the chapter titled “City of No Joy” in his memoir, Peer is bitterly ironical to see “the largest military camp in Kashmir,” named as “Badami Bagh, the garden of almonds.” This military camp facing a “shabby market” area is “surrounded by high concrete walls, rows of iron barricades, sandbag bunkers, and alert soldiers in bulletproof jackets” (CN 99) with a row of lined up military vehicles. He tells us about the special orders of Armed Forces Special Powers Acts, AFSPA, another interpellative machinery of the brutalist repressive and ideological state apparatuses, RSA's and ISA's, who have the license to kill anyone, anytime like Jalil Andrabi,²⁶ one of the leading figures of Srinagar, and one example in thousands, a “human rights lawyer who dared to challenge the army in the early 1990s” (Mathur 58). Under this law introduced by the Indian government, everyone has to keep the light of their vehicles on, as Peer writes, so that the soldiers could see you. It also “gave all Indian soldiers posted in Kashmir the power to shoot any person suspected of being a threat. It also provided them immunity from prosecution in the court of law” (CN 100). It is as if there is not even the law of the jungle because even animals have some laws of nature according to which they live.

It is a phenomenon beyond the usual colonial and imperial machinery of suppression with the ruthless messages painted on the army trucks in Hindi script, which Peer tells us very few Kashmiris could understand. The written script on one of the army trucks/ tanks reads the word, “Hanuman and Vajra” (Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 3)

and “MAHAKAL—literally, great death, and one of the names of Shiva, the Hindu god of destruction” (CN 108), a manifestation of an ideology of a declarative Ideological State Apparatus ISA. With this Hindi inscription on the army tank, Peer juxtaposes the “propaganda billboards” alongside the army camps which makes one acutely aware of the interpellation of these Repressive State Apparatuses RSAs, of “pictures of smiling, self-conscious soldiers pouring water for old Kashmiri men or showing affection to Kashmiri children” with the written patronizing messages “LOVE TRANSCENDS ALL BARRIERS” (CN 113). It is what another critic has also cited as: “Government officials and security agents come up with ingenious schemes to convince Kashmiris (and themselves) that Indian rule is benign, and not an occupation” with the garish signs of “*jawan aur awam, aman hai muqam* (‘soldier and civilians, peace is the destination’)” (Junaid 163) written across these billboards, while the armored vehicles “patrol Kashmir’s frozen streets” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 3), as Arundhati writes in her book.

It is in the smells of burning tires and tear gas in the crowded bazaars, closed shops, people protesting for arrests and custodial killings, the fallen Gawkadal Bridge with its skeletal “dilapidated pillars standing in a canal full of filth” that Peer sets out upon a journey to meet with the survivors of Gawkadal massacre and series of other petit massacres in this “Gaza Strip of Kashmir” (CN 116), as he calls Srinagar.

Narrating about a man in his thirties, calling himself Babloo painter, Peer makes his reader aware of a strangeness in the demeanor of this man, eating bananas voraciously, standing near a hawker and callously tossing the banana peels in the canal. Narrating about the aftermaths of Gawkadal massacre, this painter tells Peer that the place was under curfew for three days after the demonstration, “soldiers had cordoned off the massacre site with barbed wire, and armored vehicles were positioned on all lanes.” He tells Peer that he carried fifteen bodies to the mosque after the massacre and closed their eyes with his own hands. He offers Peer to show him the pictures of the dead and take him to meet with the families whose men were killed. However, he makes a strange request for Peer to bring cameras next time to record his testimony. This man is an example of how Kashmiri life is interpellated by this brutality that makes this man, eating bananas in carefree manner, to ask Peer in an offhanded way to bring a camera next time. It also points out the sharp contrast between this interpellation and that of sheer loss that have led many to become victims of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, PTSD.

An engineer by profession, Farooq is Peer's next interviewee. Narrating his story of survival, Farooq tells Peer how he is hounded down by the paramilitary by a "volley of bullets" because he has stirred among the dead bodies lying on the bridge. He is thrown in the truck with the other bodies to be taken to the "site where Kashmiris would go to collect bodies of their kin in the days to come." There, while he is being taken into the hospital, a teen age boy, with his face and clothes all drenched in blood, jumps out of the truck and running his hands over his body, cries out loud, "I got no bullets. I got no bullets. I am alive." For a moment, the young boy stands still with utter shock and then runs out of the building. Thus the people of this war torn region undergo several kinds of interpellations, some to carry on with the drudgery of life either callously like Babloo painter, or like Farooq who has now become a "member of Srinagar's posh golf club" (CN 119), but is also haunted by the memory of the teenager running away from dead bodies, or many more with acute symptoms of PTSD that Peer narrates about.

"Absences and their reminders stand on every other street" (CN 127), writes Peer. Time and again he notices women and men sitting under the chinar trees wearing white headbands and holding placards in their hands. They are the wives, daughters, mothers, or parents of the missing persons. Allocating them a category of "disappeared persons," the disappearance of between four and eight thousand men after being arrested by the military, paramilitary and the police makes their waiting wives as "half widows" and this appropriation of lives creates a crippled society of PTSDs. They are interpellated to live a crippled existence after the government refuses to set up an inquiry "into the disappearances, saying the missing citizens of Kashmir have joined militant groups and crossed into Pakistan for arms training," while many Kashmiris understand that most of them are "killed in custody and cremated in mass graves" (CN 128). It is, therefore, a stifling experience to live in such a milieu.

Some like Noora, a seventy year old woman whom Peer meets, tells him how her shopkeeper son steps out of his home to join a cricket match in the Polo ground, when a jeep of Border Security Forces BSF stops near their house, grabs him, pushes him into the back of the jeep, and drive away. Her son has been missing for eight years. The distraught mother, along with her two daughters, has been out to every police station, to every politician, every military camp. This distressed state is the fate of many like her, who are interpellated by these "[d]irty wars [which] seem to have a way of bringing mothers to the city squares" (CN 128). It is important to note here that Peer speaks about the dirty wars

with the implication that the element of (Pakistan sponsored) militancy and the hegemony of Indian ISAs and RSAs are equally responsible for this war. However, when he brings in the historical reference of Ashoka, Akbar, Gulab Singh, Robert Thorpe, or even Sheikh Abdullah passingly, he could not have stretched this element too far in my opinion, for the simple reason, that his book then would perhaps had become too unpalatable for publishing. He would not have been able to make this contribution to pioneer this body of writing about his land whose marginalization had haunted him for years.

Peer writes about some other mothers like Parveena Ahanger,²⁷ who raised their voice for social justice and have started a campaign after the disappearance of her sixteen year old speech impaired boy, and has formed the “Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons,” with a lawyer, Pervez Imroz. Taking it upon herself to give talks at many places, her sad brown eyes holding back tears, giving comfort to many, “a mother to them all, holding them, consoling them, scolding, egging them on” (CN 129). Peer says that he being barely a one year old reporter, naïvely believes that telling her stories may bring her son back. When some media happens to highlight her efforts, she is offered a monetary compensation by the government; an example of economic orientalism and extended version of the patronizing interpellation of the billboard showing loving gesture to a Kashmiri (discussed above). But Ahanger refuses to sell her son for any amount. Her work as a human rights defender has crossed all “barriers of language, religion, nationality and experience” (Mathur 39) and has inspired many people when she went to Dublin. But, as Mathur tells us, the Irish poet who was inspired by her courage writes in pen name because “writers and journalists writing about the abuses are banned, deported, and denied visas”²⁸ (Mathur 50). The example of interpellation of this Irish poet is similar to many other writers like Hakeem for his book, *Paradise on Fire* (2014), or Angana P. Chaterji and many more.

The cases of absent persons are described in graphic details by Shubh Mathur in her anthropological study, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016). Most of the times she has not disclosed the real names of many of the victims’ family members on account of safety. In one case, she tells how a sixteen-year-old high school student, Manzoor Ahmad Kachar (his name written as Jan Sahab in the APDP form), is taken away in a night crack down. His pet parrot, named ‘Jana’ used to call out his name as soon as he came back from school. After the night he was taken away, the parrot would not eat, moved his head from side to side and call out “Jana, Jana” only. The parrot keeps calling out his name until it dies after seven days. The boy’s father

tells Mathur that he has lost his sight and now accompanies Parveena in all her quests for social justice for many like her son. How many parents have lost their sights, sense of life, even sanity for the absence of their lost ones? One is at a loss to even begin contemplating.

Peer believes that state of perpetual war could have been avoided. But the interpellative hegemonies led to the Indian Abu Ghraibs of Kashmir, known as Papa-2. The worst nightmares of human history, the modern day holocaust, and yet, never given any name in this capacity nor are ever brought to light of justice as the Nuremberg trials.²⁹ He seems to be speaking for social justice by asking rhetoric questions for the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders that have been crippling Kashmir's land, economy, life, when fascists and psychopaths are to rule, and are let loose upon the world. It is this conviction which sets Peer for this daunting task of visiting this horrifying place, Papa-2 and to record the testimonies of its victims.

The building of Papa-2, a colonial mansion painted blue and white, and the UN mission are "a hapless reminder of a lost time" in Peer's view. The writing on its gate, "UNITED NATIONS MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN," a sad reminder of United Nations resolutions on Kashmir, recommending a plebiscite, which is now living as "hollow quotations in books and journals," observes Peer. Hundreds who were taken to this infamous torture center run by the Indian forces in Kashmir, "did not return. Those who did return were wrecks" (CN 133). The center was closed down in 1998 but the trauma the victims faced in this slaughter house is reverberating even in these decades of this millennium when Peer manages to get a permission to visit it on the pretext of being interested in its architecture. "Half of Kashmir has been" to this torture house (CN 134), he is told. Because perhaps, as Arundhati Roy reminds us, "Kids on Facebook will be arrested, but never [a] government anointed [Grand Mufti of Kashmir, Mufti Bahsiruddin, with his] fatwah after fatwah [to portray] Kashmir as a demonic, monolithic Wahabi society" (Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 91) with his hate speeches.

It is with extreme trepidation that Peer embarks on meeting the Papa-2 victims, and one after the other it becomes excruciatingly painful for the reader to keep on reading. I wonder how it would be for Peer to undergo the torment of putting it on the paper, not to mention the poor human beings who were butchered alive in this living hell.

He meets Shafi a bespectacled lean man in his early thirties, limping his way home from the mosque. He is almost blind because his eyes are burnt out due to the torture of staring into very bright lights but simply does not have the means for surgery now. He tells Peer that he had to sleep in a small blood-stained room with twenty other men, given blankets with lice, and they had to defecate and urinate in plastic bags. The psychological torment of saying “‘Jay Hind’ [Victory to India],” (CN 138) every morning and evening was an added torture for them. Shafi joins Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, JKLF, in 1990 when he is only nineteen years of age. But crueler is the fact that the militant group that he worked for, the JKLF, asked him for the proof that he had been in jail and had been a militant and ruined his youth for them. It is a meagre sum of a thousand rupees only that Yasin Malik gives Shafi to keep on with the drudgery of his life. Shafi has to sell second hand clothes to support a family, while he sees around himself the menace of the war economy that is affording the high officials in JKLF, big houses and big cars “bought from the money that came for the movement.” Peer points out this double colonization of these poor souls. Their capitalistic designs, with their “security guards from Indian paramilitary and the J&K police, [and] their white Ambassador cars [are a bitter reminder of] their ideological rivals in the state” (CN 137). They are an example of what Nixon calls as the “internal colonialists” (234), and Peer raises a big question mark on their sincerity for their cause of freedom movement.

He says: “They made you sit on a chair, tied you with ropes. One soldier held your neck, two others pulled your legs in different directions, and three more rolled a heavy concrete roller over your legs” (CN 137). If one is unable to answer, they burn them with cigarettes and the worst is the psychological torture. The story of Shafi is the usual story of a spent youth for a movement, and yet not rewarded. He is reduced to selling secondhand garments on a wooden cart and nobody wants to marry their daughter to him. He is given a thousand rupees by Yasin Malik and no other leader of this, one of the most influential and charismatic movement, help Shafi. His living misery is an open question to the leaders of this movement living in big houses and driving big cars, “brought from money that came for the movement but they are not willing to help those who destroyed their lives for the cause.” It is one of the bitterest examples of economic expansionism, and economic orientalism. It brings out the supreme irony of a supposedly separatist movement, this JKLF, with its vindictiveness and interpellation. Just like the economic orientalism of its rival Indian army or Indian RSA and ISA, JKLF, for their economic expansionism, is

interpellating its own loyal workers who have ruined their prime youths for the movement's causes.

Peer does not have the courage to carry on this task of writing about this erasure. Fighting his inner anguish he meets Ansaar, another victim of Papa-2. Writing about Ansaar, his teacher Hussein, and his cousin doctor Shahid, he sees them all suffering from varying degrees of PTSD, Ansaar tells Peer that the torture does not let you live a normal life afterwards, and "scars you forever" (CN 138). They all tell harrowing tales of their torture. Ansaar tells Peer how he was tortured with beatings, how he was asked to undress completely and then tied to a ladder, upside down with his head being lowered down in a ditch filled with kerosene oil and red chili powder. Sometimes they did not ask the prisoners to undress, and before they could feel relieved, mice were put in their pants, with the pants tied with cords at the ankles, and the whole process of lowering the head and the body in the ditch started again. "It could go on for an hour, half an hour, depending on their mood" (CN 138), he says. He tells Peer how their flesh was burned with cigarettes and "kerosene stoves used for welding. They burned your arms and legs till you spoke." (CN 138-9). They narrated how wires were tied to his and other prisoners' arms and given high-voltage electric shocks, till every hair on the body stood up. Worst of all was that they inserted copper wires in their penises and given electric shocks. He explains to Peer that besides being excruciatingly painful, it "destroyed many lives. Many could not marry after that" (CN 138-9).

All these physically and psychologically injured human beings like, Ansaar, Peer's teacher, Khatana, Shahid, the doctor at the Sher-e-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences, and his cousin Hussain; tell their horrendous experiences because they are alive to tell him. Though it is too painful to write even, yet, they tell Peer and he writes:

They tied copper wires around your arms and gave high-voltage shocks. Every hair on your body stood up. But the worst was when they inserted the copper wire into my penis and gave electric shocks. They did it with most boys. It destroyed many lives. Many could not marry after that....The bastards destroyed me. I have had three unsuccessful operations on my testicles. So no chance of marriage really....We have had hundreds of cases here. Those electric shocks led to impotence in many, and many lost their kidneys....I was asked to undress, be naked. The first time I resisted, was beaten, undressed forcibly, and tied to a chair. Then they tied copper wires to my arms and gave me electric shocks. I could not even

scream. They had stuffed my mouth with a ball of cloth. I thought I would die. They would suddenly stop, take cloth out, and ask questions. I fainted a few times. They brought me back to my senses and inserted copper wire into my penis. Then they switched on the electricity....I can't tell you about the pain one feels when they gave electric shocks.... (CN 139-141)

Peer further writes how Hussain bled “when he urinated. His penis had swollen, and pain crawled up it like a leech...an infection had set in, and he saw pus and blood in his urine” (CN 141). When a Sikh paramilitary officer sees his condition, he proves an angel for Hussain. Peer shows his intent to meet with this officer but Hussain is unable to recall and tell him that he was transferred. These boys, who are treated for multiple urinary tract infections, but the damage done to them is beyond any physical threshold of bearing pain and the level of psychological mutilation can only lead to severe Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders that they are facing to this day.

If Peer had to fight his inner turmoil to put these brutalities on paper, I, as a researcher, want to shut my computer several times before writing anything further. I wish to be like the judge who writes a death sentence and breaks the nib of the pen, for the dread I feel in writing these murderous interpellations anymore, some of the worst RSAs. Peer is not theorizing about normal castration complex that Freud theorized about. This is his memoir, which is supposedly a sort of creative writing. But what a waste that he is penning such criminal and inhuman tortures instead of writing about Kashmiri people “sit[ting] on [their] balconies” (CN 216) watching the “lawn[s], the orchards and the hill[s]” (CN 210). The environmental justice compels us to raise awareness about this neocolonialism where might is considered right and the ISAs and RSAs are literally getting away with much beyond murder. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of the Dalit community in India, notes about the plight of the Kashmiris and is quoted in Azmi's book:

The theory of nationality is embedded in the democratic theory of sovereignty of the will of the people. This means that ‘the demand for a national state by a nationality does not require to be supported by any list of grievances. The will of the people is enough to justify it.’ But if grievances must be cited, the Muslims have them in plenty. (Azmi n.pag.)

However, like Peer, I am duty bound to bring to knowledge, what he has the audacity to record—the most heinous crimes against humanity of Kashmir, that may pale the crimes of

herrenvolk in comparison. One is at a loss to say whether the marginalization and erasure, as a result of strategic ethnic cleansing is more pernicious, or the criminality of crippling the society with these attacks on sexuality of human beings so that they are interpellated into becoming living dead citizens of a living dead society. These Ideological State Apparatuses ISAs and Repressive State Apparatuses RSAs adopted by the Indian colonizers in Kashmir makes these measures beyond the usual definitions of colonialization and imperialism (I will return to this point in conclusion).

Professionals, like writers, doctors, engineers, and people belonging to respectable families feel and act under trauma. Peer himself, tells his friend Shahid that he is unable to write anymore. Shahid, a doctor, working in the Emergency section of the hospital tries to comfort Peer while he himself is devastated by the number of deaths he has to face every day. Overcome with grief, he cries every time a patient dies on the operation table. And yet, they consider themselves privileged to be able to carry on with their lives in a comparatively normal manner, a “minority in Kashmir” (CN 144) than the severe victims of PTSD like Mubeena and her husband Rashid Malik.

Peer draws his readers’ attention to the internal rivalry between the different state institutions like Central Reserve Police Force, CRPF, and Border Security Force, BSF. In the chapter of his memoir, titled “Heroes,” to which I add the adjective, *unsung*, is a chapter in which Peer calls the victimized humanity carrying out the drudgeries of their lives, braving against all odds as the nameless heroes of this land. He writes about Mubeena and her husband, who are ostracized by the society because Mubeena was not only raped on the day of her wedding by the paramilitary but she was badly injured and bleeding profusely at the time of the incident, while her husband Rashid Malik is living with five bullets inside his back. Their only hope is their little daughter. State relief offered them three thousand rupees each but they refused. Writing about these “tales shadowed by death and loss,” there are occasional “feats of resilience and fortitude,” and “[y]et how many could really move on” (CN 152)? Peer asks.

He visits this traumatized couple, Mubeena and Rashid. Mubeena is raped by “Indian Paramilitary soldiers” (CN 145) a few hours after her marriage. Rashid narrates the traumatic episode. He tells Peer that it is late in the night and the family of the bride advises against traveling at that hour without a curfew pass but the family of the bride groom insists since they have the “permission slip.” Two kilometers down the road, their bus is stopped by Central Reserve Police Force, CRPF. They are shown the curfew pass and they let them

go. A few kilometers ahead their bus is stopped again by Border Security Force, BSF. This time round when Rashid's elder brother shows them the permission slip, he is grabbed by the neck, and is beaten by the officers. A few moments before, there had been a fire exchange between the BSF and CRPF mistaking each other as the militants, but has stopped now. Even after the short misunderstanding between CRPF and BSF is sorted out, the driver is asked to turn off the head lights. In pitch darkness, except for "the miniature decorative bulbs" inside the bus, the wedding guests "shiver in their seats" (CN 147). The BSF personnel circle the bus and then open fire on this bus without any provocation and the poor passengers become a pile of haystack in moments. Rashid is hit with five bullets in his back and Mubeena is hit "in her shoulder, back, and hips." Rashid falls unconscious on the road, and Mubeena and bridesmaid stand injured and bleeding on the road when they are dragged in the mustard field besides the road and raped by unknown number of BSF men. "I could not even remember how many there were. I had lost my senses" (CN 148), Mubeena tells Peer.

Doctors give Rashid a choice to either live with five bullets in his back or risk a surgery that may take his mobility. The level of interpellation this couple has to undergo can be seen from the fact that the society stigmatize them by pointing fingers at them with statements like, "Do you mean the one whose bride was raped?" (CN 146), and Mubeena's in-laws consider her "a bad omen" (CN 149). Then when they have their first son after a year, he dies in a few weeks. This makes Mubeena suicidal, but her husband gives her strength. The irony in these unprovoked Repressive State Apparatuses RSAs can be seen from the fact that "the district administration head award[s] them state relief of three thousand rupees each," (CN 148) which they refuse (what a mockery of relief indeed!!). All the ruse and demagoguery of Indian state of presenting a compensation cannot amend the ostracization of many women like Mubeena, the misery of sunken eyes, sallow cheeks, and bony shoulders of these broken lives, the embittered war torn humanity living with PTSDs. Interpellating innocent lives, like the case of Mubeena and Rashid, with labels of militancy is the economic orientalism, Indian authorities have been carrying out for the last seventy years now. I call this economic orientalism because besides the Orientalizing nameless Kashmiris as militants, the economic agenda has a long lineage starting from even before partition or even in the time of the British Raj as discussed above in detail.

It seems that Peer is simply unable to write about the mutilation of women in his land. Such is the norm of decency and modesty in the east, and certainly in Kashmir.

However, Mathur has narrated several cases of rape in her book, under the heading of “Rape as a Strategy of State Terror.” Only one instance in her anthropological book, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016) may suffice as an example of animalistic brutality that is unleashed on the poor humanity of Kashmir. She quotes from a special report of Weekly of India titled “Protectors or Predators” when several girls were put to all sorts of torture. I narrate only three:

Near Chokibal, another serene village in Kupwara, a couple was arrested and taken to an army camp where the husband was tied to a tree while his wife was raped by jawans. In Ballipora, a dozen women from neighboring Pazipora were ‘raped by 9 or 10 men. One of them was pinned down in a field for as long as three hours, her blood-stained shalwar later set on fire by the jawans.’ In Kupwara town, after a crackdown, 26 year old Rabia, was caught alone by three jawans who, ‘snatched her baby out of her arms and knocked her to the ground with their rifle butts. They then gagged her with one of her own phirans, tore her kurta, and raped her. One of them even pressed her boot down on her child’s chest so that he could not cry out while they were unleashing their passion. This carried on for an hour, after which she fainted.’ (Mathur 106)

Even animals have proper codes for their animality! What, and who has given justification for such animalistic behavior and why and how should this be even possible by the worst possible predators. The text of this narrative asks whether it is not also an example of what Aime Cesaire has also offered as an equation; “colonization = ‘thingification’” (Curtin 46). These are some of the worst example of colonization or thingification. Or what late Agha Shahid Ali, the celebrated Kashmiri poet and academic in American Academia expresses in his poem as:

“(1994)”

A cigarette was alive, and it’s a finished world—
in autumn we planted its final embers.
The Ark rocked. The water were swirled.
Troops poured into the City of Daughters.

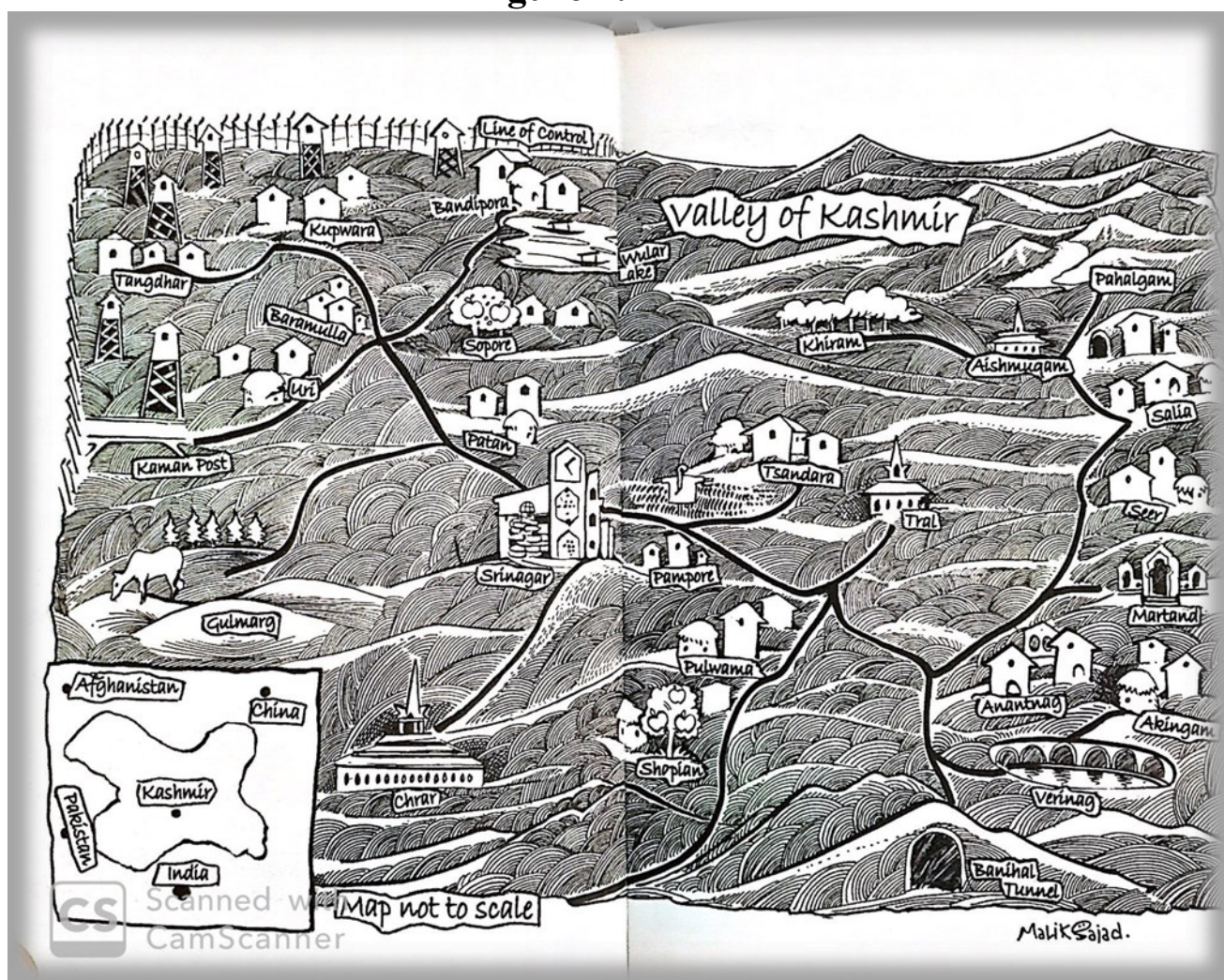
No more water!—We again plant embers.

What’s left to abolish in Lal Chowk?

Troops burn down the City of Daughters,
and a tree bursts into branches of smoke.
(The Country Without a Post Office 83)

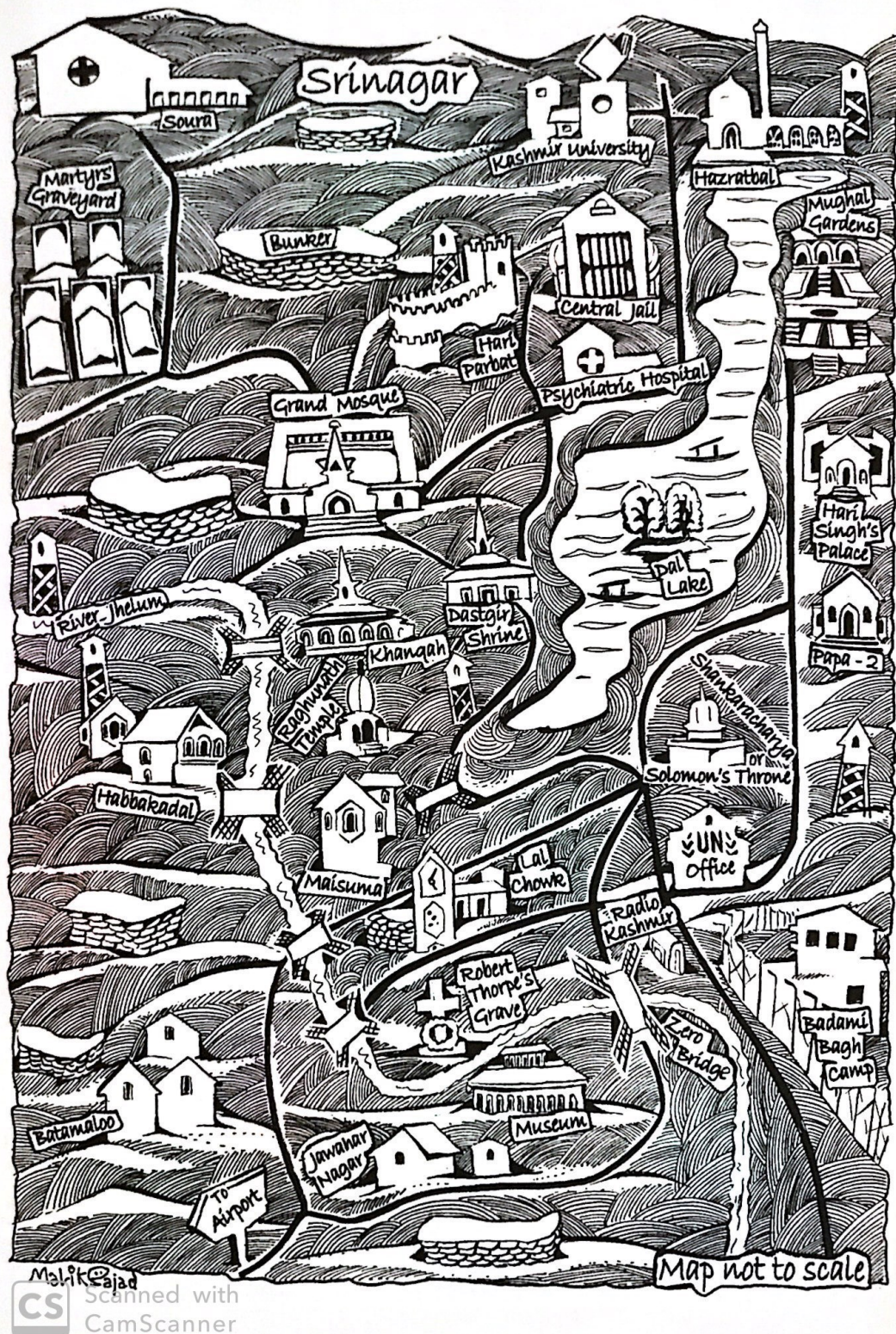
All we are left to comment on a poem like this is that it is not 1994 anymore. It is 2020, and yet the fires are burning, there is nothing left to abolish in Lal Chowk, and the troops are pouring in the city of daughters. A young cartoonist and graphic novelist from Kashmir, Malik Sajad has sketched his realm of Kashmir in two maps, which are part of Peer's memoir. Though not drawn to scale, the two maps give some idea of this impacted place, which may be seen as under in figure 4 and 5. It is as if Sajad and Peer want to show their colonized/imperialized land in these etched forms.

Figure 4:



Map of Kashmir Valley (Peer Curfewed Night n.pag.)

Figure 5



Map of Srinagar (Peer Curfewed Night n.pag.). Both fig. 1&2 are by Malik Sajjad a Graphic Novelist from Kashmir

There are strong traces of PTSD which can be marked out in Peer himself when he writes, “I had to confront my own ghosts,” something which become apparent when despite his friend Shahid’s uplifting his spirits to keep on writing, Peer is unable to muster his courage to go to the village of Kunan Poshpura where more than twenty women were raped in 1990. The village has become “a symbol, a metaphor, a memory like Srebrenica,” in Peer’s (read Kashmir’s) subconscious. His catharsis is in his writing as he finds an “escape in journalism” but even his courage fails him at times; when he neither boards the bus to go to this village of rape victims nor to the unmarked graves in the graveyard bordering that village and keep sitting at the edge of the road. He only wants to go to the sanctuary of his home and his “room” (CN 151). Angana P. Chatterji is a professor of anthropology, activist, and co-founder of International People’s Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir (IPTK). Her book, *Buried Evidence: Unknown, Unmarked and Mass Graves* (2009) in Indian administered Kashmir is a report for which the writers’ own safeties were jeopardized. Her book documents, only partially, pictorial and statistical evidences for the mass graves which the team of IPTK, who were always under a death threat themselves, could produce after studying “only partial areas within three of ten districts in Kashmir” (21).

Like the fake encounter of Mubeena and Rashid, Peer writes about other fake encounters in the chapter of his memoir, titled “Price of Life.” He writes about the interpellation that goes into the supposed prices of lives that the families of victims are offered, and on what price. In the vein of Spivak’s translated phrase of Bangladeshi poet, “Try try, Allah is your hope” (163), Peer tries to find “feats of resilience and fortitude” among the “tales shadowed by death and loss” (CN 152). He tells how his distant cousin, Gulzar, a twelfth grader is blown up in a mine blast. Gulzar is punished because of his silly prank of ragging another boy at college, the gravity of which Gulzar could not have envisaged in his usual unmindful demeanor of a teenager. His only sin was to ask a new comer at his college to go and ask a girl for a date, not knowing that the boy is the “son of an army officer.” The next morning his house is surrounded. They ask for Gulzar, search his house, find nothing, take Gulzar in the cowshed and ten minutes later the family hears a blast; the claim of the paramilitary being that “he was a militant and had mistakenly blasted the mine after identifying it” (CN 157).

The level of frustration in this State interpellation of maiming an innocent boy can be seen when nobody in his family, which is Peer’s extended family, can talk about

“fighting in a court to punish the soldiers who had killed him.”³⁰ Bitterly, Peer writes, “[t]hose things happen elsewhere, in countries where the law is implemented; in Kashmir you try to save the living from further trouble” (CN 157). The compensation that his family is stooped to seek for, is to get the No Objection Certificate, declaring that Gulzar was not a militant, in order to get his elder brother a menial job in the rural development a “low-level government job” (CN 156). The family rarely mentions Gulzar after this but he remains an “invisible presence” (CN 158). Though Peer has contextualized this phrase in the case of Gulzar, but I stretch this metaphor to the invisible presences of interpellations that the Indian State is employing in the context of Kashmir. The family has to not only bear the death of their son in such cruel way but also have to bear the maiming of their innocent boy as a militant in the news. And yet the law of the land makes them stoop down to a level to accept “the official price of life” (CN 158) of a few thousand rupees.

As another instance of Indian State interpellation, RSA, and ISA, Peer expresses the story of Shameema as “difficult, ambiguous, and unresolved” (CN 158). She narrates about the horrifying story about her two sons with exact date of eleventh May 2001. She tells Peer that her seventeen year old son, Shafi, comes home. She narrates that Shafi is studying Chemistry and Physics from two different teachers in two different villages, and is unable to lend a helping hand to his father, a fruit vendor, on account of his studies. On the fateful day, Shameema has cooked tomatoes and rice for his lunch but he goes to chop firewood for the house first. He comes home again and goes for the Friday prayers with his younger brother Bilal, but these unfortunate youth are sitting “under a chinar tree” (CN 159), with their other friends, when some army trucks are seen by them coming their way. The boys start to leave to go back to their homes but they are chased by the soldiers, who manage to catch four boys including seventeen-year-old Shafi and his thirteen year old brother, Bilal.

The neighbors come running to Shameema’s house telling her that her sons have been taken away. She says God gave her courage that day. She runs after the truck and sees her son Bilal from a distance, with “soldiers and Ikhwanis (renegade militants working for the Indian Forces) all around.” She fights her way to Bilal, grabs his hand but is hit by the soldier who has confiscated him. The misery of this small child and mother can be seen when Bilal informs her that “the soldiers had sent Shafi inside the militants’ house with a mine in his hands” (CN 160). The heart piercing words that this thirteen year old says to his mother at this moment: “Let me go, Mother. They must have already killed Shafi; let

me die too,” echo in Peer’s memoir in this narration of Shameema. She tells Peer that they push Bilal with another mine and she watches helplessly that her young son’s legs are about to give way, when she runs to him and lies down on top of him, shouting at the soldiers to spare her son and let her go with the mine, instead. She says, they finally snatch the mine from her hands and push an old man instead, with the mine for blowing up. She manages to bring Bilal from the soldier’s hands but since that day, her youngest son is “psychologically disturbed,” a victim of PTSD. She tells Peer, that every time Shafi’s name is taken in front of him he gets agitated and she has to give her youngest boy hookah to smoke, who is now exactly the same age as was Bilal at the time of the Indian paramilitary hegemonic demonomania. “Which mother would pass a hookah to her son? But I have to; it calms him down” (CN 161), she says.

Besides being the horrendous example of RSA and ISA and the immediate interpellation this woman and her living sons have to undergo at the time of the incident, at the hands of the soldiers, Shameema’s story unfolds a double bound interpellation, a manifestation of double colonization as defined by Ashcroft mentioned earlier. Besides the deliberate policies to keep the general public like Shameema’s household backward educationally, Peer unfolds a legacy of corruption when, in order to help this unlettered woman, he tries to walk into “the local seat of power, the administrative unit inherited from the colonial civil service.” The clerk, who happens to know Peer, is disappointed to see that he has not turned out to be a bureaucrat like his father but a ‘writer,’ interested only in the lives of “random unimportant people” (CN 163) like Shameema. These unimportant people, pulling the drudgery of their lives are Kashmir. A mother like Shameema has to see her young son of seventeen years of age being pushed by the paramilitary forces to blow up a mine and her other thirteen year old son barely manages to escape the fate of his brother, while her youngest is living with a psychologically crippled existence. The mother, the child, and the fruit vendor of a father are not given any compensation because they could not possibly have any links in this vicious bureaucratic circle, as Peer is told by the clerk:

The file does not move by itself from one table to another. Nor does the typist type an order for free. The senior officers are to be convinced and given share too. All this takes time and money. Out of the relief money of one *lakh*, the applicant has to spend twenty-five to thirty thousand rupees. Otherwise he will waste years visiting offices. And once he pays that, we ensure that his name in the compensation job list goes up and things move fast. (CN 164)

This twofold marginalized Kashmiri population by Indian forces is a manifestation of double colonization. This is an indicating factor of Indian interpellation of subjecting the people to this “localized despotism” (Mamdani 106) on the one hand, while on the other hand, interpellating the world’s understanding even by projecting a demonized portrait of Kashmiris, or anyone who exposes their vampire teeth. The writings of writers like, Sanjay Kak, Arundhati Roy, Angana P. Chatterji, Gautam Navlakha, Shub Mathur, Mona Bhan, Suvir Kaul and many others.

Though, wife of a fruit vendor, she has her dreams for her sons who are captured by the military and used as a commodity, “a thingification” to blow up a mine. Who knows whether it was not yet another fake encounter with the supposed militants? Young teenage *unarmed* boys are captured by paramilitary, misused and thrown away without giving a second thought. Peer is drawing attention of the reader to this “environmental ethnocide” (Nixon 246) of humanity of Kashmir.

These ISAs and RSAs are crippling the society while the world is led to believe by Indian autocracy that they have crushed the rebellion. Yet the world sees another phenomenon of insurgency after the 2008 rigged elections, a chapter in Kashmir history that Peer’s memoir does not mention. However, it is a reiteration of what happened in the 1987 elections that Peer has discussed in detail as discussed above. In 1987 it was one Yasin Malik who was unduly punished and he retaliated, in 2008 there are hundreds of Yasin Maliks pelting stones in the streets.

It is time to understand the plight of these Medusas (I am implying only a genderless entity here) before they are misunderstood like the Greek Medusa (which, so far, is what it is for a Kashmiri identity). According to the Greek legend, Medusa was raped by Poseidon in Athena’s temple but Athena, who was also jealous of Medusa’s beauty, instead of penalizing the culprit punished Medusa for getting raped and cursed Medusa’s beautiful hair be replaced with snakes. So Kashmir is the Medusa who is raped by Poseidon of neocolonialism, but instead of punishing Poseidon, the Athena of the world are maiming and punishing this Medusa’s beauty with the brutalist of punishments.

Sanjay Kak draws our attention to the plight of these unarmed stone pelters. If these stone pelters are locked up in jails with the categories A, B, and C, besides implying that their incarceration is unjustified, Kak draws our attention to the deserted streets that may create a vacuum for the old fighters like Hizbulmujahideen and Lashkar e Taiba, LeT to

return ("The Fire" xxiii), and hence, it is akin to misunderstanding of Kashmir's phenomena, the way Medusa's plight is mis-connoted as her demonism. While the fact is that she was cursed to be a gorgon with snakes instead of hair only out of jealousy of goddess Athena.

I draw attention to yet another dimension of the unarmed rebellion of youngsters who are interpellated to show their frustration and anger on despotic militarization on the one hand, and then oppressed with another covert psychological endgame. Saiba Varma, an Assistant Professor of the Psychological Medical Anthropology at UC San Diego, discusses in her article, "Love in the time of occupation: Reveries, longing, and intoxication in Kashmir" (2016). She exposes the interpellating factor of the authorities to brand these youngsters as lunatics. She unpacks two opposing strains of arguments about "Indian state's new constellation of military-humanitarian efforts" (51, 53), as defined by the state. She describes the campaign of De-addiction centers as a means for winning the hearts of Kashmiris. She also quotes an overgeneralized statement, which leaves a lot to be desired. She speaks about the spuriously projected Indian claims of "intoxicating experiences, such as the search for divine or worldly love and madness." According to the official narrative "[t]hese ideas come from Sufi Islam, which has been the dominant religious tradition in Jammu and Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state, since the 14th century" (Varma 51). She builds her argument in the article by subverting these official narratives. She writes that "clinicians aim to transform unruly Kashmiri citizens into docile, grateful subjects, and [] shows how patients living in conditions of chronic violence respond to, inhabit, and quietly subvert the clinic's structures" (51). This is why some consider these De-addiction centers, "DDC as an extension of a violent, repressive, and corrupt military and state structure." Consequently, these RSAs are responsible for reducing these supposed addicts for "performing their public roles as recovered, grateful addicts" (56), (like, perhaps, Sheikh Abdullah was straightened if he showed any other than, even mock, signs of anything other than obsequiousness). Similarly, as Varma informs us, these boys are interpellated into docile subjects from being unruly citizens. They are left with no other choice but to wear the official rhetoric and project themselves as grateful subjects.

She also narrates that the patients' files are strictly confidential but then relates the case of 'Feroze' in his own words, how he starts using different kinds of intoxicants at a very early age when his parents send him to school, considering it as relatively safe. He is quoted as stating, "I'm sorted now. I'm absolutely fine. I'd rather be here at the De-

addiction Center than at home with my family—that’s how much I love this place” (Varma 54). Besides noting the irony in his statement, she finds “particular political significance in the context of the hearts and mind campaign” and the typical “flipping the script” (Varma 55) ring in this rhetoric. I add, at least three major problems besides what Varma has pointed out. I find it yet another interpellative Indian nationalistic strategy of supposedly, winning the hearts of the Kashmiris.³¹ The first question that may be logically asked is that why are the hearts of the Kashmiris lost in the first place? If one bails out Indian part in it by incarcerating only insurgency factor here, then, the second question can be, what can possibly be the ethics of these ‘military-humanitarian efforts’ (quite oxymoronic in its constitution itself)? If, the supposedly, secret problems of the addicts are flaunted to make a case point of the ‘zhombic mindset’ of the stone pelters, so to say, or if we grant that it all goes in the name of scientific findings for the betterment of the ‘hu-man-it-y’, then, the third question arises. Whether the patronizing tone of cases like Feroze are real? Since Varma, speaks of the “noncommittal or outright” refusal of many of its members to even discuss these ‘military-humanitarian efforts,’ either because they may have some shards of dignity left in them, or they could make out the hoax of DDC. One may wonder, whether there is any study to investigate the reasons for this addiction. These younger Kashmiris, often vilified as “agitational terrorists, drug addicts, or paid stone-pelters” (Junaid 163), have to die or commit suicide kind of interpellative options left for them. Alternatively, with a tongue in cheek kind of an expression, I take the liberty of stretching this phenomenon, to say that there may be some Pakistani-sponsored suppliers for, so to say, ‘Muslim, mystic charas’. (In other words, it is preposterous to put this last figment of imagination in the court of the ‘insurgency factor’), which, to quote Suvir Kaul, is not at all “a simple matter of Pakistan-sponsored *jibadis*” (Kaul 2). Lastly, to borrow Freud’s terms, I would call it a castration complex sort of a phenomena of the ISA of the Indian State in terms of over obsessive behavior towards Kashmir.

One of the biggest reason for this undue obsession is economic expansion which is covered up by slogans like integral non-negotiable while completely obliterating the historical facts. The interpellating RSAs of Indian hegemony come heavy on youngsters like Faraz who post slogans like “Go India Go Back” even on their Facebook accounts. They are advised, “why do you think being pro-freedom on Facebook will get you anything? Go secure you career. If you want to study abroad we will help you.” And then these poor youths are stripped naked and beaten (in order to be straightened up) (Shah 4,

5). It is what Roy, the novelist, human rights activist, and an eloquent speaker, who dares to bust the great Gandhian myths, writes bitterly about. In her book, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (2014), she breaks open another myth by writing: “But it’s Kashmir that is at the heart of the Indian state’s concerns. The official narrative must not be contested” (58).

It is what Professor Wael Hallaq, a distinguished Professor of Humanities at Columbia University, has pointed out as colonial strategies meted out against the colonized, back even in the nineteenth century. According to him, “[d]iscipline thus translated into a site in which the subject was corralled into a system of order and instrumental utility. The system that was adopted to accomplish this regulative mechanism was the school, which began to spring up everywhere in various forms, and concurrent with the consolidation of the police apparatus, the school became a standard social fixture by the end of the nineteenth century” (Hallaq 100). Apart from the interpellative factor in such disciplining actions by the state, Hallaq has drawn attention to another important dimension of the role of schools in bringing about this interpellating change in the people of a society, which is what Althusser had pointed out in theorizing about the role of institutions, including schools, in creating ideologies (read myths) resulting in these Repressive State Apparatuses RSAs.

Hallaq also discusses the same coercive state mechanisms such as schools as “a regimented system where certain ideas and ideals were drilled into their minds” (100) which Althusser defines as RSAs. He further talks about State interpellating practices when the state, due to their coercive policies, knew that, “poverty could lead to another revolution, one that might snatch both political power and economic privilege from under their feet” (100) and so they started with the state welfare systems. Hallaq echoes Althusser’s theory when he says that all the state organizations like prisons, schools, hospitals worked under a specific and highly organized bureaucratic state machinery. The colonizable body and mind of the state individual was now conducive for manipulation as a trained subject (100-1).

Hameeda Naeem, a Professor at Kashmir University, discusses what Hallaq has pointed out. She writes about one of the state organizations in the context of Kashmir, i.e. the interpellative role of education system that she terms as “statist epistemology” and “state machinery” (219). She draws attention to the fact that anyone who wants to do research about “countering the voice of the marginalized,” or “unprecedented militarization and its impact on the daily lives of people, [it] is not recognized as a legitimate research

project, nor is the impact of Indian integrative and centrist politics” (220). Education is also manipulated with appropriating it with a revisionist view of ancient history of Kashmir with generous funding from UNESCO and taught under the rubric of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Countries (SAARC), which is considered a total eyewash by Naeem (Similar point discussed by Shlomo Sand in chapter 5). She believes Kashmir conflict a deficit of democracy. Democratic space is not given by Indian state’s oppressive measures. Managing and manipulating the knowledge economy, academia, and religion are some of the measures taken by the state machinery. Naeem esteems the pluralistic nature of culture of the valley but “in order to fight Islamic epistemology,” a “so-called Sufi Islam” is projected as the authentic picture of Kashmir, with venerated mosques and shrines of the valley used as “pulpits by politicians to propagate their political manifestoes” (222). Naeem denounces such interpellation and accepts “no excuse for such mangled versions” (220) in her article, “Politics of Exclusion” (2012).

Studying military occupation in Kashmir, Muhamad Junaid, an academic in anthropology in Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, reiterates Peer’s experiences and gives a definition of this phenomenon with a disclaimer that his reading is restricted to the study of Kashmir and should be understood in that paradigm only. He calls occupation a tautology and an uroboros, (a dragon which keeps eating its tail for infinity). This occupation, as he sees it, is a form of economic orientalism, an occupation which is making itself “invisible despite its visible effects everywhere, [with its] crushing presence” (Junaid 161). He calls the hollow rhetoric of democracy as “discursive weapon to be deployed against the occupied” (Junaid 162). Raising his voice for social justice, he even questions the logic of the so hyped about benefit of remaining a part of India and challenges that if the occupiers are so sure, then instead of the 2008 rigged elections why do not they go for a referendum. All the claims of security, order, democracy are bedeviled by such impunitive measures by the state in Junaid’s eyes. He pictures perfectly, the hidden imperative of “[g]et them by their balls, hearts and minds will follow” (Junaid 164), kind of rhetoric for these “ungrateful Kashmiris” (Junaid 171), behind the States eyewashes of ISAs and RSAs.

While discussing different stages of occupation, of seizing, of maintaining that occupation, and finally contextualizing the strategies of this maintenance as a spatial occupation which cannot have any connotation of “to belong,” Junaid concludes that Kashmiris have always considered Indian occupation as foreign and says that even if the

Kashmiri men went into the Azad Kashmir for arms training then it was a kind of an “in-house affair” (Junaid 173), albeit not an easy one, because they considered Kashmir a house and Azad Kashmir as a room of the house, where as India for them was not a welcome entity ever. This point is endorsed by journalist, Kuldip Nayyar who visited Kashmir on behalf of the Indian government to assess the situation back in 1989. He writes in his book, *Beyond the Lines* (2012) that when he suggests People’s Conference leader Abdul Ghani Lone that “New Delhi might be willing to have a dialogue with ‘the boys,’” his reply is that “India should first re-establish its authority in Kashmir because its writ did not run there” (Shah 16). Junaid also emphasizes that the Kashmiris never liked Indian goods, which they contrasted unfavorably to Kashmiri products. He considers it an illegitimate occupation according to UN standards as well, and they have been long awaiting the free and fair plebiscite under UN supervision. In his view even the “population that is psychosomatically disabled, [considers occupation as] permanently temporary” (Junaid 175) situation. In other words, Kashmir wants social justice to prevail in Junaid’s views.

Writing about the laws like Armed Forces Special Power Act, AFSPA and other such laws beyond the pale of law, Junaid says:

But the full impact of the effect of this law’s dependence on soldiers’ good sense hit me in the spring of 2009, when I was teaching for a year at one of the local universities in Kashmir. A former top Indian military official had come to speak to students. This person had retired from the Indian army as director general of military training, and had years of experience training soldiers. In his speech he defended his soldiers’ actions, arguing that they were trained ‘to be tough,’ ‘to kill,’ ‘to kill ten if one of their fellow men was killed,’ and ‘to act on instinct’. When a student asked him why soldiers raped women, the ex-director general’s response was an unabashed (if typical) ‘they have needs too.’ There was no uproar in the auditorium, but the anger was palpable. (188-9)

One of the explanations of such unabashed and unashamed behavior of, no less than one of the top officials like the director general, is that, sometimes, the veneer of their interpellative strategics chips off to show the real face of this neocolonialist hegemony, or to use Joseph Massad’s terminology, it is a phenomenon of “signifying penis,”³² as argued in his writings.

The petit recits of these memoirists from this “most unreported place on earth” (Shah 23) reminds me of a narrative of a Native American writer and an academic, Thomas King, titled “A Million Porcupines Crying in the Dark.” With the raised level of education and pervasive use of the internet, the youth of Kashmir are now emerging as a prolific body of writers and artists who are trying to make themselves heard, one way or the other, against pervasive India’s ISAs and RSAs. Defying all odds, they are writing, recording, and expressing their holocausts in all forms of literature, art, and music,³³ and subverting India’s grand narrative of interpellation and economic orientalism, with their calls for social justice.

I now turn to the final section of analysis in this chapter to explore the postcolonial environmental concerns in Peer’s text.

4.4. Ecological Apocalypse in ‘Gaza Strip of Kashmir’: Economic and Cultural Imperialism and the Questions of Postcolonial Environmental Ethic

In this part of the chapter, I start off with attempting to define one of our key theoretical concept of postcolonial environmental ethic or eco-postcolonial ethic as I phrase it.

Humanities play a crucial role in understanding and solving environmental problems if they offer constructive knowledge and criticism, say Robert S. Emmett and David E. Nye in their recent book, *The Environmental Humanities: A Critical Introduction* (2017). Other scholars like Curtin propose to move beyond the “radical ecocentrism” of American idea of keeping “social and environmental justice” (6, 12) separate. Curtin believes that “an environmental ethic requires and includes social justice” (12) rather than being only “a full-stomach phenomenon”³⁴ of environmentalism. Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin also bring forth this dimension of environmental ethic when they acknowledge that “[t]he incursion of Europeans into other areas of the world from the fifteenth century onwards catastrophically resulted in genocide or the dispossession and marginalization of indigenous peoples across the globe” (Huggan 1). And, Postcolonialism, for Nixon, stretches the ecocritical perception to more “transnational ethics of place” (Nixon "Environmentalism and Postcolonialism" 239).

Synthesizing the different critical approaches relating to postcolonialism and environmental justice, so far discussed in this research, I take this opportunity to deduce a definition of “a postcolonial environmental ethic” (Curtin 48). Though Curtin illustrates

examples from the postcolonial world in his entire book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005), which is followed by the use of this term by Huggan and Tiffin, and Roos and Hunt in their articles and books, somehow it is not defined elaborately.

So far we have seen in the context of Peer's *Curfewed Night* (2010) and will see further as discussed below, and will see also in the context of Karmi's *Return* (2015) in the next chapter, that a postcolonial environmental ethical inquiry requires certain aspects that are at "critical loggerheads" with blanket assertions of environmentalism. For the sake of convenience for the readers, I give the quote which draws the contrast between the two schools of postcolonialism and environmentalism (see section 3.4.3.). Drawing from Nixon's works, Roos and Hunt have pointed out these opposite concerns of postcolonialism and environmentalism in their book, *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives* (2010). They write that

between schools: postcolonialists emphasize hybridity, while ecocritics emphasize purity; postcolonialists study displacement, ecocritics focus on place; postcolonialists tend toward cosmopolitanism, ecocritics toward nationalism; postcolonialists work to recover history, ecocritics seek to sublimate or transcend history" (4, 5).

Therefore, adding an important dimension to the definition that I propose shortly, we may see that a postcolonial environmental ethic is a concern that looks into all the three dimensions of postcoloniality, environmentalism, and ethic. We also see that postcolonial environmental inquiry tends to recover history rather than glossing over it, and so, the historiographic analysis is an important lens of inquiry (cf. section 1.2 of chapter 1). Similarly, this mode of analysis favors hybridity, displacement, and cosmopolitanism, rather than purity (of race), place, and nationalism.

I therefore, take this opportunity to adapt this term according to my research dimension and define it. A postcolonial environmental ethic is an interventionist field of study, which, while addressing the concerns of postcolonial studies in humanities, interrupts the continued vilifications, rejections, and exclusions of postcolonial concerns in the blanket assertions of environmentalism. Moreover, the word, ethics educes a transatlantic or prospective cosmopolitanism making an interstitial space for social, economic, and "environmental justice," or "ethic of resistance"³⁵ in the debates of postcolonial environmental ethic, which may alternatively be called an eco-postcolonial

ethic.³⁶—something I am also exploring in the context of Kashmir (in this chapter) and Palestine (in the next chapter).

Bringing together these humanitarian environmental concerns, I argue that the environmental ethic and social justice in the context of Kashmiri identity makes us understand Kashmir issue beyond the rhetoric of a war fought against only the (bogeyman of) armed militancy of Kashmir in the decade of the nineties. Peer himself points out that the “Pakistani militants operating in Kashmir were very different from the Kashmiri separatist guerrillas who started the anti-India rebellion in 1990” (CN 206). Roy describes this phenomenon as India actually inviting in the “process of destabilization,” as, she says, “it did before, by rigging the 1987 elections in Kashmir” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 86). The ambit of this part of the chapter touches upon the aspects of what Rakesh Ankit classifies loosely, as the theme of some Indian works, with their criticism of the Indian State’s “petty politicking, heavy-handed security and prejudice in Kashmir and about Kashmiri Muslims” (Ankit 4). Engaging partially in a contrapuntal reading of the corpora of an unconscious guild of writings and criticisms,³⁷ which have been flogging the dead horse of militancy factor in Kashmir, or “Pakistani irredentism” (Mukherjee 41), conferring the tropes of “terror assaulted India” (Bharat 66), this chapter studies the completely disregarded element of the profound injustices or “unselfconscious parochialism[s]” (Nixon 233). It studies the national militancy, or what Peer calls “militant nationalism” (*AQO* 14) in the context of Kashmir. Where, the partisan writings declare that even the historical findings as “totally unfounded” (Jha 10), in spite of facts on ground. Using Curtin’s words, it may be seen that Peer emerges as an “indigenous voice[] of resistance to build what might be called an ethic of resistance” (45).

This is something, which is also, shrewdly observed by Roy, in her book, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (2014), when she reports on President Obama’s speech in 2010. She astutely points out that “he spoke eloquently about threats of terrorism, [while] he kept quiet about human rights abuses in Kashmir” (69). Juxtaposing the elements of militant nationalism (a term Peer writes in his second book as cited above) and consequent world silence on human rights abuses in Kashmir, this part of the chapter draws attention to the role of economic element for this radical and unbridled “political militancy rather than negotiation” (Guha 78) in the land of Kashmir. Hardly providing for any point by point rebuttal for the existing scholarship, my focus is to highlight the plight of the dispossessed and the mutilated humanity of Kashmir with a fractured relationship with its environment

that necessitate the need for an eco-postcolonial reading, or what Curtin, Huggan and Tiffin, and Roos and Hunt, term as a “postcolonial environmental ethic” (Curtin 48) (Huggan 7) (Roos 3).

I propose, that studying texts from Kashmir and Palestine (discussed in the next chapter), a primary focus of my research, may provide a starting point to develop a postcolonial environmental ethic of these respective places. Because the terms of ‘poscolonialism’ and ‘green’ vary considerably in different geographies as Roos and Hunt suggest in their book, *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives* (2010). In the context of Kashmir and Palestine, I intend to examine “a dance of cultural, economic, and ecological interdependence” (Roos 3), as the writers of the selected texts put forth. It also brings forth the importance of multiplicity of voices to address the problems faced by the world today.

Making use of the research methods of hermeneutical phenomenology, historiographic, and ethnographic mode of analysis (discussed earlier in chapter of theoretical framework), if we study the issue of princely state of Hyderabad with that of princely state of Kashmir in order to understand the social and land ethic in this debate of postcolonial environmental ethic, we come across a canonical invisibility (to borrow Nixon’s words) of this social, moral, and environmental justice for the land of Kashmir. It may be identified as only the economic imperative of India, because of being one of the great markets for international trade with its “protocapitalist” (34) centers, a term Curtin uses for, a one time, European capitalism.

Many historians are critical of Mountbatten’s disregard of pragmatic and sensible advice of senior British politicals like Sir Conrad Corfield (Schofield has also discussed this aspect in detail and is already discussed in Chapter two in the section of review of works on Kashmir). In his 1998 book, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948*, Lamb writes about the suggestion of Sir Conrad Corfield, who believed that “an Indo-Pakistani exchange might be devised over Hyderabad and Jammu & Kashmir, in which Hyderabad went with India and Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan (an idea which had, indeed, already been circulating during Lord Wavell’s Viceroyalty), but he was ignored.” This was followed by the consequence of the two states of Hyderabad and the “stretch of stormy coast” of Junagadh, “surrounded by Indian territory” being “swallowed up by India.” This phenomenon was convoluted further by the office of V.P. Menon’s State Department, who never gave any importance to Pakistani factor except for an irritant. And,

as Lamb puts it, Menon's policies were a "structural organizational distortion which confused the Kashmir issue from the outset and to which due weight has never subsequently been assigned by observers within and without the subcontinent." He regards V.P. Menon as "a masterly confuser of issues, a true follower in the footsteps of the great Kautiyala, Chandra Gupta Maurya's minister (c.300 BC) and reputed author of the Arthashastra, a political text which in so many respects anticipated the thoughts on statecraft of Machiavelli" (Incomplete Partition 95-6).

If we take a break to analyze these facts objectively, it can be seen that the geo-political, economic, cultural, and ecological demographics of this part of the world could have been so much improved if the social and environmental justice was taken into consideration rather than the re-colonization of Kashmiris, terminating into the blood bath that is witnessed in Kashmir with every passing day even after seventy years.

Peer gets commended as a literary artist, who "[t]hough not a novelist, [but writes] like a novelist" (Bharat 48) and therefore gets a perfunctory appraisal in Meenakshi Bharat's book, *Troubled Testimonies: Terrorism and the English Novel in India* (2017), in which she reviews the Indian novel in the context of terrorism. However, my focus in this analysis is what Rakesh Ankit writes as "a realm of 'people centred narratives'" (5), which emphasizes on taking into account the Kashmiri ecriture.

Peer raises the question of environmental ethic of his land, when, in his chapter of "Fragile Fairyland," he reminds his reader about a land, which later metamorphoses into a *Curfewed Night* (2010). Peer longs for the land where he and his younger brother Wajahat, after making snowmen, used to sneak onto the rooftop of their house, and make homemade ice-cream by dipping the broken icicles into "a concoction of milk and sugar stolen from the kitchen" (CN 3). He longs for the simple joys of sliding down the slopes of the hill overlooking his neighborhood or playing cricket on the frozen pond amidst the "blushing snow." His description of his Kashmir reminds one of Hardy's imaginary pastoral heaths of Wessex with Kashmiris "celebrating the flowers in the meadows and the nightingales on willow branches" (CN 4); where there were always neighbors showing up for each other's help in the harvest season without any formal requests; where the (educated) rustics of Kashmir gathered around *Kangriz* (mobile fire pots) to discuss the impact of untimely rainfalls on the mustard crops; where if they "saw streaks of scarlet in the sky, they said, 'There has been a murder somewhere. When a man is killed, the sky turns red.'" And where on a cup of Kahwa, the children are admonished for the silly prank of stealing apples, with

the words: “If they steal apples today, tomorrow they will rob a bank. These boys will grow up to be like Janak Singh,” who had become a symbol of an ultimate felony when he had killed a guard while robbing a bank and was sentenced for fourteen years. Peer says, for “[n]obody had killed a man in our area before or ever since” (CN 5). Or where the worker in their fields, like Akram, would always get a glass of milk and meat or chicken after his day’s labor by Peer’s grandfather, and when Peer’s young mind naively asks why the *angrez* (tourists) travelled so much, he works it out himself that they “had to travel to see Kashmir” (CN 5) while his young heart swells with pride to be living where these tourists thronged to visit its beauty.

Peer, with his “American comic book dictionary” that his father brings him, self-teaches himself “stories of Superman, Batman and Robin, and Flash,” and muses over the possibility of asking Flash (if he lived in Kashmir), to fix the “errant power supply” (CN 5) of his village “shaded by walnut trees” (CN 8) on the “black ribbonlike road dividing vast expanses of paddy and mustard fields in a small valley guarded by the mighty Himalayas” (CN 10). This cosmopolitan tranquility of his life, where he is learning from comic books and fasting for the month of Ramadan with its usual delights of “*fireen* (a sweet pudding of almonds, raisins, milk and semolina topped by poppy seeds and served during a break in the nightlong prayers at our mosque before Eid)” (CN 7) reminds one of the subtle and intricate centuries old relationships to nature of traditional societies that Curtin speaks of, the disruption of which Peer laments in his memoir. It is a disorder, which is caused due to a “cultural amnesia” for this distinct milieu of Kashmir or what may be described as a “colonialism dressed in new clothing”³⁸ (6, 25).

Peer becomes acutely aware of “the troubled politics of Kashmir” (CN 12) where, as a nine year old in 1986 there is a jubilation in the streets when Javed Miandad, the Pakistani batsman facing Sharma’s last ball, hits the historical six and fetches the deciding victory for his team, but only after a year, i.e. in 1987, it is death strike for these Kashmiris. It is, as if, an ordinary Kashmiri hears the words, ‘for whom the knell tolls; it tolls for thee,’³⁹ floating in the air of Kashmir. It is the tourniquet of “the Indian government rigged state elections, arresting opposition candidates and terrorizing their supporters.” As discussed earlier, Peer writes about the chain of events that ensued “after rigged elections of 1987.” Yasin Malik, the now established Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front JKLF leader, only a twenty-one-year-old polling agent at that time, gets arrested and tortured for no reason and becomes a cause of subversive strategies by becoming a militant. His arrest

and torture is the first trigger for this “bottled-up resentment against Indian rule and the treatment of Kashmiris” that erupts like a volcano (CN 14). Their pro-independence demands and a justice for unjustified arrests and tortures behind the bars becomes their demand for *azadi* (independence) which is crushed “ruthlessly” by the Indian government. Peer tells us that this is when his young mind realizes that “[t]he war of my adolescence had started” (CN 15). He realizes that Kashmir is now treated as a land of “Disposable People” (4) as Rob Nixon argues in his book, *Slow Violence and Environmentalism of the Poor* (2011), although in a different context.

Peer writes about the “cluster of mud-and-brick houses, groves of walnut and willow trees, and fields” and vapor rising from the “frost-covered fields warmed by the bright morning sun”(CN 140), juxtaposed with the ruthless treatment that is extended to the innocent civilians in this “small valley guarded by the Himalayas” (CN 10); when the paramilitary men slam doors in Srinagar and drag out young men, whether or not they were from the young militancy group, and even rape a number of women, a night prior to the Gawkadal massacre, triggering the protests of the next day of 20th40 January 1990, a fateful day in Kashmir history. Peer writes how the people come on the streets demanding freedom from this mindless tyranny, and when the unarmed protestors, comprising of men and women and even children of all ages, marching peacefully from all corners of Srinagar, reach Gawkadal Bridge, this weaponless “incipient rebellion,” because of their sin of a peaceful demand of “freedom from India” (CN 15), are to pay the first of the heavy prices that the decade of the nineties witness, something, they have been paying since that day and even before it.

The Indian Bureaucrat, Jagmohan, known for his racism and “hatred of Muslims,” strategically appointed as governor of Kashmir only two days before this Gawkadal massacre, orders the Indian paramilitary, the reserve force, to unleash hell on defenseless protestors from both sides of the bridge. Is it a manifestation of an “historical amnesia” (Curtin 26) when today, Indian establishment or partisan writings blame the militancy factor (only) by giving their “[t]wo Versions of History” (Jha 1)? Or should it be seen as what Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin write in their article, “GREEN POSTCOLONIALISM;” emphasizing that “Western history, in both its Marxist and capitalist incarnations, worked ‘to assimilate diverse cultures and spiritual traditions into a homogeneous code,’ at the same time as it naturalized ‘uneven economic development according to a linear narrative of civilization” (Huggan 2). Is it a forced homogenization of

Kashmiri identity in an Indian bolus when the Kashmiris refuse to be molested and naturalized unnaturally? One is compelled to ask.

Knowing that militancy factor of the early nineties result after Kashmir is suppressed, humiliated, and butchered in the Gawkadal massacre, Peer still questions and problematizes this open question of militancy. Though, he sees some justification in this armed militancy of “a naïve, heady time” (CN 132), as he calls it in the chapter titled, “Freedom Songs,” he condemns the militants “killing hundreds of pro-India Muslims (a stance of Peer and his family also), ranging from political activists to suspected informers for Indian intelligence [and] hundreds of Pandits on similar grounds or without reason. This causes a lot of Pandit families to migrate to Jammu, Delhi, and various other Indian cities (CN 22). Though some critics view this phenomenon of yet another interpellative move by the establishment to clear the Kashmir valley of the Hindus and Pandits to deal with the Muslims in the valley with the brutalist of measures (Shah 17).

However, Peer laments the peace and tranquility of his valley disrupted on account of this armed resistance, in which, many like his own cousin Tariq, go “across the border,” being fully aware “that crossing the border to be a guerilla meant being killed” (CN 31). Thousands of boys like Tariq make their “journey to Pakistan” (CN 35). Peer, however, does not account for the justification of this armed resistance the way it was justified by Frantz Fanon who believes that “violence [is] *necessary* as a way of reclaiming dignity” (Curtin 46). This conviction of Fanon is cited by Deane Curtin as an environmental ethical concern.

Peer does not expose the reasons for this armed militancy and documents only “the evidence of their encounters with the Indian border troops [,] skeletons lying under the fir trees; a pair of shoes lying by a rock” (CN 35), something, described in graphic details in Mirza Waheed’s novel, *The Collaborator* (2011) also. Peer’s reservation to probe further into this phenomenon can possibly be due to the pressures of the publishing industry, as his was the pioneer text in this century and he wanted his word to reach across (as discussed above). This rationale confirms the validity of his larger argument because it overcomes such lapses. Also, his lukewarm reproach of militancy stands in sharp contrast to his reprimand of the frenzy of “Hindu right activists” (CN 61) like *Karsevaks*; attacking the young students going to different Indian cities for education back in 1990s, killing and throwing the injured boys out of the moving train, or running after others on the platform.

Peer's prime focus is to bring the truth about Kashmir into the limelight. He is therefore, stating the environmental ethic of his milieu when he laments the loss of Kashmiri youth with unidentified bodies "found in the river Jhelum in Srinagar" (CN 40). He finds it a threat to the manpower for the "paddy fields" also, when the "blue green waters of Lidder [a small local stream by Peer's house] rushing through the fields bubb[ing] over the stones" (CN 43) gets transformed into a filthy mess of the dead bodies. This is impacting the whole landscape of his homeland of Kashmir.

Though, he never goes overboard with the pontifications towards Pakistan's role, but Peer does question Pakistan's role for the help it rendered to the militancy factor of the nineties but does not adopt any vilifying stance as is pervasive in the rightist Indian establishment. The reason for this guarded and well-balanced criticism is simple. Probably because, writing his memoir in 2010, Peer could see the Kashmiri resistance gone out of the fetters of militancy, and replaced by unarmed young Kashmiris coming out on the streets against Indian oppression, as a recurrence of the unarmed demand for freedom, the way it was before the Gawkadal massacre of 1990. He also can see the atrocities meted out by the Indian paramilitary against the youth of Kashmir, like the case of Shameema's two sons and the many others mentioned above. However, "the breakdown of Pakistan (into a gangland of crazed, nihilistic religious zealots) is absolutely no reason for anyone to rejoice" (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 89) as Arundhati Roy reminds us. Hardly a reason to be proud of, it is an occasion for collective contemplation.

Giving due space for the two different expressions, Peer's focus, however, remains to write about the devastations resulting in the changed landscape of Kashmir. He speaks up for the pervasive military presence, with "more military camps....Military vehicles, armed soldiers, machine guns poking out of sandbag bunkers...death and fear" becoming a routine, in the chapter he neologizes as "Bunkeristan" (CN 46). He describes his homeland as a place where "the tourists stopped coming...after the winter of 1990" (CN 25); where "an expanse of rice and mustard fields...and the huddled houses of a few small villages" (CN 38) and a "roadside stream" (CN 39) is the complete microcosm of the life of an average Kashmiri. But the interrogations of young boys is a disruption of his peaceful habitat. When young boys are to follow new rules of carrying their identity cards on themselves; half of the "school complex" becoming out of bounds for them; when they have to feign "being utterly apolitical" if a soldier speaks to them. But the worst kind of ghastly sight that these young school children have to bear is the sight of "young men tied

with ropes being taken into the part of the school building occupied by the military” (CN 55-6). This is accompanied by the added torture for these young school boys listening to the “cries of the prisoners being tortured,” when shrieks continue “with brief intervals of silence” (CN 52), while they lay wide awake in their dorms and “speculating about the forms of torture our uniformed neighbors were employing” (CN 56). These memories haunt Peer, a typical example of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder PTSD, when these young children are exposed to watch a common sight of the soldiers, “forcing civilians to work for them” (CN 47) on the roadsides. Is it a manifestation of “imperial expansion” (Huggan 6) or is it like a “European hegemony replac[ing] such broken communities with hierarchical ontologies and European epistemologies imposed or imbibed through colonial institutions” (Huggan 1-2)? One is at a loss to make a distinction.

It comes as no surprise that “[p]arents wanted to get their children out of Kashmir. The rich were sending their sons and daughters to Europe and North America; the middle and lower middle class chose colleges and universities in Indian cities and towns” (CN 58). Many Kashmiris, even with pro-Indian stance are living in diaspora. The ones going to Indian universities like Peer himself also face a lot of hardships, racism, marginalization, and erasure for being a Kashmiri. If *Karsevaks* can be seen as a craziness of the decade of the nineties, like militancy (though the two can hardly be equated, for one is sheer force of imperialistic factor and the other can be bailed out on being a retaliative modus operandi), then there is another aspect that is too inescapable to deny.

It is the “rise of Hindu nationalism” and its concomitant terror in Indian subjects. Peer tells his reader that Indian Muslim friends disagreed with their Kashmiri friends on the rationale that an “independent Kashmir” and the “secession of a Muslim majority Kashmir from India would make life worse for India’s Muslims,” and so whenever they had even a cricket match, the Indian Muslim friends had to side and cheer “for Indian cricket team” while “Kashmiris cheered for Sri Lanka or Pakistan.” When even a phone call to their homes, or their visits in the vacations, remind them of the “war back home” (CN 62).

Peer sees his Kashmir through the pages of Literature. Thus, George Orwell’s *Homage to Catalonia* reminds him of the “walls of Kashmiri towns” (CN 63); Isaac Babel’s *Red Cavalry* opens new vistas of understanding for Peer, but Babel’s own disappearance and murder reminds Peer of “thousands of young men in Kashmir;” while James Baldwin’s essays remind him of “ghettos of Indian Muslims and lower castes” (CN 64). It seems that

Peer is so overwhelmed by the “cultural erasure and dispossession” (Nixon 238) of his land and people that despite his constantly evoking the pastoral ethic of his land he is unable to pin down his turmoil as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder PTSD, a pervasive aspect of Kashmiri identity.

It is only when Peer lands in Delhi that he is exposed to the warring rhetoric of “various Indias,” some of which he happens to like. He is grateful that his parents had sent him to a “decaying provisional Muslim university” and not to “a college in Delhi” because Delhi’s police has a reputation “for fake encounters with Kashmiri terrorists” (CN 66, read Indian racism against Kashmiri youth). The part that he likes about India is its bubbling economy which is “unlike the militaristic power” he sees in Kashmir. However, soon he realizes that the “old India and its power structures did not disappear” (which can be said to be equally true for Pakistan or any other similar country but some parts of the picture differ enormously and are out of the scope of this research). It is when he encounters the squalid condition of “India’s powerless—people sitting on the footpaths with cloth banners or cardboard placards, seeking official attention for their woes, for the injustices they lived with,” Peer finds this India as both “grotesque and fascinating” (CN 66-7); grotesque because of the oppression of the down trodden, and fascinating, because of generating means for the economic activity, (though on the expense of the others). However, there is another observation that stands out in Peer’s contending rhetoric of warring Indias. It is the economic factor or a specific form of what Guha suggests as “economic expansion” (78). For Peer says, that the “only institution that had thrived in Kashmir throughout the conflict was a bank” (CN 109). It is what Huggans explain as the “teleological heavy-handedness with the promise of progress” (2) that Peer brings to his reader’s attention.

And it is amidst these echoes of “Economy. Elections. Environment. Urban politics. And Kashmir” (CN 74) that Peer is jolted back to the realization of the conditions of his Kashmir, which he considers as the “text and the subtext” of his professional and personal existence in Delhi. Every day Peer wakes up to “the news of a mine blast, a gun battle and rubble of a destroyed home, a protest against custodial killing in Kashmir” and he wishes that he “would never have to read the names of the people [he] loved the most in those reports of deaths” (CN 67). It is his own parents’ near death experience in a mine blast that makes Peer realize that he must challenge this Indian neocolonialism by writing about the erasure, the ecocide and “ecological apocalypticism” (Roos 11) meted out to the land of Kashmir. He should, as Huggan says,

confront the continuing hierarchies and divisions reproduced by (Western) ‘reason’ and reinforced in (neo)colonial practices of incursion and dispossession, suggesting that postcolonialism is as necessary as it has ever been in supporting and facilitating incomplete processes of social and environmental liberation in the modern globalized world. (9)

Peer finally realizes that he needs to confront these continuing hierarchies of Indian rule both in India as well as Kashmir, the way they exhibit their racism against the Kashmiri Muslims in particular. He finally grasps what Gul Muhammad Wani also states in his article, that “regional geopolitics had its own compulsions” (131).

Peer’s epiphany to write about Kashmir’s environs and its mutilated humanity coincides with his editor’s deploying him for reporting from Kashmir, which is also the time of the Delhi parliament attack in 2001; an attack which Peer states was considered “India’s 9/11” only in the claims of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). It also became the excuse for the Indian establishment, not only to “order half a million soldiers to India-Pakistan border” (CN 80), but also “added to the paranoia” (CN 82), and unleashed a reign of racism when death residing in the “deserted villages” (CN 81) and torture of the ordinary Kashmiris is a recurring motif besides the racism he faces in Delhi. Peer is overcome with emotions and fights back his “tears” (CN 83) when finally, he finds a place to live in Delhi. However, far more effectively than Peer, Arundhati Roy has managed to put to question this “post 9/11 frenzy,” the United States government’s “gloating prematurely over its ‘victory’ in Afghanistan,” and the ongoing “Gujarat pogrom.” She demands in clear cut terms: “Who crafted our collective conscience on the Parliament Attack case? Could it have been the facts we gleaned in the papers? The films we saw on TV” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 80)?

Peer writes about a cross border firing of “mortar shells at the villages along the border and the line of control,” which made the Kashmiri life a living hell and the deserted villages and empty roads were filled with “[t]housands of Indian soldiers...and hundreds of their olive-green trucks were heading that way.” These cross border shellings were destroying the houses, and the villagers tell the reporters that they were tired of dying every day and wanted the two to “fight a war and settle it” (CN 81) and end this terror mongering impacting on ordinary Kashmiri identity. Here again, Roy’s erudite account of the actual state of affairs for the ruse created in the wake of Parliament attack, lend a far better understanding than what Peer gives us. She simply problematizes the whole fiasco created

around Parliament attacks and scapegoating Afzal Guru and questions the excuse of “military aggression, that loss of soldiers’ lives, that massive hemorrhaging of public money, and the real risk of nuclear war” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 87) and the secrecy built around the whole eyewash.

Like Roy, many other writers and intellectuals are penning down their concerns after Peer’s memoir. Wani (2012) investigates “two primary variables that seem to impinge on Kashmiri self-determination,” and states them to be “the level of development of Kashmiri identity and the geopolitical dimension of Kashmiri identity” (131). Theorizing the Kashmiri identity, Wani discusses different models of nationalisms given by Peter Taylor, Karl Deutsch, Earnest Gellner and many others. Wani states certain common features for nationalisms in these theories and gives his own perception also. The ability of a group to develop its ethnic distinction including unique history, religion, and customs, a dynamic culture, a unique solidarity, a vision, and a policy are some of the features that are the bases, which, according to Wani, should be worked upon continuously to evolve as better nations. For Wani, “the formation of the existing South Asian state system after colonial withdrawal and emergence of India and Pakistan as nation-states ignored the legitimate autonomy urges of Kashmiris” (133). He believes that “Hindu extremism in India and Islamic extremism in Pakistan are heavily impinging on local Kashmiri culture” (134). He disapproves of the appropriation of Kashmiri language and its script by Devanagari script (the interpellation of this script as discussed above). Advocating the distinct characteristics of Kashmiri culture, he speaks of some of the earliest western impressions of liking the people of Kashmir as Jews.⁴¹ Wani writes the views of Fredrick Drew, an eminent British geologist hired by the Maharaja of Kashmir to report on the mining wealth of the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir:

the Kashmiri people are doubtless physically the finest race that inhabit the territories we are dealing with [,] and I have not much hesitation in saying that in size and in feature [,] they are the finest race on the whole continent of India. Their physique, character [,] and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality different from all around as distinct from their neighbors as their country is geographically separated. (135)

Wani, is of the view that the proper utilization of the land, water, and manpower resources, and free education, Kashmir has the ability to sustain its economy, which is being impeded by the coercion of restricting the trade of its produce to “the market colony of India” only

(139). Fredrick Drew, given the task of writing a report on the mining wealth of Kashmir, and Wani's phrase of a 'market colony of India' draws attention to the economic imperative under which this neocolonialism is working. It is then not only the vulnerability of marginalized people of, "simply a question of the colonized throwing off the shackles of colonialism" (Huggan 4), but also linking "economic and cultural imperialism," primarily postcolonial concerns, with "quest for land and natural resources," which is a kind of globalism that "requires industry and extraction with major ecological and environmental impacts" (Roos 3).

Roy questions this whole narrative built around the rhetoric of counterinsurgency—to "'root out the problem' [in] 'hot pursuit' and the 'taking out' of 'terrorist camps' in Pakistan." She describes it as a storyline for "fattening the bank accounts of some arms dealers" and so that the "military spending remains on an upward graph" (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 88). On similar lines, Guha, in his article, "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Perservation: A Third World Critique" (1989) critiques the tenets of deep ecology. He states that deep ecologists' "reading of Eastern traditions is selective and does not bother to differentiate between alternate (and changing) religious and cultural traditions; as it stands, it does considerable violence to the historical record...denying agency and reason" (77). Guha contextualizes this as a critique of ecology, however, his argument bears the same legitimacy in the context of erosion of Kashmir's modern politics, as is argued by Roy, and history, as argued by Hameeda Naeem (discussed above). The open graves of Afzal Guru and Maqbool Bhat, to this day are a big question mark for the sheer injustices meted out to the Kashmiris as Mathur writes in her book (120). I would argue that what Guha has critiqued in the context of Deep Ecology, we see its worst manifestation in Kashmir; of denying agency and reason, and additionally, worst possible violence to the historical record of Kashmir.

In his article, "Democracy and Governance in Kashmir," Noor Ahmad Baba, a distinguished professor and Dean of Social Sciences in the University of Kashmir, considers Kashmir problem as "fundamentally that of its people" more than a bilateral dispute between "two contending nuclear powers," as he puts it (Baba 103). He criticizes the "grossly distorted" nature of the representation of this issue as only a conflict between two nation-states, India and Pakistan. He states in very plain terms that "Maharaja Hari Singh's accession did not substantially contribute to the legitimacy of the Indian Union's hold on Kashmir, as his own legitimacy to rule the state was being questioned by the

predominant majority of his subjects” (104). He clearly indicates that Pakistan, due to its “gocioeconomic placement,” expected Kashmir to be a part of it and therefore has contested the validity of “Instrument of Accession as legitimate and final” and even attempted to take the state over forcibly through tribal intervention, soon after independence in October 1947 (something, described as a reaction of Indian interpellative strategies, as we discussed above, rather than the implied meaning here of Pakistan as the initiator). However, he also points out that “Indian leadership, in the context of its principled position on principalities like Junagarh, accepted the provisional nature of the Instrument of Accession” (105), while in the case of Kashmir, the need for referring it to the people of the state to make the decision, a matter of principle, was never put to reality till this day. He views the “carte blanche given to the army” (114) as severely detrimental to any attempts for normalcy and democracy.

We can see the landscape of Kashmir echoed in Peer’s memoir, the way Ranajit Guha stated for a one time India when it was a British colony: “Whenever I read or hear the words colonial India, it hurts me. It hurts like an injury that has healed and yet has retained somehow a trace of the original pain linked to many different things—memories, values, sentiments” (Mufti "The Aura" 87). Peer is likewise haunted by his memories of Kashmir, and leaving behind the stifling heat of Delhi and the depressing conditions of “Muslims in Delhi” living “mostly in the squalor of the old city near the Red Fort or in the overcrowded, dinghy Okhla area in the southern corner of the city” (CN 83), Peer listens to his inner call, beckoning him to write about the mutilated land of his ancestors. Like any young man, diverting his profession, Peer becomes a worry for his parents. His father has to grapple with the hard fact of convincing his “nosy relatives and his friends why his grown-up son did not go to an office or have a regular job like most people his age.” Peer tells him of his intention of writing books instead of writing for the newspapers saying, “I want to write about our life and society like this. In fact, I have quit my job just to do that” (CN 100). Or in other words, he wants to write about this “normalcy imposed on them under soldiers’ boots” (85), as writes Roy.

Peer rages against such laws as Armed Forces Special Powers Act AFSPA, Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance POTO, and (supposedly) Public Safety Acts PSA, which have decimated the whole fabric of Kashmir’s existence. Peer considers POTO, an ordinance which got passed as a law in 2002, a draconian law, because this law is even opposed by the Indian opposition and civil rights groups such as Amnesty International.

Many innocent civilians, even academics like Abdul Rehman Geelani, a thirty-two-year-old lecturer in Delhi University gets picked up from “outside his rented house in North Delhi” on false allegations (as discussed above) (CN 84). Then ‘the system sets in’, to borrow the phrase from Arundhati Roy, and the jingoistic politics and judiciary would have clumped Geelani as hay if it was not for the principled lawyer like Ram Jethmalani. He risks being called a traitor with his effigy burnt at market squares and constant threats to his life but he fights Geelani’s case and all charges are finally dropped. But not everyone is lucky as Geelani.

With the laws like, Armed Forces Special Powers Act AFSPA, all hell breaks loose upon the land and life of Kashmir. All Indian soldiers posted in Kashmir, with special “power to shoot any person suspected of being threat” and given indemnity “from prosecution in a court of law” (CN 100) is draconian equally in form and in nature. Raising his voice against many such injustices meted out to the Kashmiri existence on this piece of land, Peer’s narrative is raising the questions of environmental justice, which was not expressed before him the way we see after his memoir. Where, many widows like Masooda Parveen, whose husband is taken away, tortured killed and thrown in front of their house, says: “Believing that India’s highest court would give me justice was my biggest mistake.” Thinking that because Jammu and Kashmir High Court is controlled by the army, she takes her case to India’s Supreme Court but brutally gets the reality check because she realizes that “for India, justice and Kashmiris are poles apart. We are not treated as Indians,...we are not even treated as slaves. Even slaves have some rights. We Kashmiris have no rights at all” (Mathur 90).

Peer writes about the completely changed demographics of Kashmir (not for the good). Going back to write about the mutilation his land and his people are suffering from, Peer uses a bitterly ironical expression for the name that “the largest military camp in Kashmir” has been given on the border of highway connecting Modern Srinagar to the southern province of Jammu. This camp is named “Badami Bagh, the garden of almonds” (CN 99). He writes how the urban landscape of the houses change with new houses built in his old village, with bulldozed houses as a government project to widen the road. The road to his village reminds him of the “pictures of Kosovo” because in order to provide better facilities for the tourists visiting the hill resort of Pahalgam, in “a bid to widen the road,” the government “had demolished most houses on both sides of the road.” While the multicolored tiles “stared” at Peer from the rubble of the houses, his “mountains,” as he

calls them, the “arc of pine,” and the “sharp, rocky cliffs in the distance—were the same.” Peer seems to be wrapped up in the sheer bliss of having returned to the “hum of the Lidder stream” floating behind his house and the “apple orchards” with changing shades in the afternoon sun. He had “learned to speak, walk, read, write, run, swear, and play....Here I had slept my best sleep” (CN 101), and he owns and mourns this place.

Peer writes about the landscape of his cosmopolitan Kashmir; a landscape of all, his cousin Amjad, Khazar, Ashraf, and Ramji, thronging his cosmopolitan Kashmir. Ramji was the postman, who “knew everyone” (CN 103) around. Speaking about Kashmir’s culture, Peer writes how the sounds of the traditional wedding songs on his cousin Amjad’s marriage ceremony, get drowned in the “loud blasts of Hindi film music” (CN 105), while “*wazawaan*, the traditional Kashmiri cuisine of thirty-six varieties of meat,” is served shortly after, in this cosmopolitan Kashmir even with its “largest military camp[s]” (CN 99). Though by telling that Amjad’s age is thirty-two while his bride’s age is thirty, Peer draws attention to an inescapable reality of Kashmir. He says that due to “[d]elays in education and difficulties [in] finding work” the average age of marriage has gone much beyond the mid-twenties to much later and a source of “depression” for the parents, especially of girls, with the worrisome fact of “thousands” of young men either dead or injured or with “non-existent careers” (CN 106).

Portraying a formidable scene of appropriated landscape of Srinagar in the chapter titled “City of No Joy,” Peer shows how the elegances of the “latticed houses, mosques, and temples admiring each other from the banks of River Jhelum” with the city’s age old seven bridges, has been compromised because the bridges have either collapsed or been “torn down” (CN 107). He tells us that the city center lies on the right bank of River Jhelum, across the recently built eighth bridge, also known as the Zero Bridge, a short walk from his parents’ house. One has to cross the river in a *shikara*, a gondola looking boat. But this *shikara* that Peer uses, with an old boatman using “a rough willow branch” as its oar, and “decaying planks of timber,” with water seeping in from their crevices, waiting for equally run down passengers, hardly presents a romantic picture. The comparison of this *shikara* becomes all the more painful when one is reminded of Agha Shahid Ali’s famous poem “Postcard from Kashmir.” It reminds the reader of what could have been with Jhelum’s “ultramarine” (l 9) water and these gondola looking *shikaras*, which have shrunk into a haunted memory of “half-inch Himalays” (l 4) as a metaphor of pain and longing in

postcards held only in hands, while the passengers clutch the sides of the boat and “the tense silence” (CN 108) cannot be beaten from the song played by the boatman’s radio.

Breaking the spell of what could have been, Peer brings his reader down with a big thud when, after passing through the usual ritual of “showing our identity cards,” he says, he walks into the city center. He contrasts the thronging bazaars of Srinagar’s city center selling spices, “lovingly embroidered shawls and carpets” and “bawdy Bollywood lyrics” blaring from various shops with the patrolling Indian soldiers looking around like “weathercocks,” and a painted word of “Mahakaal, . . . Hindu god of destruction,” on one of the “armored military truck parked by the roadside” (CN 108). Written in Hindi, which few Kashmiris can read, the message written on this army truck makes Peer astutely aware of its meaning as “great death” and its real implications. It is what Professor Hallaq cites in his book, a Nietzsche’s quote:

Yes, a cunning device of Hell has here been devised, a horse of death jingles with the trappings of divine honours! Yes, a death for many has here been devised that glorifies itself as life. . . . I call it a state where everyone, good and bad, is a poison-drinker: the state where everyone, good and bad, loses himself: the state where universal slow suicide is called—life. —Friedrich Nietzsche. Thus Spoke Zarathustra. (The Impossible State 74)

Peer constantly makes his reader aware of the environmental ethic of Kashmir when he keeps noting the striking contrasts of Srinagar’s overcrowded roads where there is always a traffic jam, with “the war economy” as he calls it, which is nothing else than “the huge amount of money both India and Pakistan have pumped into Kashmir to win its loyalties” as he reminds us. The result is the only thriving institution of a bank with its constant line of licensees “for a stockbroker in Bombay and Delhi.” It is the “language of Wall Street, of Bombay, of Corporate India.” The reader becomes aware of a pathetic picture of armored cars on one side and “funerals, shutdowns/ strikes, fear, and despair,” (CN 109) on the other.

Peer makes his reader acutely aware of the run down and dilapidated history buildings like Pari Mahal, “a palace of the fairies,” built in the seventeenth century by a Mughal prince, Dara Shikoh, who preferred scholarship to statecraft, invited “many learned men to his palace to translate texts of Hindu philosophy, religion, and literature into Persian and Arabic.” It makes one see Pari Mahal not only as “a place of multiple religious

traditions” but also reminds one of the great Islamic tradition of the love of knowledge and learning with its numerous translations from Greek and Latin sources and putting them to constructive use before the bigotry that may be seen to have blinded many in today’s world. But Peer’s statement that “Pari Mahal had become the world’s most beautiful paramilitary camp” (CN 110-1) is a sharp reminder of the ground realities of appropriation of historical sites and makes one conscious of the “blinkered econationalism” (238), that Nixon speaks of in his article “Environmentalism and Postcolonialism” (2005), in the Nigerian context.

Peer graphically describes the ecocide of the landscape of his homeland. He tells the sad story of his land, where the “library of Islamia College, the oldest college in Srinagar” is burned down in a battle with its rare manuscripts of “1,400-year-old Quran hand written by Usman;” where the “600-year-old shrine of Nooruddin Rishi, the patron saint of Kashmir, [is] destroyed in a gun battle between Indian troops and the militants;” where the “Hindu temples and Buddhist stupas, circular domed Buddhist shrines, [are] dying of neglect and misuse;” where “[c]oils of barbed wire lay in front of the tiny gate to the crumbling museum building,” (CN 111) the only museum in Srinagar, with soldiers manning a nearby bunker; are all sad portents of a fast losing civilization. Peer draws our attention to the rundown condition of the museums, the stupas, and statues of Buddha, because “nobody came here after the fighting began,” as Khazar, the watchman, informs him. Peer’s words evoke questions of environmental ethics when he informs us that the “task of guarding the monuments was left to watchmen like Khazar after the Archeological Survey of India moved its office from Srinagar to the southern city of Jammu” (CN 114).

He writes about the appropriation of the religious sanctuaries of temples and mosques. He tells how ancient Hindu temples are usurped by paramilitary fortified with bunkers (CN 125). The Rangunath temple, with a “broken wall” and “a garbage dump inside the temple courtyard,” with fallen apart brass roof, and “cobwebs, pigeon droppings and a gloomy silence” in the prayer room of the temple, has become a shelter for the “refugees from sanity” (CN 126) who are seen to be smoking pot in its courtyard alongside the debris dumps and barking dogs.

Peer’s poetic expression for the debris of the stupa that “*Civilizations leave debris like lovers do*” [italics original] (CN 114) makes me compare these ruinous manifestations in Kashmir with the relatively well preserved archeological sites of Taxila, Harappa, and Mohenjodaro in Pakistan, dating back to the same period as Srinagar, as these places are the archeological sites of lost Indus valley civilization. While, Kashmir, the place from

where this civilization originated is reduced to a land of living ruins or ruined living, one is at a loss to decide. Though, directly out of the immediate scope of my research, it also makes me do a compelling comparison. The fact of Srinagar being one of the oldest civilization on the Jhelum River, dating back to almost the same time period as Harappa and Mohenjodaro, makes the comparison more interesting, when one looks at the geographical location of Srinagar at the beginning of the Jhelum River, while Mohenjodaro is many hundreds of miles down the same river which becomes Indus River after Jhelum falls into it along with other tributaries. But if Srinagar is a part of the Indus Valley Civilization then, undoubtedly, if what archeologists claim true for Indus Valley then it is true for Srinagar too. Because Indus Valley Civilization's "social conditions of the citizens were comparable to those in Sumeria and superior to the contemporary Babylonians and Egyptians" (Violatti n.pag.). I leave this point here for another future study.

Peer's evocative expressions about Kashmir make us acutely aware of this ecological apocalypse in the debates of postcolonial environmental ethic with its political, social, and economic concerns, when he reminds us of the skeleton of the Gawkadal Bridge "fallen like the protestors of January 1990" with its "two dilapidated pillars standing in a canal full of filth" (CN 116). He says and I quote at length:

Srinagar is a medieval city dying of a modern war. It is empty streets, locked shops, angry soldiers, and boys with stones. It is several thousand military bunkers, four golf courses, and three half-decent bookshops. It is wily politicians repeating their lies about war and peace on television cameras and small crowds gathered by the promise of an elusive job or a daily fee of a few hundred rupees. It is stopping on sidewalks and at traffic lights when the convoys of rulers and their patrons in armored cars secured by machine guns rumble on broken roads. It is staring back or looking away, resigned. Srinagar is never winning and never being defeated. (CN 115)

This personification of Srinagar, besides evoking a strong sense of defiance of an indomitable will to refuse to subdue against oppression also points out another important fact. The fact that this environmental ethic of Kashmir demands unimpeded statement of facts; the reality that Indian paramilitary may be the oppressors but this ventriloquism has its roots in neocolonialism with a lion's share of India and the puppet regimes in Kashmir, but the warring parties slogganning for freedom in Kashmir and certain factions in its neighbor Pakistan, can hardly be allowed to go scot free. It is a manifestation of Guha's

concern about an “economic expansion” (78) or what Bruce Robbins state as “Economic Orientalism” (110) in his book *The Beneficiary* (2017). Robbins’ insightful comment about this economic orientalism, in fact, says it all. When, writing about the phenomenon of being a beneficiary of this economic expansion he does not spare the ones who are benefitting from the ones who are sacrificing. For him, the structural inequality is not disappearing any sooner and there are many who are benefitting from this economic orientalism. However, he also points out that the one way to come out of this conundrum is the “domain of the ethics” (110). This is what Peer is trying to draw our attention to—by differentiating between pseudo sacrificial heroes and the actual brutalized humanity of Kashmir that needs to be addressed with an environmental ethics of this place.

That is why the sharp reminder of the atrocities meted to an average Kashmiri makes Peer aware of an environmental ethics of his place whether he is “in a coffee shop, in an office, outside a college, crossing a bridge, and feeling, touching, breathing history, politics, and war, in unmarked signs and landmarks.” That is also why, when Peer meets a veteran Kashmiri news photographer, Merajuddin, who had lost his one eye “to a splinter from a hand grenade,” and who always wear dark glasses, and asks him about how he deals with violence he encounters as a photographer, Peer tells us that he speaks “like a man who had seen it all.” He tells Peer that “I cried like a child when the protestors were massacred at Gawkadal Bridge. Nothing I saw after that made me cry” (CN 115). It is with this resolve of addressing the haunting memories of his childhood of Gawkadal Bridge massacre and the subsequent atrocities of the last two decades that Peer sets out to state his narrative from.

Kashmir, though largely a patriarchal society, is a place where Kashmiri women are as dynamic as can be imagined in any cosmopolitan society, and Peer reminds us of his growing up in a home with a mother with five sister who are all educationists. It is also to the imperative of environmental ethic of his place, that Peer constantly pairs examples such as the smell of piles of cinnamon and cardamom with “that of burning tires and tear gas when the shops [are] closed and people protest...arrests and custodial killings” (CN 116).

Peer’s narrative documents all the social problems that Bashir A Dabla, a professor and a sociologist in the University of Kashmir, who died recently, has listed in his statistical and analytical book, *Social Problems in Kashmir* (2012). His list of problem of emergence of widows and orphans, of half widows and half-orphans, of migration and displacement, of disability, of social pathology, of economic debacle, of youth destroyed, of breakdown

of mental-physical health, of crime and drug addiction, of political instability, of suicide, and of late and no marriage,⁴² is a list, which is specific to Kashmir society. Consequently, the degree of these problems are likewise, quite detrimental for the social sustenance of this society.

Kashmir has become “a place where injustice is institutionalized” (Falak 85) and a land of the oppressed, which has become its collective unconscious. Peer visits his old friend’s shop overlooking a wide grassy playground. He becomes acutely conscious of the brutalized conditions of his landscape when the wide grassy playground of Srinagar boys is turned into the “KASHMIR MARTYRS’ GRAVEYARD,” with an arched entrance. He sees that most graves have “named the killers: police, army, security forces, as if they, too, were to be immortalized” (CN 121-2). Peer narrates a kind of factual magical realism, which seems apocryphal, when the voluntary caretaker of the graves, Hasan embraces a life of a volunteer for looking after the graves, and tells Peer that once due to intensive rain some graves became bare, and while he was mending those graves a “heavenly scent, the scent of the martyrs” rose from the graves. When he sees a skeptical look on Peer’s face, he adds, “Son, you are too young to understand this, but I have experienced it” (CN 122).

The martyrs’ graveyard that Peer mentions had many graves which had names but according to the latest reports, there are around twenty seven hundred graves that are unmarked and unidentified (Conclave). Angana P. Chatterji, a professor of anthropology in US academia, activist, and co-founder of International People’s Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir (IPTK) (who has now lost her job due to her works written on Kashmir) has also exposed the war crimes in her article, “The Militarized Zone” (2011), and her book, *Buried Evidence: Unknown, Unmarked and Mass Graves* (2009). Her report cum article reports the atrocities and the brutalities that have been unleashed by India since 1947. This factual account, along with her book, in Indian administered Kashmir is a report for which the writers’ own safeties were jeopardized. Chatterji’s article narrates, with proofs, “India’s maneuvering against Kashmiri determination to decide its own future” (The Militarized Zone 59). Her book documents pictorial and statistical evidences for the mass graves which the team of IPTK, who were always under a death threat themselves, could produce after studying “only partial areas within three of ten districts in Kashmir” (Buried Evidence 21). “Gravediggers and caretakers were unable to give an exact count, given the extent of defacement of some of the bodies” (Buried Evidence 11), they write. Chatterji, Pervez Imroz, Gautam Navlakha,

and other team members of IPTK preparing this report have listed a lot many “fake encounter killings” (Buried Evidence 15). They write:

We have been reliably informed that, prior to the delivery of bodies to the ‘secret graveyards’ security forces personnel selected local male residents or professional gravediggers, usually those respected within the local community, and asked that graves be prepared to bury the dead. The graveyards were prevalently constructed on local religious or community owned and/or used land and dug by local residents at the coercion of security personnel. (Buried Evidence 12)

Documenting all the evidences in this book, their own lives were exposed to constant risks. Chatterji even had to face legal charges by Indian government on account of stating the facts. They escaped any legal persecutions on account of Chatterji living/ being a US citizen (though now she has even lost her job).

The reminders of absences of Kashmiri people throng the market squares in the shape of women and men with headbands and placards about thousands of men that have disappeared from the face of the earth of Kashmir. Peer writes the figure of these missing persons as four to eight thousand but now it is reported as eight to ten thousand (Conclave). The government naturally has their own economic agendas of killing two birds with one stone with their spurious claims that these missing persons have “crossed into Pakistan for arms training,” but many Kashmiris believe that the “disappeared men were killed in custody and cremated in mass graves” (CN 128). It is not the natural deaths or small little accidents that put the old to sleep but this appropriation of human life is the abuse of young people, a new category of social problems as professor Dabla reminds us, unique only to Kashmir. The mutilated humanity of Kashmir is left with half widows, orphans or mothers like seventy-year-old Noora or Parveena Ahangar, who either are dejectedly pulling on with the drudgery of ghostly lives or raise their voice like Parveena. Peer says that as a young journalist, he naively believes at one point and time, her telling the story of disappearance of her sixteen-year-old speech impaired boy might bring her son back. She, together with the lawyer, Pervez Imroz, starts a campaign of helping the distraught mothers and fathers of Kashmir, the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons APDP, and is even offered an official bribe of around \$2500, for their silence, in the name of monetary compensation, which she refuses.

There are a number of principled intelligentsia of India, some of them living in diaspora, like Gautam Navlakha, Angana P. Chatterji, Sanjak Kak, Suvir Kaul, Arundhati Roy, Shubh Mathur, and a handful of some others who are truthful about a state of perpetual war that is inflicted upon Kashmir, a land where, six miles outside Srinagar, a road sign reads, “WORLD’S BEST SAFFRON GROWS HERE” (CN 129). It reminds us of what Navlakha writes in his article, “The Matter of Truth, Lies and Manufacturing Consent in a Conflict Area” (2013). He writes: “By and large, educated Indians look upon Jammu and Kashmir, and jealously guard it, as a trophy of war, a conquered Muslim majority territory won by India in a battle with Pakistan in 1947-48” (99), or what Roy has termed as the warmongering psyche which does not let go the slightest opportunity to sneer at, what they see as the “disintegration of Pakistan” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 89). Kashmir’s trophy of war has turned into one of the gruesome pages of human history, with the most brutal sagas of mental and bodily tortures resulting into a brutalized humanity on one of the most beautiful paradise on earth. With an almost naive longing, Peer says that perhaps if India would have allowed those peaceful demonstrations of cold January 1990 and not massacred the Kashmiri people the way they did, “those demonstrations would have become the dominant force of politics in Kashmir; Indians and Kashmiris could have talked, and thousands of deaths might have been avoided” (CN 132). But it is perhaps a blind man’s garden⁴³ after all.

When a well concealed treachery becomes unbearable, one possible expression of it is in poetry. Recording this history of “firing on protesters, arrests, disappearances, custodial killings, kidnappings, assassinations, and torture” (CN 132) dominating Kashmir, makes Peer quote Agha Shahid Ali’s words:

The doctor who treated a sixteen-year-old boy
 Recently released from an interrogation centre asked,
 Why didn’t the fortune tellers predict
 The lines in his palms would be cut by a knife? (CN 132)

Writing about one of the most heinous torture centers of human history, Papa-2, Peer gives its ironical description. It is a bitterly ironic picture, because, it was a colonial mansion painted blue and white, with a plaque stating the building as “UNITED NATIONS MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN,” with the “architecture of the mansion...a dying style that blended the Kashmiri use of woodwork with British sensibilities,” and cruelly ironical, because it was a building for “the United Nations

resolutions on Kashmir, *recommending a plebiscite*,” (my emphasis) which is living as “hollow quotations in books and journals.” Ironical also because it was built by Hari Singh and later converted into a guest house known as the ‘*Fairview Guest House*’ Anyone taken to this most infamous torture center by Indian forces did not return and those “who did return were wrecks.” In the vein of factual magical realism, as mentioned above, Peer tells us that when this torture house was closed in 1998, it was renovated by a top government, Oxford educated official, who “called priests of all religions to pray there and exorcise the ghosts” (CN 133) before moving in.

“The genocide committed against the original inhabitants of North America,” as Professor Curtin tells us, “was so thorough that we can escape thinking about these problems in our own ‘backyards’” (88). Our historical ‘absence’ in the context of Kashmir are manifolds likewise. If we foreground the Jammu massacres when the Muslims all over Kashmir valley, including the ones already in Jammu, were asked to come to Jammu and were told that arrangements were made for them to go to Pakistan, we see the treachery of how they were ruthlessly massacred from October 1947 to November 1947. Official figures starting from twenty hundred thousand to the unofficial figures of fifty hundred thousand (Conclave), is a genocide of Kashmiri Muslims that changed the demographics of the Jammu for all times to come, not that it has stopped in the present times. As reported by Umer Beigh in a recent article, “The Massacre that Widened the Communal Gap” (2017):

No less than 2, 00,000 Muslim men, women and children were killed. The number was put in *The Spectator*. At least 27,000 women were abducted, and many were raped. ‘The incident in September reportedly happened just five days before Pakistan irregulars’ attack in J&K, and nine days before the Maharaja accession to India. Ian Stephens, an editor of *The Statesman*, suggests that the large-scale massacre of Muslims happened with the approval of Maharaja Hari Singh. (Beigh n.pag.)

According to any standards of humanitarian ethics, even animals are not slaughtered in front of each other and therefore, Jammu Massacre was declared as “mad orgy of Dogra violence against unarmed Muslims[,] an episode (that) should put any self-respecting human being to shame” (Beigh n.pag.). Perhaps, the Jammu massacres were less horrendous in terms of the fact that they all died and did not survive to live like living wrecks coming out of this torture cell of Papa-2 whom Peer interviews, in order to repay some part of the debt for his homeland. Another sharp reminder comes out of these words

of Beigh, as already discussed above, that these massacres took place before the (notorious) tribal invasion from Pakistan and before even the official (fake) accession of Hari Singh.

Peer constantly evokes images of his mutilated Kashmir when he describes the “pine-clad ridge of the Zabarvan hill [rising] gently behind the mansion with its white façade and a red roof”—the mansion of Papa-2 (*CN* 133). Peer experiences an eerie feeling while passing through its corridors, when finally, the guide with him breaks his silence and says, “This was Papa-2, brother! This was Papa-2.” When Peer asks his friends where he could find its survivors, he is told that “[h]alf of Kashmir has been there” (*CN* 134). And one after the other he unfolds the miserable life of the surviving victims of this living hell that at time, become too unbearable to write even.

The aim of a postcolonial environmental ethic, as Huggan reminds us, should be to subvert “the continuing hierarchies and divisions,” but these internal colonialists, in a way, are negating this aim of a postcolonial environmental ethic. Because instead of challenging these hierarchies and divisions these liberation leaders are facilitating, if not directly aiding the forces who “reproduce practices of incursion and dispossession” (8). Peer also questions the appearance of faith, as projected by these different movements of Jamaat-e-Islami, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front JKLF, and more radical Hizbulmujahideen. He finds a disparity in their words and deeds and therefore, quite removed from actual reality of their faith. He is actually wary of all forms of appearances of religion, may that be Jamaat-e-Islami, Hizbulmujahideen, or Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon (the Muslim Brotherhood), “armed and funded by the Indian army, [who] tortured and killed like modern day Mongols, [going] on a rampage, killing, maiming, and harassing anyone they thought to be sympathetic to the Jamaat or the separatists.” Peer voices many Kashmiris’ thoughts when he says, that in the heady time of the nineties, it was the “excesses of” the Jamaat and Hizbul Mujahidin that brought the ignominious Ikhwanis on the Kashmiris. Peer tells us that these Ikhwanis were effective because, not only they were “given a free hand—immunity from prosecution for their crimes” by the Indian army, but also because they “knew both the separatist militant groups and the Kashmir society, and that knowledge made them ruthlessly counterinsurgents” (*CN* 170).

It makes a reader perceptively cognizant to the meaning of environmental ethic of Kashmir, when Peer does not fail to recall his landscape even while narrating about the most horrendous of experiences about these victims of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder PTSD.

Peer is reminded of his teacher with the surname of Khatana. He was Peer's middle school teacher who used to teach Urdu poetry, and Peer was one of his favorite students. He had told him exactly the same thing some years back when he had remarked bitterly: "The bastards destroyed me. I have had three unsuccessful operations on my testicles. So no chance of a marriage, really." It is in the hindsight that Peer reminisces, why he had "failed to understand the import of what he had told" him (CN 139). He meets Hussein, his doctor friend Shahid's cousin, and tells the cultural norms of his land, that how "[s]exuality was almost never discussed in our culture, and impotence was harder to talk about" (CN 140). These poor youth, like many, tells Peer, that how repeatedly wires were tied around his arms and he could not even scream because they had stuffed cloth in his mouth and he fainted again and again, where, every shock lasted a minute or two but felt like an hour.

What else may be expected when we see this neocolonialism's resolve to annihilate the living population of this land? Yasmin Khan, an Associate Professor of History and Fellow of Kellogg College, University of Oxford writes about M.S. Golwalker, "leader of the RSS, [who] wrote warmly of the Third Reich." In her book, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan (New Edition)* (2017, 2007), she quotes M.S. Golwalkar:

To keep the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by. (52)

It is not difficult to put two and two together when we come across such declarations by the usurpers and occupational forces (as we discussed above also).

By narrating these incidents of unspeakable atrocities that may dim the carnages of gas chambers of holocaust, Peer is putting the question of environmental ethic of his place like an open wound in front of the world. He boils with a helpless rage against the "attacks on the boys' masculinity" (CN 139). He questions the sheer use of force to curb the question of justice for Kashmir, where the doctors like Shahid and the only autopsy experts like Maqbool, become numb and suffer from a PTSD when, at times, they are unable to carry on with their duties. Shahid tells that in addition to the obvious damage, many victims lost their kidneys due to the electric shocks, while Maqbool himself is at a loss to do anything when he is standing in a pile of torn body parts.

Only two atrocities, out of the thousands, happening after a gap of twenty years, may point at the need to study the postcolonial environmental ethic in the context of Kashmir. The first is an episode that Roy narrates. While on her way to meet with the widower Shakeel Ahmad Ahangar in the Shopian district, Roy juxtaposes the apple picking season of “families in their orchards, busily packing apples into wooden crates in the slanting afternoon light” with her meeting the living dead of a husband with a small son, mourning the loss of his young wife and sister, raped and murdered in 2009. The gruesome image of bodies of his twenty-two-year-old wife, Nilofar and his seventeen year old sister, Asiya lying in a shallow stream “in a high-security zone—a floodlit area between army and state police camps” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 73), become further unbearable when Roy describes the ugly business of exhuming the bodies after the authorities plan on changing the first autopsy report of rape and murder to just death by drowning.⁴⁴

Roy is reporting about these crimes happening after two decades, i.e. in 2009, exactly in the same manner when twenty years ago, more than twenty women were raped in 1990 by the “Indian army” (*CN 150*) in the adjoining district of Kunan Poshpura, which Peer writes in his memoir, but he also writes that his courage fails him to visit this mutilated city. It may be seen that the atrocities create a “psychological vacuum” (Wani 127) even in the writer like Peer himself, though he may be living in diaspora. Roy’s “evocative descriptions of an illogical, corrupt and wholly unjust world,” (Parker 121) in which nothing changes with the passing years except for the worse, calls for the need of studying the environment of apple orchards against the social injustices borne by the people of this land of Kashmir. Where, when former top Indian military official is asked by a student “why soldiers raped women, [and when] the ex-director general’s response [i]s an unabashed (if typical) ‘they have needs too’” (Junaid 189), it calls for a re-search into the “clash between contemporary conservationist aims [of (ostensibly) crushing the armed militancy] and the rights of local indigenous peoples” (Huggan 3). It also is what Aime Cesaire has also offered as an equation; “colonization = ‘thingification’” (Curtin 46). These manifestations of mindless murders are akin to naturalizing human beings as things. This use or misuse for its own gains is the thingification of the people and identity of Kashmir. It also indicates to how “Derrida phrases it, not only of animals but of humans as well by marking them as animal” (Huggan 8).

Jamaica Kincaid’s blunt question which stands at “the heart of much of her nonfiction,” as Nixon reminds us, when she asks: “‘What is the relationship between

gardening and conquest” (Nixon 240)? Peer also reminds his reader of the devastations of the neocolonial policies over Kashmir.⁴⁵ Like the last leaves falling from the mulberry tree (also discussed in the next chapter) outside his window with the approaching gray winter, he evokes a pathetic fallacy of characterizing Srinagar as a “middling man, [who seem] to have shrunk, turned more introspective, [by] noticing yet another shock of gray hair in the morning mirror.” He says that there is a time when he is unable to write about the shocking facts about Kashmir anymore, but knows that it is something which is “common among people who come in contact with trauma victims” (CN 144). However, shaking off this strain, he writes about the saga of resistance and resilience in this painful journey of Kashmir.

Though, at times it may be seen that during the course of his narration Peer gives in to the pressures of subscribing to the pervasive rhetoric of the oppressor. For instance, there are places in his memoir, especially toward the end of his memoir where a marked shift is seen in the narrative. To cite only one absence of ecriture, it may be seen that the ongoing marginalization specifically of the Kashmiri Muslims is quite different than that of the other ethnicities who are already a minority in the region. To equate the erasure of Muslims with that of Pandits on equal footings is not judicious. Though one bloodshed, may that be of any class, color or creed is as sacrosanct as that of any other, but Peer, while writing about the exodus of the Pandits from the Kashmir Valley to Jammu could also have mentioned about the Jammu massacres of Muslims, which took place from October 1947 to November 1947, in which, according to official figures, 200,000 Muslims, and unofficial figures of 500,000, were butchered mercilessly after giving them the false hope of sending over to Pakistan. The demography of Jammu has been not the same ever since. One possible reason for this partial capitulation on Peer’s part, so to say, can be the demands of the publishing his narrative in a plethora of counter rhetoric (as mentioned above also). His memoir *Curfewed Night* (2010) and Mirza Waheed’s novel, *The Collaborator* (2011) are one of the pioneering works on the Kashmir issue and due weight needs to be given to these ground-breaking writings written under the inescapable economic and political pressures. Agha Shahid Ali’s oeuvre of prose articles and poetry, and Peer’s graphic and homely accounts of the valley of Kashmir is a valuable contribution into a, now burgeoned, assemblage of literary narratives about Kashmir.⁴⁶

Many writers and critics are also writing about the agrarian exploitation of Kashmir. Sanjay Kak speaks of the carefully timed “quick tightening of the tourniquet” (“The Fire is

at My Heart: An Introduction" xix) of curfews that are implemented in the autumn season in which the agrarian based Kashmiri economy is fully dependent on the apple picking, without which it is a death spell for both the 'flora and fauna' (an environmentalist's catch phrase) and the economy. Wani, in his article, "Political Assertion of Kashmiri Identity" (2012), has also traced the "agrarian exploitation" of the Dogra rule, the Dogras *Begaar* (forced labor) under Dogras (127). Roy writes about such moves as "Operation Green Hunt" in 2009, according to which plowing fields and sowing seeds have come to be regarded as a "terrorist activity," as she puts it. She is incisively bitter about the real motive of such governmental moves when "[t]wo hundred thousand paramilitary troops were deployed across Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, and West Bengal," who burned, raped, and murdered their way "through hundreds of forest villages, evacuating six hundred villages and forcing 50,000 people to come out into police camps and 350,000 people to flee," and maiming the ones who put up any resistance as "Maoist terrorists." On similar grounds, writing about the Armed Forces Special Powers Acts AFSPA in Kashmir which are creating "tens of thousands of unmarked graves and anonymous cremation pyres in Kashmir, Manipur, and Nagaland," Roy exposes the reality behind these so called "Creating a Good Investment Climate" moves (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 12-3). Compared to Roy, Peer's account seems to be just pointing out the loss he feels going past the "apple and almond orchards" (CN 178) and looking at the "clear blue water" of Manasbal lake to meet with a poet who lived in this bordering town, along the River Jhelum. The river then flowing into Pakistan makes Peer recall the lines of a Kashmiri poet: "*Mothers wash the bloodstained apparel of grooms/ On stream banks, Bridal wear burns to ash,/ Bridesmaids cry/ And the Jhelum flows*" (CN 150) that evoke the land ethic of this place.

Towards the end of his memoir Peer describes the bus service starting between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad in 2005, as an initiative between the two leaders of India and Pakistan and a step in the positive direction. However, this service is seen as to be intermittent due to many reasons. Junaid writes about one of the reasons of this irregularity in any initiative in the positive direction in his chapter titled "Death and Life Under Occupation: Space, Violence, and Memory in Kashmir" in the anthology *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013), edited by Kamala Veswaran. In this timely contribution in anthropological dimensions, Junaid writes the interpellation that goes into the rhetoric that is being propagandized by the neocolonial policies, the phrases that are used for legitimizing occupations. Writing about the protests

that broke out in Kashmir in 2008 “against a state government order to allot forty hectares of forest land to a semi-governmental body (which today has translated into a complete denial of Kashmiri identity with the abrogation of Article 35-A), with the intention of creating permanent camping facilities for Hindu pilgrims,” Junaid indicates it as yet another state design of the “*occupier*” (163).

Not only does this fact point out the economic expansionist policies but also are a marker of the phenomenon of maiming the protesters as militants. Junaid writes how the protests, which “started in the old localities of downtown Srinagar where the lanes are narrow and labyrinthine, and thus never fully under the control of the Indian security agencies” (158), made the state police and the paramilitary forces to crack down and shoot dead a number of protestors. It was only due to multiple political and legal complexities, lack of transparency, and a political risk to an explicit environmental threat that a revocation of this land transfer order was rescinded at that time, as Junaid tells us. But he also tells how Hindu nationalist groups in India began an agitation against this revocation, culminating in the “blocking of essential supplies to Kashmir through the only available land route, the national highway.” This action, in turn, prompted Kashmiri pro-independence groups to seek to open the alternative route for supplies via Pakistan-administered Kashmir.” This “economic blockade...cutting off all other possible avenues for trade and commerce other than with the Indian mainland, had made the Kashmiri economy vulnerable and dependent” (Junaid 159) with the obvious result of imposed curfews in November of 2008, by the occupiers, as he puts it.

Shooting these protestors who are raising their voice for the safety of their land and then labeling them as “‘communal’ and ‘Islamic fundamentalist-driven’” (Junaid 159) by the mainstream Indian media is an age old tactic used by the neocolonialist policies. Roy also writes about the killings that went in Kashmir in 2012. She writes how “High dams that will submerge whole districts are being constructed in Manipur and Kashmir, both highly militarized states where people can be killed merely for protesting power cuts” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 15). It is a manifestation of what Curtin asks as a rhetorical question in his essay titled, “Gandhi’s Vision of Community Development” in his book, when he asks, “Is all ecodevelopment just neocolonialism in disguise” (Curtin 98)? This is a very pertinent question in the context of Kashmir.

Junaid also writes that “Occupation is a large *camp* where the ‘decision to exterminate’ is not officially verbalized but remains hidden just beneath the surface, or in

the fine print of articulations that fantasize occupied territory as a “‘land without people,’ or as an *atoot ang*, the integral body part—territorial space—of Bharat Mata, Mother India” (179). Roy also writes about the charges of sedition that were leveled against her when she questioned the Indian government’s claims of Kashmir being an “‘integral’ part of India” (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 72). According to Junaid there is an enormous body of literature that suggests Balkanization of India (166). He considers this ‘integral part’ hullabaloo as a part of the age old colonial justifications of the occupiers.⁴⁷ Junaid calls it a “self-blinding logic of occupation [which] masks its contradictions from its proponents, who often state the “‘benefit’ for Kashmir in *staying part of India is democracy*” (163).

Though, Wael Hallaq’s argument of critiquing the very idea of a nation-state as an erroneous concept in his book, *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity’s Moral Predicament* (2013), is contextualized in a different paradigm, but it fits like a glove in the context of this occupation that Kashmir is experiencing. Wael Hallaq, a Professor of Islamic Law at Columbia University, New York, who was named among the 500 most influential Muslims in the world in 2009, believes that the concept of state is

a paradigm of governance [that] evolved in Europe and was later nurtured by Euro-America, and it subsequently was exported to the colonies and the rest of the world. As we have seen, the modern state is uncomfortably seated in many parts of the world, suffering from lack of legitimacy and unable to rule hitherto unhomogenized subject populations. We often characterize these as ‘weak’ or ‘rogue’ states, euphemisms for the fact that a nonindigenous form of political control has, relatively recently and without ‘preparation,’ been violently imposed on colonized societies that never knew or had never on their own or willingly adopted such a form. (156)

What Hallaq has offered as a philosophical critique of the very concept of the nation-state, becomes relevant in the context of Kashmir, especially when Peer narrates an incident at the end of his memoir.

Peer writes about his heightened “awareness of a life in a heavily militarized society” with India’s over “half a million soldiers in Kashmir” (*CN* 212) as he puts it. Going back from Shopian to Srinagar to meet with his journalist friend, Amir, he could see the appropriated landscape of his homeland. At several places in his memoir, he writes about his land as “a city of bunkers, and the armored cars and soldiers patrolling roads or manning

check posts [to have become] a part of Kashmiri landscape, like the willows, poplars, and pines.” He even commiserates with these soldiers of “the rural and urban poor of India, who stood outside the military and paramilitary recruitment centers in long lines with great hopes of getting the dangerous and absurdly low-paying job,” and the only words they mostly speak with the people are the “litanies of the identity check” (CN 213).

Sitting in his friend’s office, Peer encounters an episode, a routine in this land of Kashmir. First a young “soldier in a bulletproof jacket, slinging an AK-47,” marches inside the newspaper office to check on Peer’s journalist friend Amir. He is the same soldier who had stopped Amir in the morning because he had seemed suspicious on account of a razor cut mark that Amir had on his face due to a hasty shave in the morning. When Amir shows signs of irritation, the soldier informs him that he is there to “confirm whether your identity card was a real one,” telling Amir: “You should know I can enter any place anytime. It is my job” (CN 214). Amir calls one of the soldier’s superiors who must have admonished the soldier over the phone, because after half an hour only, an officer in combat dress walks in, “followed by around ten soldiers” (CN 214). Peer describes the haughty and domineering attitude that he shows all the journalists in the office because he starts his round of interrogations, takes their names and offers none himself. He seems angry and says:

You guys can see my rank and read my name on my uniform. I am an officer and not a civilian who needs an introduction. And still, when I walked in here, you did not show me the respect an officer deserves. Nobody stood up from his chair. Nobody spoke with respect. (CN 215)

Peer writes how the journalists start appeasing him by giving explanations and writes how “[f]ive journalists representing reputed Delhi-based organizations were almost obsequiously trying to explain themselves” and listening to his “veiled threat”⁴⁸ (CN 215) that he was from a counterinsurgent unit. Are these examples of euphemisms of ‘weak’ or ‘rogue’ states, that Hallaq pointed out in the quote quoted above, that nonindigenous form of political control has been violently imposed on colonized society of Kashmir? Roy also speaks about this ban on speaking the facts when she writes, “Kashmir is in the process of being isolated, cut off from the outside world, by two concentric rings of border patrols—in Delhi as well as Srinagar—as though it were already a free country with its own visa regime” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 60).

It was to the journalists' luck that Peer was there in the office with them. Peer says that he guessed from his surname that he was from Haryana and told him so because "[t]he grip of the ancient caste system on northern India was evident in his first smile" (CN 215). The soldier relaxed a bit and then when Peer conversed with him for a while more, he came to know that he was also from Peer's alma mater, the Delhi University. This diffused the charged atmosphere and he started talking in a much relaxed manner telling him that "I was a different man before I joined the force and came to Kashmir" (CN 216). Peer tells us that reminiscing about his civilian life had made this change to appear. Peer is wistful about the loss of young lives of even these soldiers "on different sides of the military divide" of becoming "militants and soldiers," and who had "cremated and buried the individuals they had once been" (CN 216). Peer, like a poet and a dreamer closes his memoir with these words:

I hoped that someday they could cease being part of processes that reduced individuals to suspects or military targets, shorn of all human complexity— processes that left them with bare nomenclatures such as militants, soldiers, paramilitaries. I hoped that someday they could return to their homes where they could sit in balconies or argue with their cousins about changing the television channel. I hoped that someday the war they were fighting and the reasons for its existence would disappear like footsteps on winter snow. (CN 216)

Don't we all want that to be a reality for humanity some day?

I consider Arundhati Roy more honest than the appeasing stance of the granddaughter of Sheikh Abdullah, and an academic in American academia, Nyla Ali Khan, ever could dream of having. Roy is writing prolifically about the human rights abuses in Kashmir. I quote her at length here when she in her usual eloquent style questions the justifications of postponing the literature festival in Srinagar when it was advertised (supposedly) as an "apolitical" by its organizers. She writes:

The Harud Literary Festival in Srinagar (postponed for the moment) was slated to be the newest, most exciting one—'as the autumn leaves change colour the valley of Kashmir will resonate with the sound of poetry, literary dialogue, debate and discussions....'Its organizers advertised it as an 'apolitical' event but did not say how either the rulers or the subjects of a brutal military occupation that has claimed tens of thousands of lives, bereaved thousands of women and children, and maimed

a hundred thousand people in its torture chambers can be ‘apolitical’. I wonder—will the literary guests come on tourist visas? Will there be separate ones for Srinagar and Delhi? Will they need security clearance? Will a Kashmiri who speaks out go directly from the festival to an interrogation center, or will she be allowed to go home and change and collect her things? (I’m just being crude here, I know it’s more subtle than that). (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 62-3)

Roy even questions the stance of Barak Obama. At one point, Obama declares that solving the question of self-determination of Kashmir, which has led to three wars between India and Pakistan since 1947, would be among his “critical tasks.” Roy says that India only greeted these words “with consternation” and it changed to “United States would not intervene in Kashmir” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 69) on his visit to India in 2010. She believes though, that “‘demon-crazy’ can’t fool all the people all the time. India’s temporary, shotgun solutions to the unrest in Kashmir (pardon the pun), have magnified the problem and driven it deep into a place where it is poisoning the aquifers” (Roy, Field Notes on Democracy 27). Such is the power of this neocolonialism, colonialism, or should we name it something else? (I will return to this point in my conclusion).

Peer ends his memoir with weighing the impact of the “trans LoC bus” that started in the “first week of April 2005.” Some likened it to the “fall of the Berlin Wall, [some] saw it a step toward resolving the Kashmir dispute [while some] militant groups saw it as a distraction from the real resolution” (CN 218). However, as a Kashmiri, Peer can never accept the border at LoC. He could see a man in early sixties crossing the Peace Bridge from “Pakistan-controlled part into the Indian-controlled part” (CN 220) as he calls it. Besides the ambivalence that one may decipher in this comment, of making the part which the Kashmiris managed to recover from the colonizing power equal to the occupied part, we may also see a sense of loss and longing that Peer feels for his land. He writes:

The line of control did not run through 576 kilometers of militarized mountains. It ran through our souls, our hearts, and our minds. It ran through everything a Kashmiri, an Indian, and a Pakistani said, wrote and did...And it ran through our grief, our anger, our tears, and our silence. (CN 220-1)

He ends his memoir on an evocative note about this bus service and describes its passengers to have no fear that evening. Peer envisages the waving hands of the passengers to be magical enough to have the power to “erase the lines of control” (CN 221). This, though

remains Peer's reverie for the dream children as the later events that we discussed above need no iteration to bring forth the menace of colonialism with all its reiterations and even much more, as we would discuss in the next chapter and the conclusion.

After discussing the plight of Kashmir as we studied through Peer's memoir, I take this opportunity to stretch the metaphor and juxtapose British colonial power with Indian neocolonial moves meted out in the context of Kashmir. This comparison stands as a kind of historiographic analysis in order to understand the given situation. We find some strikingly similarities, in addition to what critics like Spivak and others have pointed out as discussed above. Thus, it may be seen that when Britain became the top dog of the world as the Empire, it did not know that it was building its Empire on something fragile because they were a small island. So, they came up with the system that will become the cornerstone of the Empire. They paid the local soldiers while Indian neocolonialism has hired Ikhwanis to fight for them. These Ikhwanis are similar to the population colonized by the British, providing the fighting force for the Indian hegemony/ military occupation. The marionette political system to remain in power in the form of the Indian princes translated into the Abdullah dynasty in Kashmir. Just as treaty was signed with the Maharaja of Jodhpur that he could rule his state, but for this privilege, he would have to pay them, served as a protection racket which was repeated in all independent states in India. In due course of time the ruling classes of the two people became entwined, which is likewise seen in the capitalistic Nehru-Sheikh Abdullah alliance. British customs and dress became their way/ Watch and study Sheikh Abdullah. As in British India, the treaties were torn and they strip the Maharajas of their powers and let them have their palaces until the maharajas learnt how to pull the best out of the options available to them. We see the same situation of Maharaja Hari Singh who tried to secure an assurance to maintain his kingdom but was finally deposed and Sheikh Abdullah was incarcerated (It is similar to what Sykes spoke about the intellectual Arabs as discussed in the context of Palestine in chapter 1). Or as according to Waell Hallaq's argument that the colonizable body and mind of the state individual became conducive for manipulation as a trained subject (Hallaq 100-1).

British display of authority and confidence was an illusion which took a hundred years after 1857 mutiny to wane, while Kashmiri plight is yet to see its silver lining. Just as the bluff of that authority was severely shaken in 1857 when the thin veneer of civilization was thrown off, we saw the militancy of the 90s in Kashmir, while the subsequent decades of stone pelting and unarmed resistance continues. In the mutiny of

1857, Fired by decades of resentment the Indian troops rose against their own officers and Indian servants killed British families and each side came to know how thin a veneer existed for co-existence—that with the right provocation they could unleash hell on each other. Armed militancy of the 90s, and ongoing rebellion against tyranny of the armed forces is instructive for our understanding. But if the rebels were made to pay a heavy price and made a lesson for any further mutiny, we witness Jammu massacre, Gawkadal massacre and numerous other massacres. Rebellion met with savage retaliation: One British officer would kill six thousand mutineers, and unarmed protesters are massacred in Kashmir. The mutineers were made to lick the blood from the slaughter house and then were hanged. The crack downs, torture cells of Papa-2 that Peer writes about are similar to the slaughter house of mutineers of this historical orgy, when people in Kashmir are killed in front of the others and even children. If we saw mutineers tied to the ground in British colonial India, branded with hot irons and asked to run for their lives and when they ran, they were shot, we see unspeakable atrocities in Kashmir (as discussed above).⁴⁹ If an example was to be made in British colony, the colonization of Kashmir is no less (This point is discussed in detail in the next chapter about Palestine, also).

India Today Conclave is India's biggest platform where business leaders, politicians, thinkers and icons from every field come together to explore and exchange ideas. In its 2017 platform it was a debate on Kashmir, titled *Kashmir: What Next?* This year, the Kashmiri leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani gave answers to the slander and vitriol leveled against him by none other than Farooq Abdullah,⁵⁰ the legendary example of Indian ventriloquism. Geelani spoke about the majority sentiment which disputed this puppet rule as early as October 1947. He reminded the audience of the promises Nehru made in the Lal Chowk of Srinagar of taking back Indian army and giving right of plebiscite. Geelani told the audience about India's interior minister stating Kashmir problem as a series of broken promises. He spoke of seven hundred thousand (7 lac) army, which has made Kashmir a region with the biggest army concentration around the globe, with one hundred and fifty thousand (1.5 lac) armored police. Even the Village Defense Committees VDCs are given guns in Kashmir for 13 million people in Kashmir. Where, Roy, in her usual brilliant questioning way asks the same question: “Six hundred thousand actively deployed armed personnel for a population of ten million people” (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 58)?

Geelani told the audience that it has been an army occupation and oppression since 1947. Speaking about the land appropriation he told that more than two hundred eighty

thousand (280,000) (28 lac) canal land has been confiscated by the Indian occupying forces. He told how the bunkers in the forests of Shopian district were supplied with five thousand two hundred (5200) sawing machines which are expected to saw down around three to four million (3-4 lac) trees in Shopian district alone with the furniture being made and supplied to many officials. Kunal Mukherjee gives a more detailed account in his otherwise invidious analysis in his paper, titled, “Comparing India’s Disputed Borderlands: Kashmir and the North East” (2014). He says:

The lack of professionalism has been one of the factors as to why the security personnel have not been able to take control and correct the situation. Apart from instilling fear in the hearts and minds of the local people, the large presence of the army has caused unprecedented damage to the region’s ecology. Forests, for instance, have been cut and the wood obtained is being sold illegally on a large scale by the security forces. The barren mountains testify to this. Senior officials prefer the walnut tree in order to get the renowned carved furniture through local craftsmen, who mostly have to work for free for the army. Local people talk about how the officers carried back truckloads of such furniture when their term came to an end in Kashmir. (51)

Mukherjee’s quote is a testimony to what Geelani spoke at this forum in 2017.

Numerating with figures, Geelani further told that in the last 20 years one hundred thousand (1 lac) people have been murdered, while in 1947, two hundred and fifty thousand people (2.5 lac) were gathered and massacred in the Jammu region after giving them the false promise of sending them to Pakistan. While the unofficial figure of massacred figure was five hundred thousand (5 lac) that changed the demographic of the Jammu region entirely. He told the audience, and the virtual world that one hundred thousand (10 lac) people migrated, sixty (60) thousand women were raped, 8-10 thousand are missing persons, one hundred thousand (1 lac) young people have been tortured. He also spoke of the promotions of the personnel of CRPF, BSF, or Regular army, if they kill. They get promotions before even his dead body is picked up, and these interpellations are accompanied by the added cruelty of maiming the killed as militants. It is a conformation of what Peer has written in his memoir with graphic details.

Geelani told this audience in 2017, that according to very cautious official estimates, there are 50 thousand orphans, 30 thousand widows, 2700 unmarked graves,⁵¹

which is also now quoted as 6277,⁵² 1000 half widows in Muslim majority part of Kashmir. He also pointed out that there are one hundred thousand (1 lac) people homeless in Delhi; in 2005 UN survey report, 25 hundred thousand (25 lac) people dying of hunger, 40% of people living under poverty line. The panel on the stage were too uneasy with Geelani's pointing out these pressing lapses on the part of the government. And lastly, he told that even though there have been peaceful demonstrations in 2008, 200 people, and in 2010 1117 people were murdered, with several dying, tortured, and maimed every day. These were some of the facts that Geelani could put across to the audience making a humanitarian appeal to them to understand the ramification of this occupation on the land, life, property, and environment of Kashmir (Conclave). According to the *Kashmir Wala* news desk report:

As per the Annual Report (2017-18) released by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), the year 2017 witnessed a 6.21 percent increase in the militancy incidents, while as [sic] 166.66 percent increase in the fatalities of civilians in comparison to corresponding period of 2016" (Wala n.pag.).

4.5. Conclusion

Navigating through Peer's memoir, I evaluated the complications of neocolonialism of India in Kashmir, where, as Roy puts it, a whole generation of young people have grown up in "a grid of checkpoints, bunkers, army camps, and interrogation centers, whose childhood was spent witnessing 'catch and kill' operations, whose imaginations are imbued with spies, informers, 'unidentified gunmen,' intelligence operatives, and rigged elections [and] who ha[ve] lost its patience as well as [their] fear" (Capitalism: A Ghost Story 71). Peer seems to be raising questions of social justice in his appropriated land, when he says, "Prague had protested and won; Berlin had protested and won; Kashmir too had believed that their protests would win Kashmir its freedom." He expresses the frustrations of the early nineties calling it a "naïve, heady time." But Kashmiri demonstrations fade after the massacres. He observes that the conflict would not have become so bloody if "India had allowed those peaceful demonstrations" (CN 132). Instead the world witnesses a barricade of interpellative measures strategically extended by this "local despotism" (Mamdani 92) of Indian rule. "Firing on protestors, arrests, disappearances, custodial killings, kidnappings, assassinations, and torture dominated Kashmir" (CN 132) with the added orientalism factor of maiming the innocent civilians as militants and criminals. Peer's narrative compels the reader think about the reason of such a lexicon becoming the language of literature.

Then, if Peer alludes to the bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad as the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is one of the many dimensions of addressing the questions of social justice that he and (now) a number of fictional, non-fictional, journalistic, academics, and political activists and writers⁵³ (who are not always Muslims) are incorporating in their discourses concerning Kashmir. They are writing for all the injustices that Indian establishment is carrying through in its rampaging stance towards its own minorities and downtrodden factions of society and in its occupation of Kashmir. Peers alluding towards Berlin Wall⁵⁴ is a just demand of Kashmir, put in as simplest terms as possible.

By developing an environmental ethics of Kashmir through Peer's text, I have endeavored to question the national and political discourse, which, when no longer rooted in verifiable facts, makes the facts interchangeable by opinions. When lies are disseminated uncritically, they have the unimpeded propensity to mold truth to whatever one wants it to be. The question of Kashmir's environmental ethic, where "neither Obama's silence nor his intervention is likely to make the people in Kashmir drop the stones in their hands" (*Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 70), is the writing on the wall. By drawing attention of the world to the aspect of environmental justice of his occupied homeland, Peer has stated the environmental ethic of his land. I study this postcolonial environmental ethic as demanded by Kashmir and draw parallels with the Palestinian life under settler colonialism in the next chapter for further conclusions.

Notes Chapter 4

¹ The first two phrases are from Peer's memoir, *Curfewed Night*, "absences" (157) and "Invisible presence" (158), and "Militant Nationalism" (14) is from *A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen*.

² The earlier edition of *Curfewed Night* was published by Penguin Random House, Haryana, India, in 2009. I am using the 2010 edition published by Harper Collins, London, UK which is slightly different from the earlier edition as it gives titles to the chapters and adds dates with the narrated incidents. Both these books serve as my core texts, and therefore, I will be using abbreviations for in text citations. (CN) for *Curfewed Night* and (AQO) for *A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen* and the respective page numbers. And as already mentioned in my earlier chapters, instead of its complete title I use this short title across my work and similarly I use *Return* (2015) instead of the complete titles as I write in the first paragraph of the introduction chapter.

³ Some parts from this chapter are submitted as part of my published article and have been run through turnitin. May be accessed at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.13169/polipers.17.1.0083>

⁴ See for instance, Deane Curtin's *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005), Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt's *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives* (2010) and Rob Nixon's two works, "Environmentalism and Postcolonialism" (2005) and *Slow Violence and Environmentalism of the Poor* (2011).

⁵ I take this term as is defined in *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies* by Bill Ashcroft and its particular usage by Spivak, who, talking in the context of parliamentary democracy, defines catachresis as "the insertion and the reinscription of something which does not refer literally to the correct narrative" (Ashcroft, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* 30), and yet is adapted and re-inscribed to empower the rhetoric of the subaltern. For details, see the cited edition.

⁶ By this term, I mean the British colonial legacy which is re-inscribed by Indian military occupation of Kashmir.

⁷ Basharat Peer has used this phrase in the context of a kind of invisible presences of the youth in their household, who are being killed in Kashmir, but I have extended the metaphor in the context of the invisible presences who exploit the situation to their advantage and interpellate (leave no choice but one, for) the Kashmiri people.

⁸ A term used by Deane Curtin, Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin and also by Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt, their works cited in bibliography.

⁹ The phrase is taken from Freny Manecksha's essay, "How I understood Kashmir's Resistance" in the anthology, *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir* (2013), edited by Fahad Shah cited in the bibliography.

¹⁰ The following reference about this book is given by Lamb; 2 vols., London 1842, Vol. I, p. 241. (Lamb, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of Kashmir Dispute 1947- 1948* 117).

¹¹ Same argument is made at several places by several scholars. See, for instance, Hafsa Kanjwal's book review, "The Story of Kashmir and Its People: Beyond the Metanarrative of Political Conflict" (2018), cited in the bibliography.

¹² See for instance the books of Lamb mentioned in note 10, works of historians like William W. Baker, Josef Korbelt, and written records of British Foreign office Indian independence Partition sources, Sumantra Bose, and Victoria Schofield, cited in the bibliography, among many others.

¹³ Professor Hangloo, cites different comments on his speeches that Pandit students make on his speeches, one of which is I give as example why his idea of syncretism cannot work with the given set of mental dispositions. One of his students write, "His [Professor Hangloo's] views on Islam, KPS and India are so totally out of line that I really have to seriously wonder about his sanity. The proof of Islamic destruction of India is all over India; indeed it is all over the Islamic world. Islam ONLY spread by murder, rape, loot, and forcible conversion. That a Kashmiri Pandit will support Islam makes me puke. Compared with the Islamic destruction of Hindu civilization, Hitler's third Reich looks like a storm in a teapot. This view is reinforced by Will Durant in his book *Story of Civilizations*" (Hangloo 57).

¹⁴ In a review of a recent anthology, *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir* (2018), Basharat Ali states it as the preferred term, 'Occupation', which, he writes, was hitherto known as 'Indian rule' (B. Ali 494). While, Mona bhan, Haley Duschinsky, and Professor Ather Zia has termed it as "Occupational constitutionalism" (Haley Duschinski 16) in this book.

¹⁵ The pillaging of this mosque is what Aamir Mufti says, becomes the inspiration of his book, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (2007). Mufti is a distinguished Professor in UCLA, USA and his arguments are discussed at length in the chapter of literature review and later sections of my work.

¹⁶ See for instance, Sanjay Kak's anthology, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2013), Muhammad Junaid, "Death and Life Under Occupation: Space, Violence, and Memory in Kashmir" (2012), "Kashmir Intifada 2010: the struggle of the new generation of Kashmiris" (2013) by Mahwish Hafeez, *Of Gardens and Graves* (2017) by Suvir Kaul, and "Love in the time of occupation: Reveries, longing, and intoxication in Kashmir" 2016 and "Where There are only Doctors: Counselors as Psychiatrists in Indian-Administered Kashmir" (2012) by Saiba Varma.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ I am lucky to have attended a number of seminars and talks at Columbia University during my fellowship in 2018, one of them being on B R Ambedkar, in which Sudipto Mondal, an investigative journalist drew many similarities between the Dalit and the Kashmir movement. The two day lectures were titled, *Inaugural Ambedkar Lectures*, the details of which were stated as: "B.R. Ambedkar is arguably one of Columbia University's most illustrious alumni, whose ideas and activism has shaped the world's largest democracy, India. The Ambedkar Lectures explore his continued relevance for discussions of social justice, affirmative action, and democratic thinking in a global frame." These lectures were delivered by great names like, Etienne Balibar (Anniversary Chair Professor, CRMEP and Columbia University), Nahum Chandler (UC-Irvine) Gopal Guru (JNU, Editor, *Economic and Political Weekly*), Gayatri Spivak (University Professor, Columbia), Moderated by: Anupama Rao (Barnard, Columbia), and held on 18th and 19th Oct 2018.

¹⁹ This quote of Golwalkar, founder of RSS is cited in Aqil Ahmad Azmi's book, *Kashmir: An Unparalleled Curfew* (1990), p. 81. Azmi also tells us that BJP is the political successor of RSS.

²⁰ "Article 35-A doesn't allow citizens of other states to acquire land and property in" Kashmir, writes Dr. Raja Muzaffar Bhatt, in his article, "The new Land Acquisition Act: Will J&K Government ratify it?" (2013), published in *Greater Kashmir* on September 15, 2018. He further says, "but I can quote several instances where the land has not only been acquired but has been forcibly grabbed as well. In many cases the immovable property and land has been acquired in lieu of compensation, but the remuneration paid to affected people is so meager which in some cases is 10 to 15 times less than its actual market value".

²¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India in a communication to Prime Minister of Pakistan, October 31, 1947 qtd. in (Azmi 50)

²² Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spoke these words to Lord Mountbatten on November 1. 1947 qtd. in (Azmi 35)

²³ These single speech marks are for the definition of interpellation that I have derived and presented here from Althusser's theory. Contrary to Marxist classic theory, Ideology, for Althusser has evolved from a fundamental repressive state apparatuses, RSA, a repression exercised by the state power, government, the administration, the army, and so on, to ideological state apparatuses, ISA, workings of religious, educational, family, political, legal, and the communication ISAs etc. For detailed discussion and understanding the two concepts, see chapter 3 of theoretical framework in this dissertation.

²⁴ McCarthyism: a vociferous campaign against alleged communists in the US government and other institutions carried out under Senator Joseph McCarthy in the period 1950–54. Many of the accused were blacklisted or lost their jobs, although most did not in fact belong to the Communist Party. For a detailed examination of the term, see also my paper, "Arthur Miller's Crucible: An Outcome of Egregious Malignancies". *Pakistan Journal of American Studies; Quaid-e Azam University*, Islamabad. ISSN 1011-811X Volume 27, Nos. 1&2 Spring & Fall. 20-30, (2009).

²⁵ Though Jethmalani fought Geelani's case, but withdrew from Afzal Guru's defense that he took up to defend initially when "his office was attacked and trashed by the Shiv Sena" (Mathur, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* 122).

²⁶ In order to understand the full implications of the degree of interpellation Indian army and Indian State has carried out to maintain international support also, see the details of the case of killing of Jalil Andrabi in fourth chapter of Shubh Mathur's book, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016). Even the Canadian government was taken to task by the Indian government with their bullish threats in 2007-8 when the "Canadian immigration authorities began denying visas to Indian military and paramilitary personnel who had been involved in counterinsurgency operations in Kashmir" (Mathur 64)

²⁷ Shubh Mathur, an anthropologist in the western academia has traced the complete details of Parveena Ahangar's plight and her resolve in securing the legal and moral achievements of the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons APDP, in her book, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016).

²⁸ Angana P. Chatterji and Richard Shapiro lost their jobs in western academia. American radio host, David Barsamian was denied entry into India. Similarly, Arundhati Roy and Shuddabrata Sengupta were charged with sedition. See, Mathur's book (p 158) and Roy's *Capitalism*, and various other sources, many cited in the bibliography.

²⁹ For details of the legal pursuings of the human injustices being carried out by these paramilitary forces in Kashmir, see Shubh Mathur's book in which she has recorded these abortive attempts and tried to record these gross human violations and injustices against humanity. It is not a surprise, that there is very little data available about these writers themselves on the internet, and with no pictures most of the times.

³⁰ Shubh Mathur has cited the case of Manzoor Ahmad Wani, whose brother took the case of his abduction by the paramilitary to the courts. (Mathur 76).

³¹ See Varma, "Love in the time of occupation: Reveries, longing, and intoxication in Kashmir" 2016

³² Massad theorizes the phallic pride of the European Jew. (For me, it is a phallic castration xenophobia that has swept away paranoid nations like Zionists or other nations in past or present). Massad tells us that such complexes are common not only to Jewish vernacular but is common in many nations. This being an 'ubiquitous' phenomenon among the victorious nations. (I consider this fetishism is ironical, and this xenophobic preconception is egregiously pathetic because in order to assert the body's *syndrome* it further belittles the exerciser's power exerted against the weak). Massad goes on even to speak about Herzl's "Zionist penis pride" (34) which he calls as German-Austrian and not Jewish because it would have effeminated it. For Massad, their obsession to liberate themselves of this complex of a feminine/ weak German Jew, explains Israelis referring to occupied territories as "liberated territories." Massad also cites Golda Meir xenophobia regarding "how many Palestinians were being conceived or were born every night" (35).

³³ See for instance, (to name only few) the contributions in Sanjay Kak's anthology, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2013), *Of Occupation and Resistance* (2013) edited by Fahad Shah, *Kashmir: The Case of Freedom* (2011) with contributions like, Pankaj Mishra, Arundhati Roy, Tariq Ali and many others. Muhammad Junaid's article, "Death and Life Under Occupation: Space, Violence, and Memory in Kashmir" in *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013), "Kashmir Intifada 2010: the struggle of the new generation of Kashmiris" (2013) by Mahwish Hafeez, and "Love in the time of occupation: Reveries, longing, and intoxication in Kashmir" 2016 and "Where There are only Doctors: Counselors as Psychiatrists in Indian-Administered Kashmir" (2012) by Saiba Varma.

³⁴ Rob Nixon writes this phrase for explaining how Ramachandra Guha has busted the myths of radical environmentalisms, one being Deep Ecology. See his book, *Slow Violence and Environmentalism of the Poor* (2011), p. XII.

³⁵ As proposed by Deane Curtin in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005) in the chapter titled "Lord Greystoke's Legacy" p. 45. He believes that "Anticolonial writers drew on these indigenous voices of resistance." Curtin is talking about Gandhi and later Ambedkar in the context of indigenous voices. It is interesting to see that what was true of Gandhi's voice of resistance is also shown as justified for Ambedkar and by the same token, I argue, is true for a writer like Basharat Peer, a voice from one of India's colony. Juxtaposing Gandhi's quote that "We are not slaves, not of the British. This should be engraved in our minds. The whites cannot remain if we do not want them" (45), that Curtin cites, with Gandhi's calling the untouchables as "Harijan or 'children of God'" brings out the double standards that Gandhi had. That is why Dr. Ambedkar, the first to get a PhD degree from this untouchable community (from Columbia University) found this term "patronizing" (46) and therefore Ambedkar adopted the term "Dalit" meaning "the oppressed" for his caste which was "more descriptive of the true condition of these people." Curtin also writes that Ambedkar also differed on the strategy of resistance with Gandhi, and adopted violence as a form of resistance (which is what Gandhi also adopts later against British colonization with his civil disobedience). Frantz Fanon also considered "violence" as "necessary as a way of reclaiming dignity" (Curtin 46)

³⁶ My neologism

³⁷ See *Troubled Testimonies: Terrorism and the English Novel in India* (2017) by Meenakshi Bharat, *Identity Politics in Jammu and Kashmir* (2010) by Rekha Chowdhary, *Kashmir Crisis* (2003) by M.G. Chiktara, to cite only three among many polemical writings.

³⁸ Deane Curtin builds his argument, illustrating from Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book*. For details, see the first chapter of his book cited in this bibliography.

³⁹ The first part is the title of Ernest Hemmingway's 1940 novel and the whole is a part of John Donne's sermon, <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/for-whom-the-bell-tolls>

⁴⁰ In some places the date is marked as 21st but Peer has written it as 20th and so I write the date written in his memoir.

⁴¹ "French surgeon Francois Bernier, who visited Kashmir with Aurangzeb, said, 'on entering the kingdom after passing the Pirpanchal mountains, inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews'" (G. M. Wani 134-5).

⁴² For details see Social Problems in Kashmir (Dabla vii) where Professor Dabla, Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Kashmir has distinguished the usual problems of a regular society from the specific problems of Kashmir, listed here.

⁴³ I borrow this phrase from Nadeem Aslam's novel *The Blind Man's Garden* (2013).

⁴⁴ For writing about this Arundhati writes about the dangers she had to face: “I wasn’t arrested that night. Instead, in what is becoming a common political strategy, officials outsourced their displeasure to the mob. A few days after I returned home, the women’s wing of the Bharatiya Janata Party (the right-wing Hindu nationalist opposition) staged a demonstration outside my house, calling for my arrest. Television vans arrived in advance to broadcast the event live. The murderous Bajrang Dal, a militant Hindu group that in 2002 spearheaded attacks against Muslims in Gujarat in which more than a thousand people were killed, have announced that they are going to “teach me a lesson” with all the means at their disposal, including by filing criminal charges against me in different courts across the country” (Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 75).

⁴⁵ I will discuss this point with Kincaid’s reference from another similar angle in the next chapter about Karmi’s memoir

⁴⁶ See for instance, Sanjay Kak’s anthology, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2013), Muhammad Junaid, “Death and Life Under Occupation: Space, Violence, and Memory in Kashmir” (2012), “Kashmir Intifada 2010: the struggle of the new generation of Kashmiris” (2013) by Mahwish Hafeez, “Love in the time of occupation: Reveries, longing, and intoxication in Kashmir” 2016, “Where There are only Doctors: Counselors as Psychiatrists in Indian-Administered Kashmir” (2012) by Saiba Varma, and Freny Manecksha’s essay, “How I understood Kashmir’s Resistance” in the anthology, *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir* (2013), edited by Fahad Shah, and many other works cited in the bibliography.

⁴⁷ For a ready reference, a documentary titled *How the British Managed to Rule India*, Published on Jan 27, 2018 by Clyde Hubbard may be helpful, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05k5kl5OpX>

⁴⁸ It is not only veiled threats but Arundhati Roy writes about several academics and journalists, including herself, for the threat that they face day to day. She writes particularly about the deportation from Delhi Airport of David Barsamian, Professor Richard Shapiro, and Angana P. Chatterji, herself, Sanjay Kak, and Gautam Navlakha from entering Kashmir. For details see her article “Seditious Nehru” and her book *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (p 59) cited in the bibliography.

⁴⁹ The facts about the British Empire, that may be drawn from other sources too, but in this paragraph are taken from a documentary on youtube published on Oct 4th 2015 that I found quite instructive and to the point. The historiographic documentary may be reached at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7GOh8qLLwQ>

⁵⁰ The biggest partisan of the Indian establishment like his father. Roy writes how he seconds and justifies their every move. See *Capitalism* for details.

⁵¹ Human Rights Commission was finally shamed into officially acknowledging the existence of twenty-seven hundred unmarked graves from three districts in Kashmir (Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 60).

⁵² See Mathur, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict* (130).

⁵³ Fictional writer, Mirza Waheed, non-fictional writers, e.g. a big body of poetical works and essays by Agha Shahid Ali, Saima Bhat, Sameer Yasir, Shubh Mathur, Sidharta Gigoo, S M Zaffar, Uzma Falak, Shahnaz Bashir, Shuddhabrata Sengupta and many more. Journalistic writings of Sanjay Kak and Fahad Shah, with their recent anthologies, David Barasmian, Hilal Ahmad Mir, Gautam Navlakha, Calelainn Hogan, Freny Manecksha, Dilnaz Boga, Tim Sullivan, and most importantly Arundhati Roy among many others. Academics like Nitasha Kaul, Sameer Yasir, Suvir Kaul, Sheikh Showkat Hussain, Kamala Viswewaran, Mridu Rai, Farrukh Fahim, Muhammad Junaid, Shubh Mathur, Saiba Verma, Angana P. Chatterji, and many more. And political activists like Sameer Yasir, Gowhar Fazili, Pervaiz Bukhari, Ravi Nessman, Waseem Bhat, Suvaaid Yaseen, Mc Kash (the rap artist), Malik Sajjad (graphic novelist), and many more.

⁵⁴For details, see *Stories Without Borders: The Berlin Wall and the Making of a Global Iconic Event* (2016).

Chapter 5

‘Changed Landscape’ of an ‘Arab Place’¹: A Study of Ghada Karmi’s *Return*

We have about 50% of the world’s wealth, but only 6.3% of its population....In this situation, we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity.

(A secret State Department memo of 1948 by George F. Kennan qtd. in Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 1)

‘Love thy neighbor as thyself’ is the very soul of the moral point of view, which demands that we regard another’s good as having the same direct claim on our attention as our own good expectably does. And those wedded to an instrumentalist approach will naturally refuse to attach any rational sense to this idea, holding that our allegiance to morality has to be grounded in the pursuit of our own interests, and finding themselves therefore unable to explain why our moral attention should extend to strangers and to the weak, as it obviously must if another’s good weighs with us independently of our own.

(Larmore, *The Autonomy of Morality* 100).

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the memoir of Ghada Karmi, *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) as my primary text. Born in Jerusalem in 1939, Karmi is a British Palestinian doctor of medicine and is the daughter of famous linguist and BBC broadcaster, Hasan Said Karmi (1905-2007). An eminent writer, academic, and lecturer at the Institute of Arab & Islamic studies at University of Exeter, Karmi writes prolifically in newspaper and magazines, including *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, and *Journal of Palestinian Studies*. Critics praise her first memoir, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* (2002), as a poignant, remarkable, and well written text about the personal and communal life in mandatory Palestine. According to Said, her skill and insight in this narrative subtly brings out and “intermesh...the political and the personal” (Karmi, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* n.pag.), in this story of exile and displacement. Her second book, *Married to Another Man: Israel’s Dilemma in Palestine* (2007) is a critical work of great enterprise and

importance, highlighting the political and historical drama transpiring in the story of the plight of Palestinians.

Return (2015), another praised text, is a memoir, a documentary source “that can be used to piece together the Palestinian side of what happened in 1948.”² I study this text, her latest memoir, which questions the unexamined *Idées reçues*,³ engages Althusser’s theory of ideology and interpellation, and states the postcolonial environmental ethic of her homeland. Though, I draw from Karmi’s other writings and other memoirs⁴ as secondary sources, including Karmi’s two works mentioned above, I delimit my inquiry to *Return* (2015), as my primary text for textual analysis, because, in a way, it embodies an entirety of her writing oeuvre. Historians like Ilan Pappé, find *Return* (2015) as a “journey into the heart of occupation’s darkness”⁵ and I find this book as a synthesis and dénouement of thoughts of a mature woman who, not only has witnessed the devastating events of 1948, but has been living and breathing the issue of Palestine.

Palestine, a land of three great Abrahamic religions, has probably been one of the most painstakingly discussed issue from all possible dimensions since the beginning of the catastrophic event of 1948, and even before it. Out of the great body of literature on Palestine, a land and people, going through a “century long assault,”⁶ we come across a 1939 book by J.M.N. Jeffries. Though, lost to the annals of history, *Palestine the Reality: The Inside Story of the Balfour Declaration 1917-1938*, got reprinted recently in 2017. Working as war and political correspondent from 1914 till 1930s, in this book, Jeffries examines the “shameful” condition of Palestine with the “supreme injustice” (xxix), it has been afflicted with. This injustice is viewed as a “politicide” (The Palestinian Right of Return: Two Views 2) by historians, like Rashid Khalidi,⁷ an Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies at Columbia University, New York. In one of his earlier articles, Khalidi states different manifestations of this injustice and weighs the argument of calling the refugees as “returners [or] (*Al ‘a’ idin*)”⁸ in his paper “Observations on the Palestinian Right of Return” (1991). While, Itamar Rabinovich, now President of the Israel Institute, and former Israel’s Ambassador to US, in his 1991 article (published along with Khalidi’s article quoted above), presents how this phenomenon of return is perceived from the Jewish point of view. Rabinovich’s article entitled, “Israeli Perceptions of the Right of Return,” studies the controversy that Mahmoud Darwish’s 1988 poem titled, “Oh You Who Pass with the Fleeting Words,” (1988) generated “in both the Arab world and Israel” (17).

Similarly, though spared the intensity of brutalities of the Palestinian Nakba himself, Salman Abu Sitta, a distinguished scholar, discusses the issue of return from the perspective of a Palestinian refugee in his book, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2016). Belonging to an old influential family in Beersheba, trying to return home, Sitta wants to understand the “hatred” that brought this century old refugee status for many Palestinians like him around the world. His lifelong pursuit has been to discover how his homeland was destroyed but he is also hopeful that the justice would prevail one day and they would be able to return, just like the birds who “would fly out of their nests in our well and hover in the skies before landing back down again” (x). Therefore, the issue of return, the Palestinian dilemma, and the Jewish question, are some of the leading arguments of the Palestinian issue. Karmi’s latest memoir selected for this study addresses these main questions and shows how this land, Palestine, is undergoing an ongoing *Nakba*, because of it being treated as a “friendless orphan” (*Return* 17), as she puts it.

Karmi describes her memoir, *Return* (2015) as a journey of an ‘outsider insider,’ because she is not only a Palestinian, but is also essentially anglicized. Living in England since 1948, she considers herself “not Arab enough” in Palestine, but then is also “too Arab in England” (*Return* 13). This hybridity enables her to provide a unique experience to the reader and we are able to see her land, through her eyes. She wants the reader to identify with the things which, on account of her being a westernized identity, it would be easy to relate with, but would also be authentic because of her being a Palestinian too. Her book narrates about her working as a consultant in the Ministry of Media and Communications for the Palestinian Authority (PA). She works in this ministry for three months in 2005, to devise media campaigning strategies for PA. Appointed by United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Karmi brings out an understanding of how the work in the ministry is an extension of the impacted Palestinian life under the Israeli occupation. She also gives an in depth insight into the workings of these PA ministries. Her keen observations on the internal dynamics of these ministries makes her memoir an important text to study and analyze in order to develop an understanding of Palestinian issue in the twenty-first century.

For the sake of convenience, I divide my chapter in sections addressing the ideological and interpellative challenges to the debates of social justice and decolonization; all as concerns of environmental ethic of Palestine, as manifested in Karmi’s memoir. I study how Karmi presents her return to the land of her birth, how she problematizes the ongoing marginalization, erasure, and Nakba of her land, both by external as well as

internal factors, and how she states the environmental ethic of her place. I divide this chapter into the following headings.

- Introduction
 - Cataclysm of Homecoming?: A Return of Crestfallen ‘Flotsam and Jetsam’
 - The Rhetoric of “Nation-Building/ Colonization”
 - Conclusion

5.2. Cataclysm of Homecoming?: A Return of Crestfallen ‘Flotsam and Jetsam’⁹

Return: A Palestinian Memoir (2015), also defined as an ‘emotional and intellectual gauntlet,’ (*Return* n.pag.) is a text, which makes a reader experience the appropriation of Palestinian land and culture through Karmi’s visit in 2005, to the place of her birth. Though, after her first visit to Palestine in 1991, she had promised to herself never to return to “this torn-up, unhappy place” (*Return* 7) as she calls it. Nonetheless, she comes several times after her first visit, as if she is ditheringly drawn to its devastated landscape.

Arriving in Ramallah, this time, to work as an official of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), she describes the painful journey of acknowledging her appropriated Palestine and seeing the “triumph of those who had taken our place” (*Return* 7), she says. She observes the place where she has to stay, the ‘Gemzo Suites.’ This place in fact stands in place of ‘Jimzu,’ “a village to east of the town of al-Ramallah in pre-1948 Palestine.” The village was “built on a hillside and surrounded by cactus plants and olive trees, before it was demolished in September 1948 by Palestine’s new owners” (*Return* 8), as Karmi tells us. This appropriation of land, culture, and resources, is a motif in her memoir that manifests in various forms, resulting in complete erasure of a Palestinian identity (discussed in detail after this brief overview of her memoir).

Working as a consultant for the Ministry of Media and Communications, to device effective media strategies for the cause of Palestine, Karmi gets an acute understanding of the working of different ministries. These ministries, with their added internal rivalries, are a typical example of Bhabha’s term of a “comprador class” (Bhabha 2380). Through her text, Karmi tells us, how in a typical colonial fashion, this class is cultivated and given privileges and are led to believe that they are doing some real task, that these are actual ministries, and they are performing some genuine work, but it is actually a surreal world, as she sees it. Though living in diaspora, but because of her being extremely dedicated to

the Palestinian cause, Karmi makes her reader aware, how the different NGOs are given aid by the European Union, to let the people in this small world live in a pseudo reality of convening conferences and envisaging a future of building infrastructures.

However, she shows, how European Union, and, as some other scholars have argued, other foreign powers,¹⁰ are complicit in creating this make-believe world. This world, ostensibly, makes the people busy in important vocations of arranging literary and art festivals, but, in reality, are a means of making them compete each other in a vicious cycle of securing coveted foreign fundings. Consequently, this place becomes what Nadia Abu El-Haj contextualizes as “*Assumed Nations*” (3) in her book, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israel Society* (2001). Karmi sees the brutal manifestations of oppression, and colonization that is going unabated, in the places, supposedly under PA control, a bitter contrast to this make-believe world, literally littered with NGOs. She exposes the farce of this bizarre world in which these NGOs and so-called ministries, are allowed to engage in activities that do not threaten the status quo of ongoing appropriation, marginalization, and erasure of the Palestinians. She sees this threat to the environmental ethic of her land, manifesting as a self-perpetuating system, creating a quasi-normality, while the restraints at the horrendous check points tell a different story. She does not spare the genomic politics of PA and political persons like the compromising figure of Mahmood Abbas who appears towards the end of her memoir or the ministers organizing the conference. And the reader witnesses the cutting questions and comments of an Israeli journalist, Amira Haas, a writer of many books, including, *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege* (1999),¹¹ that she puts to Dr Farid, the minister arranging one such conference.

Questioning the marginalization that Karmi experiences herself, she makes this questioning a part of a larger inquiry. The visa that is denied to a British passport holder like herself who is going for work under United Nations office, makes her aware of the hurdles a normal Palestinian may be facing. At the Israeli consulate in London, with the “phalanx of policemen and a closed iron gate,” she is told that she would be collecting her visa on arrival since the computers are down and no “technician from Israel” has yet arrived to fix the problem. Her subtle question implicit in her remark, that probably due to “‘security’ reasons, no computer expert from London would have been allowed to do the job” (*Return* 9), makes her reader aware of what all may possibly follow.

In addition to her own marginalization, she shows the marginalization within different Jewish communities and the hierarchal orders with her observation about the superiority of one immigration officer over another at the immigration counter. Even after Karmi has given satisfactory answers to the routine questions of the young immigration officer; “Where are you going to in Israel? What is the purpose of the visit?...Who do you know in Israel?” she is asked to wait, and is visited by another European looking, a blond Ashkenazi immigration officer, who, as Karmi observes, is “likely to be her superior on those grounds alone.” She tells us that there “was a well-known but little publicised prejudice among Ashkenazi Jews in Israel against Arab or oriental Jews, which led to a variety of attitudes and practices that discriminated against them” (*Return* 10). Many critics¹² have brought out this unique hierarchal marginalization of the eastern, Arab, or African Jews in comparison to the Ashkenazi Jews, when the latter are given preference in almost everything, even in the rights of increasing their progeny.

Karmi considers herself belonging to that generation of Palestinian diaspora who may have lived in England, her “adopted country,” for fifty years, and yet have a strong “desire to belong” (*Return* 18) to their homeland. It is this longing that makes her declare that she is “a full-time Palestinian” (*Return* 13) in spite of her medical profession. She has “never got used to this exercise of Israeli control over what was not Israel’s to police at all.” She cannot bring herself to terms with “Israel’s increasing self-confidence in its occupation of Palestinian land,” and is extremely wary of the “unpredictability of Israeli behaviour” (*Return* 12). Karmi’s narrative and her lectures and other writings, along with many other Palestinian and even Israeli writers is a straightforward negation of this claim of Golda Meir, 4th Prime Minister of Israel from 1969-1974, that, “There was no such thing as a Palestinian people....It was not as though there was a Palestinian people considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist” (W. Khalidi *From Haven* xxii).

Karmi’s life in England, therefore, pivots around working for promoting the cause of Palestinians. However, it is with a sheer sense of loss that she observes the sullyng of, the once, powerful Palestinian Liberation Organization PLO, with its charismatic leader, Yasser Arafat. She remembers the heydays of PLO of the sixties, an organization formed in exile and functioning as “virtual government-in-exile, with a parliament in the shape of the Palestinian National Council (PNC)” (*Return* 15), but also acutely observes that after Yasser Arafat’s 1974 address in the UN General Assembly, how the PLO representatives

“acting as quasi-ambassadors, were appointed to most world capitals” (*Return* 16). It is only since then, that the imperfections of this organization begin to get manifest in their different policies.

It is important to note that not only is Karmi critical of the occupation of Palestinian land by Israeli settler colonialism but also describes the strategic marginalization and eventual erasure of the political representations such as the PLO. However, she does not let these pseudo Palestinian representative organizations go scot free for playing straight into the hands of the strategic maneuvers of its supposed enemy and takes issues with the quasi ambience that PLO provided to all its activists like her. She explains how she feels left out and “a kind of second-hand Palestinian, an armchair windbag” (*Return* 17), after the historic return of Yasser Arafat and rest of the leadership to the “Palestinian soil” after “forty years of exile” (*Return* 14), as a result of the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinians in 1993, which was much “trumpeted as a triumph” (*Return* 15). She hardly sees this much trumpeted triumph as a victory, because it leaves out a big majority of Palestinians working from their exiled positions like herself, which may hardly account for anything grave in itself, unless another important aspect is taken into consideration. This aspect is the protection that PLO provided for the refugee camps.

These refugee camps, which were supposedly “safe places under international law” but “had been a target for Israeli military operations from the 1950 onwards” and “also subject to in-fighting among groups with different political affiliations” (*Return* 15) lost the armed PLO protection in 1982. The fighters were withdrawn and forced into exile in the wake of Israeli siege of Beirut and the consequence was the massacre of two refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in September 1982, with nearly 2000 people, mostly old men, women, and children “massacred in a killing spree lasting two days” (*Return* 16). Therefore, Karmi does not see of PA’s moving into and operating from within Palestine, as any victory. She is also critical of the “serious mistakes” of mostly disunited strategies that PLO committed, resulting its final capitulation that the world witnessed. Because, as Rashid Khalidi puts it in his boldly titled book, *Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined the Peace in the Middle East* (2013): “‘The East is a career,’ said Benjamin Disraeli: what was true of the East in the heyday of the British Empire has become true of the so-called ‘peace process’ at the apogee of the era of American global dominance” (39).

This is something that I see as a double marginalization of the Palestinian people and its land. It is not only the old colonial and imperial strategy of divide and rule, as we

witness, but also imports the need for a self-critical questioning as many scholars argue,¹³ about the Palestinian leadership that was abysmal, and who made grave mistakes. On the other hand, the sad demise of Palestinian political leadership is also a manifestation of a phenomenon, what Australian commentator, A.A. Philips has defined as “a cultural cringe” for the societies under settler-colonialism because of their not being liberated from “their nominal political ‘independence’” (Ashcroft Key Concepts 59). This nominal political independence is what Karmi critiques upon from many aspects, when she goes back to Palestine in 2005, to work for the ministries of Palestinian Authority.

Karmi’s decision to go back to Palestine, not as host of “marginal researchers [and] foreign experts” (*Return* 19), but to see the inner workings of the Palestinian Authority PA which serves as the de facto representation of the Palestinian people, gives her an in depth understanding about the situation in Palestine (as we will shortly see). Located with its offices and ministries at Ramallah, a “landlocked place six miles north of Jerusalem with a population of about 300,000 people [and] a popular summer resort for the well-to-do Palestinians” before 1948, is when she is able to see the “quasi-official status” of this age old city. It is after coming and working in one or two of the ministries that she is able to read the inscription on the wall that her land is appropriated in full sense of the word, and occupied—quite doubly so. She witnesses the appropriated city, “distorted by four decades of military occupation.” She tells us that the whole character of this “Palestinian place” is appropriated in terms of its food, the customs and traditions by confiscating “much of their lands and livelihoods.” Even the “traditional Arab dishes” like “hummus and falafel,” are now being called as “Israeli.” But it is double marginalization that she witnesses. For she asks this question of the reader: “Where else in the world would such a government-within-a-government exist, operating as if it were sovereign over its own lands, while in reality subservient to someone else in every sense” (*Return* 19)? She finds this anomaly as quite depressing.

This double marginalization also manifests on the shelves of the normal grocery stores, owned by small Palestinian businessmen. These small stores are an “easy source of livelihood...whose economic situation did not allow for many other forms of work,” as Karmi notes. But it is the “profusion of Israeli goods on the shelves, almost all labelled in Hebrew and usually no other language,” is what strikes her as another kind of appropriation. It can also be seen as the manifestation of Ideological State Apparatuses using Repressive State Apparatuses, in Althusserian terminology, when the ideology is working behind the

repression, working its way to the minutest details of human existence in Palestine. While on a bigger level, this repression is multifaceted for there is “the break-up of the PA, with Gaza split off under Hamas and the West Bank under Fateh” (*Return* 20). These are the interpellations on a grander scale, both at the hands of the occupiers as well as the impacted people working in the ministries, for whom, “the Israeli occupation had been there for all their lives” (*Return* 22). The colonial powers have always worked for the disintegration of the colonized. It is the identification of the comprador class within the colonized that makes Karmi feel crestfallen in the land of her return.

The impacted landscape of her surroundings that she encounters in her everyday walk to her office is the culminating point of more than a century old solution for the persecuted Jews, who were suggested to be drained elsewhere,¹⁴ by their spiritual mentor, Herzl back in 1903. Karmi watches her place, where even the traffic lights are called “ramzone” (*Return* 24) by their Hebrew name; where she could see the settlements set up on “part of someone’s farmland,” or “Ramallah’s agricultural land [which] hemmed in the town on all sides, making its expansion impossible;” or “the giant settlements high up on the hills, their houses cascading down towards the town’s outskirts,” is what makes Karmi face to face with the grim Palestinian reality. This scene is followed by her description of a long list of the ministries of Palestinian Authority with their white buildings lined up one after the other, the “Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Sports,” and the list goes on. Thus, if Kashmir is subjected to a re-colonization by a former colonized, and now a decolonized power of India, a double colonization is what we see in Palestine, through Karmi’s writing. One is the Jewish settler colonialism and other is the interpellated reality of the Palestinian Authority, which is supposed to be safeguarding the rights of the Palestinians but in fact have their hands tied behind their backs.¹⁵

The description of the internal miniscule life of the ministry completes the grim picture of a subaltern existence. It is a place where some like Esperance and Dr Sabah act as the comprador class, with “Esperance’s cold eye” on Karmi, who “could not divine the reason for her hostility” (*Return* 28), while the other people working at the ministry were supposed to have “other duties,” and as Karmi is told, would not be able to talk to her for long (*Return* 29). As a passing critique, Karmi brings out the significance of Esperance’s name, which as she tells us, is an old name like, Violette, Clemence, or Marie, which is “still used among Catholic Palestinians” (*Return* 26). Karmi is implicitly critiquing the Jewish myths championing that this land should be only inhabited by the Jews with their

tall claims, for the last century or so.¹⁶ When she turns to the task at hand, namely; to “work on a new media strategy that deals with the way we present the facts to the Western media, and also the Israeli media,” she is cut short by handing out a “well-thumbed” ten page document in Arabic, entitled, “The Plan for Communication to the Media on the Palestinian Cause” (*Return* 28).

Besides these obvious manifestation of a pseudo existence of a ‘Palestinian Authority,’ where nothing actually worthwhile can be implemented, Karmi mentions something as a passing reference but can mean a lot more if we pause and reflect over it. She writes that just like a typical Arab office life, in which a lot of rounds of coffee and tête-à-tête is a routine, one man used to come “into the ministry every morning, scanned the internet for press articles he was interested in, and after a coffee and a chat, went home again. No one took any notice” (*Return* 31). The fact that no one took any notice of this man, tells us two things. First, that the staff did not have the shrewd insight to probe deeper, and second, even if any of them had the capacity to decipher the purpose of his visits, s/he would not have the nerve to get his/her nose out of the limited scope of the menial tasks assigned to him/her, and put his/her subsistence providing job in jeopardy. ‘This visitation’ nonetheless, reminds us also, of the concept of Michel Foucault’s concept of panopticism, where everything is monitored and is under surveillance. Juxtaposing this episode of this man’s visits, with the episode when Karmi was not handed over her visa in the Israeli Consulate in London (mentioned above), only because there had been no computer technician flown in from Israel, brings out the grave irony of the situation. Here is a people whose land, life, property, and everything is under occupation, and they cannot, or would not pay attention to a stranger in a government office of Palestinian Authority, while no computer expert in London could have been trusted to fix the consulate’s computer problem because of security reasons (*Return* 9). This is a sadly ironical situation, indeed!

Karmi soon comes to the bitter realization that with the given dynamics of the workings of the ministry, she stands nowhere near her initial incentive of coming to Palestine and working for the Palestinian cause from within. She is warned about this on the first day of her arrival when she had, by chance, walked into a Danish woman, Annetta, who is now working on a project funded by Japanese government. Annetta, “who had become an indispensable guide to life in Ramallah” (*Return* 42), tells Karmi in their first meeting, that she had also worked at the ministry but had given up after a year because she was always considered an outsider. Though she thinks that perhaps, it would be better for

Karmi because at least, Karmi is Palestinian and knows the language and may be accepted in a better way. Karmi's situation was hardly different from Annetta however, since she is avoided and is considered an impediment, in the otherwise peaceful workings (read interpellated into their banal routines) of the ministry. In order to better understand the situation, she starts making positive use of her time in Palestine by connecting to the world outside the ministry. This comes out to be a knowledgeable experience in terms of Karmi's experiencing the colonization of Palestine in the twenty-first century, from such a close proximity. She is able to understand this make connections between the impacted world outside and the microcosmic life of the ministry.

5.4. The Rhetoric of “Nation-Building/ Colonization”¹⁷

The role of the Palestinian Authority as the only realistic path to Palestinian independence has been challenged by many recent scholars of the present century. Philip Leech studies the Palestinian Authority (PA) phenomenon in his recent book, *The State of Palestine: A Critical Analysis*, (2017). Besides critically analyzing the workings of the PA and its subsequent failures, Leech is also critical of “Europe's own bellicose and combustible past” being translated as the only authentic reality, and considers it as Europe's “seriously blinkered logic” (Leech x). Likewise, Karmi, through her lived in narrative, subverts the pervasive Western support and promotion of PA as the effective representative body for the Palestinian rights. Her text can be seen as a manifestation of Nixon's words in his article “Environmentalism and Postcolonialism,” when he says, “we can aspire to a more historically answerable and geographically expansive sense of what constitutes our environment and which literary works we entrust to voice its parameters” (247). The workings of the Ministry of Media and Communications brings Karmi to the realization that the subalterns of the twenty-first century is quite a depressing reality, and that too in the offices of the PA.

Settling in her new milieu and new routine, we see that one of her colleague, Thabit and his wife, who also work at the ministry, offer her a lift when they see, “Doctora,” as all the people at the ministry call Karmi, walking back to her apartment in the Gemzo Suites. On Karmi's inquiring about their opinion of the ministry, they “would not be drawn out,” as she writes, and tell her that they “are not unhappy there. It was a job, and they did not interfere in what went around them” (*Return* 42). The subtext of this comment tells us what they could not bring to their lips.

However, it is in a typical subaltern manner they can convey facts about their village to Karmi, a fellow Palestinian, as they see her to some extent (because otherwise she is also their boss and may not be trusted fully). They tell her that the inhabitants of their village of Beitunia, a large village of around 20,000 people are making do with what was left to them of this “wonderful place of rich agriculture and ample land” (*Return* 41). The two-thirds of this land was taken away by Israel two years earlier, when it “built its separation wall” and took this “village land, leaving them to manage on what was left.” This reminds Karmi of reading about “Beitunia’s fierce demonstrations against the wall, against the settlements, and in solidarity with the Palestinian prisoners in Israel’s jails.” These demonstrations and protests, which the people of this village carry out against the siege of Gaza also, are rewarded with the usual Repressive State Apparatuses of colonial hegemony of “Israeli army’s tear gas and ‘rubber’ bullets,” which, for the fact that they are “live ammunition in reality, encased in a rubber coating,” as Karmi notes, are “no less lethal” (*Return* 41). (Note the similarity in the pattern of occupation as discussed in the previous chapter on Kashmir).

The fact that these settlements and ‘apartheid’ walls are built in the area, supposedly under the jurisdiction of PA, and are illegal in status, carries double implications. That PA is not/ could not/ or would not do anything to address this occupation, and secondly, it carries no weight with the world conscious, is something, which Karmi is trying to bring out through her text. The bigger question she raises is that by virtue of what justification this appropriation of land should be happening under the PA. Many other scholars are writing about these expansionist modes of “ethno-colonial” (Plonski xviii) establishments. Sharri Plonski is an Israeli scholar, whose very recent book, *Palestinian Citizens of Israel: Power, Resistance and the Struggle for Space* (2018) studies the civil society’s resistance from within Israel. Her work studies these “practices of the ethno-national/settler colonial state” (Plonski xvii), as she calls it, “into Palestinian spaces on both sides of Green line” (Plonski xviii). Though her work mostly concerns with the Palestinian resistance within Israel, but this impaction of Palestinian spaces on both sides of the Green line, makes her raise the argument that this settler colonialism, dialectics of space and power and containment, and disciplinary strategies of Palestinian lives are dialectically producing the occasions for Palestinian Resistance. In other words, the illegal confiscation of Palestinian spaces is bound to bring about Palestinian resistance as Karmi narrates in this incident of Beitunia and many other places (discussed shortly).

The irony in this term, Green line, raises (or should raise) a pertinent connection in our minds as we travel with Karmi and her friend Annetta, to join a “demonstration against the separation wall at Abu Dis, a village on the outskirts of Jerusalem” (*Return* 42). The term ‘Green’ evokes all kinds of assorted environmentalisms that have become coveted disciplines in the contemporary scholarship. However, it is yet to be seen, whether the wall at Abu Dis is truly an environmental concern or falls in the category of the blanket assertions of environmentalism,¹⁸ as compared to the environmental ethic of this Palestinian place, as I have argued above. Or is it a manifestation of what Plonski argues as a case of erasing “Palestinian space from Judaized landscape” (14). Karmi tells us that this demonstration was a regular weekly occurrence (which may be no more as she is writing it for 2005) which drew the activists from around the area. Her friend Annetta’s car, with Israeli number plate, could pass through the checkpoints in relative ease as compared to the “long queue of white-number-plated Palestinian cars” (*Return* 43). The Qalandia checkpoint “was unpleasant and difficult to cross even then, in 2005.” However, writing this memoir in 2015, she tells us that it has become so formidable now that the “barrier to shut Ramallah off from Jerusalem” (*Return* 43), it has become a kind of a border crossing between two states.

Even with the Israeli number plate of Annetta’s car, Karmi says that it was too tedious to pass through Qalandia, and so they had to take a longer circuitous route in order to reach this demonstration on the wall of Abu Dis from the Israeli side of the wall. Salman Abu Sitta, a distinguished historian writes about similar experiences in his memoir, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2016), and tells how he was ashamed that they had relatively easier “treatment as foreigners at the crossing, while a hundred meters away, my people were being herded in long, caged corridors and subjected to long, humiliating interrogations” (294).

After covering the alternate route, when they eventually come to Himza crossing, Karmi can see another impacted “Palestinian village which had lost its land to the surrounding Jewish settlements, including the land on which the check point stood” (*Return* 43). She describes the striking difference between the large settlement of Pisgat Ze’ev on her right and the “dusty improvised Himza” (*Return* 43) on the opposite side of the check point. Her friend points at a number of Jewish settlements of Neve Yaakov, Givat Binyamin, Almon, and French Hill settlement, with their identical-looking European-style houses, an “ungainly carve-up of what had been a harmonious, gentle landscape” (*Return*

44), as she sees it. The Israeli side of the wall of Abu Dis that they had come to, which separated it from the West Bank side, shows Karmi a part of the “most fertile farmland...included within Jerusalem’s municipal boundaries” (*Return* 44). I quote Karmi at length to give the description of this confiscated land in her words:

The place looked deserted, unnaturally quiet, like a ghost town. There were about fifteen demonstrators already there, some of them chalking slogans on to the wall about freedom for Palestinians and chatting to each other. Why so few, I wondered? Did this infamous place not deserve many more? Should there not have been armies of protestors against this wanton incision into the heart of a little farming village? (*Return* 45)

In my opinion (if I am allowed to be a little sarcastic here), Karmi should not be asking any questions for the “wanton incision” as she calls it, because she herself has given an answer to this question in her book, *Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine* (2007), when she quotes Moshe Dayan and Benny Morris’ declarative statements. According to Moshe Dayan:

Let us not today fling accusations at the murderers. Who are we that we should argue against their hatred? For eight years now, they sit in their refugee camps in Gaza and, before their very eyes we turn into our homestead the land and the villages in which they and their forefathers have lived. We are a generation of settlers, and without the steel helmet and the cannon we cannot plant a tree and build a home. Let us not shrink back when we see the hatred fermenting and filling the lives of hundreds of thousands of Arabs, who sit all around us. Let us not avert our gaze, so that our hand shall not slip. This is the fate of our generation, the choice of our life—to be prepared and armed, strong and tough—or otherwise, the sword will slip from our fist, and our life will be snuffed out. (Karmi *Married* 3)

This candid avowal clearly indicates that the occupiers know the level of commitment that is required of them. Dayan’s words conjure up the imagery of holding the swords in their hands without averting their gaze otherwise the ones from whom they have confiscated their belongings are bound to retaliate and attempt to take back their snatched belongings and he knows that they are justified to do so.

This quotes when read with Benny Morris’ conviction brings out the level of ill will and acrimony that the occupying forces had to exercise in order to remain in control as

Karmi notes: “Morris maintains the mistake the Zionists made was to have allowed any Palestinians to remain...(and) concludes, the Zionist project is faced with two options: perpetual cruelty and repression of others, or the end of the dream. For Zionists, the latter is tragically unthinkable” (Karmi Married 2). If we read this conclusive remarks of Morris with Moshe Dayan’s quote (stated above), we should be able to understand the tenacity of this ‘Environmentalism’ of the Zionist project, against which the environmental ethic of the looted land stands almost no chance, and yet Karmi states this environmental ethic of her land, nonetheless. Therefore, if the wall “ends up spanning more than 400 miles of land” (*Return* 45) (when she was there, now it is more than 700 miles), shutting off light and everything else behind it, it has a long historical reason behind it (As discussed above in section 1.2 of chapter 1).

Beitunia, Bil’in, or Abu Dis, the names do not matter in this appropriation of land that Karmi is witnessing. She describes how the activists are the same group of mixed people that she is so used to from her days of activism in London. Some of them are liberal Jewish Israelis, some local Palestinians, some foreigners involved in human rights, from various countries, with their usual activists uniforms of “T-shirts, faded jeans, sandals or casual shoes” (*Return* 45). However, what is more depressing is the confiscation of major portions of “best farming land and water sources” into the “Israeli side,” which Karmi sees as a “simple seizure of other people’s property” (*Return* 48), while no amount of such protestations can have any possible luck with army’s standing orders of stopping “anyone getting close to the construction site.” These resistances may seem “heroic” (*Return* 46) but can hardly stop the “truncated village[s] to [their] walled silence” (*Return* 48). One point of comparison with the Kashmir’s case that we studied in the previous chapter is that while there are also Israeli activists standing against this marginalization within Israel, there is a recent form of an encouraging principled stance among many Indian writers and scholars,¹⁹ which is a beginning of a solidarity of speaking against injustice.

It may be argued that Karmi, through her narrative, endeavors to state a more historically informed and geographically balanced environmental ethic which engages what Rob Nixon asserts in his article, “Environmentalism and Postcolonialism” (2005) (See section 4.4). She describes this “walled silence [—a] slate-grey slabs of solid concrete,...at least eight meters or twenty-six feet high” (*Return* 46), as ominously towering over her when she cranes her neck to “see up to the top” (*Return* 47). The concrete of the wall feels smooth to her touch, when she ventures close to it, as if she is unable to believe her eyes

from a distance, and have to touch it in order to understand the implications of this wall that all the activists have come around to protest against.

The monotony of this stone is broken here and there with the graffiti that can be seen etched across for the Palestinians' ethics of resistance.²⁰ Karmi describes how it looks "deceptively realistic" (*Return* 46) at some places. One such depiction of a "'hole' as if cut out of the wall, depicting blue sky and a patch of green field" (*Return* 47), is what she finds as almost real. Karmi finds this depiction, which seems real but is not, to be raising the question of the very justification of such a wall, and that too on the space that supposedly comes under the jurisdiction of PA.

It seems that by describing the physical presence of this wall, Karmi is putting forth an open question, that the PA is not able to, or would not take notice of. This open question is of an apartheid than anything else. While observing this "powerfully solid and immovable" (*Return* 47) structure, Karmi is startled back from her reverie of this all-consuming sadness by another woman, Naila, who approaches her from behind and tells her that her husband is behind the wall. When Karmi asks her why doesn't she and her children go and live in the part of West Bank where her husband is, she tells Karmi that it cannot be an option because that would mean she, an East Jerusalem resident, has to surrender her blue Israeli passport. That also means that they would also have to leave their home in Abu Dis, now separated by the wall and falling on Israeli side. It would also entail that her children would not be able to go to the school that they are going, they would not be able to go to the hospital there, with the added huge difficulty of travelling, as the residents of West Bank cannot travel from Ben Gurion Airport and have to travel from Amman or Cairo. Her husband, a resident originally of West Bank has an orange ID of West Bank and can come and visit his family only in the day time and is not allowed to stay overnight, and neither on holidays "when whole of the West Bank is sealed off" (*Return* 47). And yet, as Naila assures Karmi, that she is not alone to bear these injustices. There are many who are "condemned to a forced separation" (*Return* 47) like Naila and her family.

Ironically, it is the interpellated ordinary woman and her family like Naila who, after seeing a distressed look on Karmi's face, is comforting her instead, by saying: "I'm not the worst case of what this wall has done to us, believe me. I could tell you so many stories of other families split up, disruptions and all sorts of terrible things. By and large, we still manage" (*Return* 48). Being able to manage and not considering themselves as the

worst cases affected by this apartheid may be seen as a kind of Palestinian ethics of resistance that they are stating. Naila's²¹ separation and the case of their respective different colored IDs is one of the many forms of Ideological State Apparatuses of Althusser's theory of ideology and interpellation. It is not only that these interpellated people have no say against the Israeli Ideological State Apparatuses, but are further interpellated (read reduced with no choice but) to accept that they still are better off than many in this impacted landscape of Palestine.

Drawing our attention to another aspect of this "complete shield" (*Return 46*) of a wall, Karmi is deeply disturbed by another thing that she observes on the wall. It is a "huge cylindrical watchtower, with sinister-looking apertures for windows all around the top, where I imagined armed soldiers to be monitoring what went on below" (*Return 46*). Perched higher up on the wall, this watchtower (which will also come in the discussion about Gaza when she visits it), reminds us of the concept of Panopticon that Foucault gives us. This watch/ Panopticon, is an ideological and physical manifestation of control over the lives of these ordinary people, interpellated into accepting the harsh reality without questioning. "This symbol of something indefinably cruel" (*Return 48*), as Karmi puts it, is also a physical reality of Foucault's concept of Panopticon. Borrowing from his teacher, Althusser, this "mechanism of oversight and control," as Foucault describes it, "a centralized state apparatus" (32), which Althusser theorized as Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses. These watch towers high above in these walls that Karmi is narrating about, can be anything but what these theorists have theorized in the context of hegemony and prisons. Nothing could be more befitting to what Karmi describes as "mighty fortifications" that are being built "as if wild beasts and ravening wolves roamed the other side and had to be kept out at all costs" (*Return 48*). One is tempted to draw this conclusion, that isn't this wall and the watchtowers, erected and maintained all across its length, an exact manifestation of what Althusser and Foucault are talking about. At one place when Foucault writes the following words, it seems that he might be writing it for this situation which Karmi is describing. He writes:

A general system of oversight and confinement penetrates all layers of society, taking forms that go from the great prisons built on the panopticon model to the charitable societies, and that find their points of application not only among the delinquents, but among abandoned children, orphans, apprentices, high school students, workers, and so on. (32)

This wall and these watchtowers are the images and their ramifications that haunt Karmi and become a source of a mental torment for her, especially when she looks at the irony of the situation. She, who is there to work on a media campaigning strategy for the Palestinian cause, is standing face to face with the actual scenario, and yet unable to change the reality of the mock position she holds at the PA, supposedly working for the rights of the Palestinians of the West Bank, but in fact, is utterly incapacitated.

She gives us a picture of herself standing in the city of her birth, appropriated, not inch by inch, but by a strategic wounding of this wall, in and out of “Palestinian territory,” in order to “enclose the best farming land and water resources” (*Return* 48) as Karmi puts it. The picture of this appropriation becomes further ominous when she tells us that the wall is not uniformly made of concrete but in parts, is “an electrified fence with deep ditches on each side” (*Return* 48). Her natural frustration at this supreme form of injustice, or what Althusser describes as the multi-dimensional impact of both ISAs and RSAs,²² makes her exclaim her that the “physical presence” of this “huge bulk” or even its very thought, is a way of blotting out another reality. This reality are the human beings who are being snuffed out as if they do not matter for the landscape of this place and are

another people who walked and breathed there, as if they had no right even to be alive. Its brazen message to the world was that this country was Israel’s and Israel’s alone, to settle, loot, divide, carve up, refashion, rename, and do with whatever it pleased. (*Return* 49)

Karmi’s emphatic tone invokes an imagery of an unbridled, unimpeded scavenging of resources out of the hands of *other* people. This othering of the Palestinian people and their places is something that Karmi questions with these vivid descriptions in her memoir. (As a reference point to see the appropriation of Palestine, see fig 5 below).

Figure 5: Israeli Settlements on the West Bank



CS Scanned with CamScanner

(Karmi, Return: A Palestinian Memoir ix)

Eminent critics like Frank Barat, Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé, in their book, *On Palestine* (2015), have spoken about the interpellative strategies adopted by the occupying forces. Their tones become emphatic at times; for instance, talking about the ethnic cleansing Frank Barat writes that “[t]he past, as far as Palestine and Palestinians are concerned, in 1948, the *Nakba*, and the ethnic cleansing of two-thirds of the population (yes, two-thirds; try to put this in perspective and do the math with the country you are living in right now) that was expelled from historical Palestine to make space for a new state, Israel” (Barat 4). The use of forceful conversational tone in the parenthesis speak for the degree of disturbing effect the opposite rhetoric has had so far. This propagandist lobby, which Chomsky sees as verging onto obscenity (Chomsky "The Future" 99), is something which is being questioned by Karmi, the diasporic Palestinian writer of the selected text.

She questions the very ideology when the “ancient” villages like Beit Hanina are “bisected” (*Return* 49) when Israel decides to build “a highway linking to the centre of Jerusalem” (*Return* 48). Her plain statement of facts, that this is not a land that belongs to Israel and the descriptions of the impacted landscape is not something new as it reminds us of the menaces of imperialism and colonialism that have gone down in history. The answer may be sought in many works²³ with a relatively recent study of Eric Engels Tuten. In his book, *Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's finances and land-purchase priorities in Palestine, 1939-45* (2005), Tuten establishes how the laws were circumvented to acquire land till 1945. He says: “The case studies, and discussion of other JNF land purchases, illustrate the methods used to circumvent the Land Transfer Regulations and how the JNF came to control enough land in Palestine to influence, to the advantage of the Zionist movement, the UN's 1947 partition decision” (Tuten n.pag.). Therefore, what Karmi is describing is actually the logical culminating crescendo of what started with major corruptions and now needs no justification even. Invoking this environmental ethic of her place, seems a futile exercise, and which becomes more cruelly interpellated a reality when ministries at the PA, live in a utopian bubble of representing their people.

This appropriation is sharply contrasted with the dinner she goes to attend with Annetta soon after she has seen the *protest* at the wall of Abu Dis. This dinner is at a businessman, Maher's place with everyone dressed in evening wear and personalities like the head of the UNDP, “an affable friendly American” (*Return* 50) gracing the occasion. With rounds of “wine in abundance,” the affluence of the host and his wife, and “urbane” conversations “in an unspoken agreement to eschew anything unpleasant” (*Return* 50)

remind Karmi of many of the dinner parties that she has been a part of back in London. Maher's children, like many "well-to-do Palestinians," follow the trend of proceeding to American universities. Karmi wonders and even asks "why not Britain?" She is given the usual answer that it is "better in America" (*Return* 51). Karmi points out the irony of this situation which seems quite incomprehensible to her. For she says: "that the very country which perpetuated Palestinian misery by giving Israel the arms it used against the Palestinians, by funding its excesses in the lands it occupied, and by shielding it from all censure, should have become the destination of choice to give their children better futures" (*Return* 51). Though the very irony that applies to the children of these affluent Palestinians, aspiring for coveted US universities, in a way, applies to Karmi herself, when her father, fleeing the Jewish persecution, had sought shelter in England in 1948, the very country governing Palestine at that time (As discussed in section 1.2 in chapter 1), and one of the forces that brought this ignominious fate on Palestinians.

There is, however, a difference in the two situations, which, I am sure, Karmi is aware of, when she is bringing this subject up in narrating this point about the difference of attitudes of the Palestinians themselves in the pursuance of the coveted intellectual endeavors in US universities. The fact that many families like Karmis were forced out of Palestine, while the Palestinian of today, belonging to this *cultured* class, are aspiring for the land of opportunity out of their own free will. Whether it is an interpellated reality that these privileged Palestinians are reduced to accept, or they are not bothered for their fellow Palestinian citizens to a point, where they may be seen as complicit in their misery, is something, Karmi leaves open to question. I see this phenomenon as a result of both the reasons. They are interpellated to make stark choices in their lives in order to move forward with the world, choices that may seem selfish at times. A good example can be seen in Karmi herself, because her English education has actually done her good, for she might not have been so articulate in the Palestinian cause if she had not been in England in the first place.

However, the merry go rounds of such dinner parties, and the cultured talks that are part and parcel of such events may point out games of making money, which Karmi points out in the case of PA. The element of corruption and self-serving interests of people like Ayman, cannot be ruled out (We studied the same interpellations in the context of Kashmir when unemployed youths like Ayaar become stockbrokers, and, the money lobbying aspect in the different independence movements like, Jamaat Islami and JKLF etc.). These traits

of being a social climber, like the characters of Becky Sharp in the nineteenth century novel, *Vanity Fair* (1847-8) of William Makepeace Thackeray, a something that Karmi sees in Ayman, do nothing to alleviate the suffering of the actual people living in almost sub human conditions that Karmi witnesses in the refugee camps of Gaza (discussed shortly). While, on the other hand, when Karmi sees one of the counsels to be sticking “to the official line” and reacts in a “belligerent” (*Return* 53) manner at this dinner, her reaction is brushed aside as a stereotypical Palestinian hot headedness. And she is seen as just another of the “Palestinian friends” who are “too emotional,” something, which eventually “solves nothing” (*Return* 54), when seen from the other side. Consequently, Karmi is advised to “cool down” by the chief of UNDP.

The cooled down atmosphere at the ministry on the other hand, presents a completely “anomalous” situation, “an artificial suspension of normal routine” (*Return* 56), or a perfect manifestation of what Professor Bruce Robbins sees as a phenomenon in which “Israelis have been cynically playing out the clock” (Robbins, *The Logic of the Beneficiary* 19). This atmosphere of Coleridge’s suspension of disbelief is what we witness in the internal milieu of the ministry offices, when Karmi is ostensibly addressed as “Welcome, Doctora” (*Return* 26), but is otherwise discouraged to suggest anything worthwhile that could be of any real value. Karmi considers this mock geniality due to both reasons, namely the money making games i.e. corruption in the ministries, and secondly, the resulting interpellation of anyone like Karmi, who may aspire to bring some positive change, but ends up being treated as an outsider, or a someone who is creating a nuisance value of herself by stirring up with her stick, the settled dust in a murky puddle.

With each passing day Karmi is becoming wary of what she sees as the double colonization, one by the settler colonialists, who choose to take fancy of any piece of land, and the other by the internal rife of ministers like Dr. Farid and Dr. Sabah. Dr. Farid, whom Karmi had met with in an earlier meeting with Yasser Arafat, “had been a loyal member of Fateh and a faithful lieutenant to Yasser Arafat until the latter’s death in 2004.” During this meeting in the center of Fateh in the “compound in the center of Gaza city,” where it was taking place, Karmi had noted Dr Farid’s “easy camaraderie with the Israelis.” What had struck Karmi at that point even (which she had not given much thought to, until now while writing this memoir), was Dr Farid’s obsequiousness toward “Shulamit Aloni, a Jewish member of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament.” Dr Farid going out of his way to pay “her extravagant compliments and teasing her playfully” (*Return* 59), because “she was

regarded by Palestinians as one of the few ‘good Israelis,’” and who was presented with a hand-embroidered Palestinian shawl by Arafat as a good gesture, was in sharp contrast to the somber atmosphere of the meeting, as Karmi recalls. She says that Arafat may have presented her with a token of appreciation for her sympathetic bearing towards Palestinians but “he was markedly quiet, wary almost, in striking contrast to his ebullient lieutenant Dr Farid.” The exuberance and bonhomie that Dr Farid showed towards the Israelis at this meeting was reciprocated with a good-humouredness but with a reserve, as if “they were bemused by the whole situation” (*Return* 60). By giving this window of insight into a meeting of her recent past, Karmi is in fact, preparing her reader to understand what is about to come in terms of the internal dynamics of the ministries, the rift between the two political parties of Fateh and Hamas, and the impact of these phenomena on the general life of the Palestinians.

The media strategy plan for the Palestinian cause that Karmi is taking a lot of pains to work upon, along with revising the earlier media campaign, is proving to be an exercise in the futile. Any of her efforts with other likeminded expatriates like Amin Shalabi are lost in these ministries. Shalabi is a Canadian-Palestinian, who, like Karmi, is deeply committed for the Palestinian cause and had packed up his successful business in Toronto after meeting Dr Farid, in order to serve in the PA. But all their plans are met with an indifference, to say the least. It could not be otherwise when “the minister and his deputy detest[] each other,” as Karmi tells us. She gives a vivid internal picture of these ministries. Every ministry is regarded as a “fiefdom” (*Return* 67), by its respective minister where one may be more in a position to throw his weight around than the other. For example, she shows “Dr Farid and his entourage, [as] far bigger than Dr Sabah” (*Return* 60). Karmi puts this question to her readers, that how can there be any worthwhile effort for the real work, when the plans of one minister are “resented” by the other, and “countermanded orders given to the staff” (*Return* 68), an example of which is that Karmi is either ignored by the menial staff workers at the ministry or is denied a simple request of making even a coffee.

These internal self-created fissures of the ministries are a reflection of the two main political parties of Fateh and Hamas, and in turn, their general ambience of countermanding are also reflected in the squabbles of the junior or menial staff of these ministries. The junior staff like Hanan, who claims that she is cheated and not being paid by one office of the ministry. It is the same in the Kashmir scene, when different political parties do not see eye to eye with each other. Resultantly, the colonial powers are making the most of these

internal rifts. She is countered by another member of the staff, when he tells Karmi that Hanan is actually taking salary from two offices and should not be trusted. While it may be argued, that since these junior workers have very less working opportunities, they have to make the best of the available means of livelihood in the market; they are left with almost no alternatives at all and thus are interpellated in carrying out their lives as they do. However, it is quite difficult to let the ministers or the political parties off the hook so easily. When the ordinary workers have become accustomed to what they hear about Gaza, day in and day out, without much thought, with almost dismissive remarks like “What can they do? They have no one but God to help them” (*Return* 66), the same argument cannot suffice for the representative bodies like Fateh and Hamas.

Karmi makes her readers aware how the ideological divergence between Fateh and Hamas about Israel is taking a heavy toll on the lives, land and physical and psychological health of these people cordoned off in West Bank and Gaza. Explaining about the basic difference between the approaches of these two representative political parties, Karmi tells us that the “long-standing enmity” is there because Hamas considers Islam should be central and aspires for “an Islamic state in all of Palestine” (*Return* 66), while:

Fateh, the far older and more secular party, had started life on a purely nationalist platform, aiming for total liberation of the usurped homeland. But with time and increasing setbacks it adapted to the reality of Israel’s superior power, and after years of ineffectual struggle downgraded its ambitions to a claim for just one fifth of the original Palestine. (*Return* 67)

Karmi further says, that while she is there in Ramallah in 2005, serving in the ministry (the time that she is writing this memoir about), Fateh “had made many more compromises with ‘the enemy,’ drawing criticism and dismay from many Palestinian quarters at what was seen as a gradual surrender” (*Return* 67). This capitulation by the Fateh leaders is reflected in the general approach of the ministers like Dr Farid and Dr Sabah and is resented by Hamas leaders, one of whom Karmi meets on her trip to Gaza. The net result is the compromises that the ordinary person of Palestine has to make, when nothing is safe for him/ her, and their so called leaders are busy in their own games, and are of no help. This is the ethical question that Karmi is raising by stating her firsthand experiences in her memoir.

Karmi describes the life at the ministries as if one is constantly living in an international conference. This metaphor of an international conference that she uses, is quite remarkable, because no one is really concerned about the bigger cause of what the conference can be about and yet the presenters are always quite consumed by their immediate concerns about their small presentations and getting their share of accolades. Similarly, at the time when “London was rocked by a series of explosions” on 7th July 2005, Karmi tells us that after her initial inquiries about all her loved ones back in London, returns to the “minutiae of life around” her (*Return* 71). This life is a farce as she sees it because she is almost ostracized at the ministry “with no one speaking to” her. But the outside world is no good either. Instead of facing the ostracism at the ministry, she heads for a meeting in the Cultural Palace to attend a meeting, which she is told, is being held to “discuss the wall’s impact on Palestinian lands and livelihoods.” The meeting is attended by the usual assortment of “local dignitaries, researchers from the PLO Negotiations Support Unit (NSU²⁴), a few foreign diplomats and Western journalists” (*Return* 72).

In this meeting, there are some speakers who narrate how the wall had been “the brainchild of Israel’s prime minister Ariel Sharon, who claimed that a barrier wall was needed to provide protection against Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israel.” And so, in 2002 Israel started building the huge, insurmountable shield of high concrete wall and electrified fencing” (*Return* 73), parts of which Karmi had seen at Abu Dis and on the route to Jerusalem. However, the monotonous way of lining up of facts of how the 2004 “International Court of Justice had issued a majority judgement about the illegality of the wall and called on Israel to dismantle those parts of it that crossed over into West Bank territory” (*Return* 74), carries very less weight with the audience because there is no effort to make it objectively correlate²⁵ to the ones present.

Karmi brings out the disparity between the environmentalism that makes Israel declare this wall, despite its concrete presence, a “security fence” and the environmental ethic of the ordinary Palestinian entity, who sees this wall as an “Apartheid Wall”” (*Return* 73). In other words it is a case of as Nixon argues in his article, “Environmentalism and Postcolonialism” (2005), between “kleptocratic government” and a “moral right to defend the environment against a corrupt land grab” (243). It is this moral right that Karmi is asserting through her narrative. This moral right also compels her to indicate the kleptocratic tendencies not only in the occupiers but the government bodies like PA who

are supposed to safeguard the moral right of the Palestinians but as she observes, is failing miserably, because of the internal games that are going on in their offices.

Although, in the same meeting, she commends the well-researched and well displayed map of the wall in the West Bank territory, which showed “how it dipped into Palestinian territory here and there to surround Jewish settlements and shield them from the Arab areas around them, and how it also enclosed the Palestinian cities to prevent their inhabitants from leaving except through one or two exit gates under Israeli guard” (*Return* 73). But pointing out the interpellation that goes into it for ordinary Palestinians, Karmi’s narrative shows how on the one hand, the Ideological State Apparatus ISA work to project it as a security concern through media especially, and on the other, the Repressive State Apparatuses RSAs of the army, the builders, and other state authorities are playing their roles in bringing about the interpellated reality of the inhabitants like Naila (mentioned above). The ordinary people, are not only to accept this “ecoparochialism” (Nixon 238), but also to live with and work around this ideological and physical hegemony.

However, this land grab becomes a manifestation of double colonization when one of the American journalist, asks the PA representative present at the meeting, what does PA intend to do about it, he is not only unable to answer him but tries to convince him that it is not easy as it looks. At this point, if it would have been a fictional narrative that I was discussing, I would have said that the omniscient narrator says,... but since it is a memoir, and a non-fictional lived in narrative of Karmi, she points out two contradicting strands that she observes in this question and answer between the journalist and the PA official. One thing is the element of collusion whereby the corruption and money grabbing means in the PA can also tantamount to put it in the same category of “kleptocratic government” that I have used for Israel earlier, or Nixon uses in the context of Nigeria. The second thing, however is the real situation of the PA, that it is just a nom de plume, while it does not have any real authority that may be able to safeguard the Palestinian rights. It is here that Karmi makes this comment: “Why not tell the truth? I thought. Why not say that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, you or the PA can do to stop one inch of this wall being built? It would at least be honest” (*Return* 74).

Another grim reality that Karmi draws our attention towards in the chapter titled, “A Concert in Neblus,” is the profusion of NGOs in the West Bank. In an interview she gave to Elaine Hagopian in 2015, Karmi says that the place is actually littered with NGOs (Karmi "The Arabic Hour"). Though the concert in Neblus, as the title of this chapter

suggests, is not something that Karmi takes us to straight away, the pun in the title itself is worth mentioning. The chapter starts with the meeting (discussed above), followed by a detailed description of the NGOs and their role in this whole game of the depiction of Palestinian rights. Zeina, a young and attractive young woman, who works in one of the ministries, despite the difference in their ages, befriends Karmi rather takes her “under her wings” (*Returns* 75), as Karmi puts it. She keeps a calendar of all the events (read circus, as Karmi says in her interview), that are going on in Ramallah and the whole of West Bank. Karmi sees these NGOs as an interpellative buffer strategy for keeping the people busy, thinking of themselves as doing something besides providing the means for livelihood, which, as Karmi notices, that Zeina has no illusions about, because her views about all this activity in their lives “under occupation” are “refreshingly forthright and honest....In a word, grim” (*Return* 76) as Zeina herself puts it.

Karmi sees these mushrooming of NGOs as another ISA or interpellation, (to use Althusser’s terms, yet again). Quite pointedly, Karmi describes the whole precept of these NGOs in one paragraph. To cite Karmi’s own words:

NGOs were important sources of livelihood in the Occupied Territories, where farming land and natural resources were in short supply and the restrictions on travel and freedom of movement between places made most kinds of ordinary work impossible. They attracted the best educated and most talented Palestinians, like Zeina, to the extent that many people thought NGOs had been deliberately introduced into the Palestinian territories by pro-Israeli Western agencies to siphon off the pool of available Palestinian talent and prevent it from being used to mount any resistance to Israel. It was certainly the case that the people who worked for NGOs were kept inordinately busy, as one of their main tasks was raising funds to continue in work (and have their salaries paid). They spent the last three months at least of each year working on proposals for the next year’s projects, thereby hoping to ensure a renewal of their contracts. (*Return* 76)

Perhaps, more than anywhere else in her memoir, I find this passage quite important to bring out the difference between a life narrative and a memoir (as mentioned in the first chapter). Karmi not only narrates the incidents, but also comments about these political happenings around her. That is one important aspect that distinguishes a life narrative, which is more about oneself and is self-reflexive, while a memoir is intermeshed with the political events of one’s times. Not only does Karmi bring out this political aspect, which

is what Palestinian life is all about, but also, her professional and informed commentary is quite illuminating.

In this passage, Karmi brings out the interpellative aspects of Palestinian life. She tells how the people have to resort to working in these pro-Israeli Western agencies introduced NGOs and to keep this business alive because there is no other stable means of livelihood in the “Occupied Territories” (the other name of Palestine) because of innumerable restrictions on Palestinian life. It is also, as Karmi observes, a siphoning of the Palestinian talent from becoming a real force against their occupier. By allowing them to work in these NGOs their talent is channelized in manageable ways—an age old strategy of colonial and imperial masters of divide and rule. These NGOs provided a fool’s paradise “after the Oslo Accords, when everyone thought that Palestinian Statehood was within reach” (77). These NGOs that sprang up all over West Bank, Gaza, and some parts of East Jerusalem, use a specific jargon about their activities as Karmi notes. “Expressions like ‘capacity building,’ ‘sustainability,’ ‘democratization,’ [and] ‘empowerment’” (*Return* 77), become the acquired currency, or shall we say, are made to gain currency with the local Palestinians.

By exposing these Sisyphean myths, and showing their vampirish teeth of outdoing each other to get more and more foreign aids (which the foreign funding bodies are more happy to oblige them with, as long as they kept going in spirals), Karmi is uncovering a very bitter reality. Realities in which these NGOs are flying and buzzing around with money, whereas the story of real needy people like *mukhtar* (village headman) is circulating around these NGOs like an anecdote. Once this farmer, a *mukhtar* turns up in one of these offices and asks one of the officials there: “‘Tell me, my son, where can I get hold of one of these ‘proposals’ everyone’s talking about? God knows we need the money’” (*Return* 77). Juxtaposing this simple, yet true request with the “roundtable discussion on ‘solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict’ being held at the Grand Park Hotel” (*Return* 75), one of the most expensive hotels of Ramallah, as Karmi tells us, brings out the grim reality of interpellation of this sad and appropriated place of Palestine. Karmi exposes the vindictiveness in all this pep talk with double standards, while the actual humanity and its justified ethic of leading a normal life is being put under erasure, rather being interpellated as being even demonic.

Karmi’s memoir is a great critique of the emptiness of these cankering vessels of counter critique like that of Dr Wajdi Sallam, the chairman and head of an NGO or the

concert in Neblus (discussed shortly). Dr Sallam was famous for being outspoken in his criticism of Israel and people often wondered how he got away with what he spoke. He was a “globetrotter” (*Return* 78) as Karmi notes, who attended many international conferences. But she also gives her critique that, in actuality, it was good for Israeli image if they allowed spokespersons like Dr Sallam to “let off steam in public.” She says, “Israelis did not care how much Palestinians like him screamed their heads off, as long as they did not do anything else.” She considers it extremely clever of Israelis and their “Machiavellian powers” (*Return* 78) to allow not just that but also the concert of a recital in Neblus by two young Palestinian women from Ramallah, one a soprano singer, and the other a pianist. The arrangement of such a concert, on such a balmy night, that Karmi could recall from her yester years of childhood, in the heart of a Palestinian town of Neblus, which is famous for its true religious character and “with a proud solid Muslim Arab identity which refused to succumb or compromise with the enemy” (*Return* 83), is not without a reason.

Karmi’s acute observation takes into account the extreme interpellation, resulting as the ISAs of Israeli strategies of letting people like Dr Sallam carry out meetings, in which the warring rhetoric between Hamas and Fateh was always detrimental but gets Dr Sallam to *write reports* which went in the dossiers of his NGOs annual achievements. His reports also reminds us of the concept of *idées reçues* that Said theorized based on the short satirical work by French novelist, Gustave Flaubert (1821-80) published posthumously in 1911-13. Just as the main theme of *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* was the copying of texts, unmindfully, from “preexisting units of information [which were] deposited by Flaubert in the catalogue of *idées reçues*” (*Orientalism* 94), Dr Sallam’s writing these reports for the sake of writing them for his NGO, reminds us, in a way, of the two characters in Flaubert’s satirical novel who, mechanically and unmindfully, copied and transferred preexistent body of knowledge from one place to another.

Karmi draws our attention to the multipronged agendas of Israeli ISAs being accomplished by the concerts like the one she attends with Annetta and Samir. This concert by two young women, provide the youth an outlet. But this outlet is in sharp contrast to “tight Israeli military control over the whole area which was rigorously policed” (*Return* 82) and the manhandling that goes on the main route or the central artery of the road that connects Nazareth in the North with Bethlehem in the south. The check posts on this road and the huge settlement of Yitzhar, as Karmi tells us, “a religious colony known for its fundamentalist Jewish zealots and their violent anti-Arab hostility” (*Return* 83), tells a

totally different story than the apparent message being put across to the world by this concert. Even Samir, the young American-Palestinian who, as Karmi notes, has the typically American demeanor of an observer and an onlooker that she finds disconcerting at times (she even considers herself an outsider too), marvels at the defying courage of the people present at the concert and moves his head from side to side in an appreciative gesture. But the culpable reality they face on the balmy night like this is the “vigilant presence of Israeli army units” (*Return* 82) brings out the interpellative strategies of Israel by carrying out double agendas of concerts and confiscations both at the same time.

Karmi writes about how the people of Nablus, who “with a proud and solid Muslim Arab identity” and who “refused to succumb or compromise with the enemy” are constantly being seized by Israel’s “aggressive soldiers.” She writes how they have been the target of many “Israeli raids, when soldiers would seize young men on Israel’s ‘wanted list’ and take them away for interrogation and usually imprisonment” (*Return* 83). Ironically, they face this reality right after this concert, when their car is stopped, and Samir, in his typically American way, infuriates the Hebrew speaking soldier by saying, “Well, buddy, you picked the wrong people” (*Return* 86)! He is detained while the ladies are asked to wait. It is their sheer luck that the new soldier checking their passports, has a girlfriend who lives in Golders Green, a Jewish community in London, where Karmi’s father (another dramatic, or shall we say, cosmic irony) chose to settle his family in 1948. It is Karmi’s camaraderie with the soldier, which he fortunately buys, that they are allowed to go.

It is important to make a short comparative note of the episode at Nablus and the facts on ground about this city that Karmi narrates. It may be seen that it is only in the context of Nablus so far that she writes about the manhandling of the young men of this place, while it is a pervasive abuse that Basharat Peer narrates in the context of Kashmir (as discussed in the previous chapter). Apart from many others, two reasons for this difference stand out. One is that this is Karmi’s fourth book and second memoir and she has written a lot on the actual death and destruction in her first memoir, *In Search of Fatima* (2002). This memoir, *Return* (2015), that I have selected as my primary text, is a commentary and experience of a seasoned activist and a writer, while Peer’s memoir is his debut work and written with the experiences of a relatively young man, with his text being seminal in narrating the facts about Kashmir from a man’s perspective. While a feminist critique that we experience in Karmi’s text is not a concern of this project, it is important to say that we do find traces of a feminist commentary that cannot be there in Peer. Many

a times the cruel brutalities that Peer narrates, are something that are too rampant, which are the main force of occupation in Kashmir, and he faces them, on account of being a man. On the other hand, Karmi, on account of her being living in England, and being a woman (one example of the episode with Samir, discussed above), and also because she was not physically present at the time of actual massacres. For instance, she did not witness any massacres like that of Deir Yasin, (the mention of which comes shortly). Therefore, her narrative does not describe the firsthand accounts of bloodshed, physical torture, and psychological disorders of different people that Peer witnesses and narrates also.

What infuriates Karmi is her witnessing the appropriation of her land going unabated, while the Palestinians are busy in activities like concerts, conferences, and fund-raising dinners for bringing awareness about the Palestinian plight. Though they may be serving a specific function, but the disparity between the limited projected awareness and the actual state of affairs is what Karmi wants to bring out through her narrative. It pains her to see that the ministers like Dr Farid journeys to Gaza when there is a planned visit by US Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice. Or when it is rumored that the head of the cabinet has become wealthy because of the cement company that he owns, supplies “Israel with cement for the building of Jewish settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories” (*Return* 97). Naturally, she is wary of the mockery of innumerable activities and fund-raising dinners going around her. However, on one such dinner that Zeina takes Karmi to, she listens to the young grandson of Abd Al-Qadir al-Husseini, who is named after his grandfather.

While sitting there listening to this young man, Karmi recalls the significant place his grandfather held in Palestinian history, how this hero of Palestine had “fought valiantly against the Zionists at the time of the British Mandate” when Karmi was a child. Al-Husseini “was killed in April of 1948 at the battle of al-Qastal, a hilltop village five miles west of Jerusalem” (*Return* 93), leaving his followers shattered and demoralized. While they left their positions to attend his funeral, they were captured by Haganah, the Jewish army, which was also carrying out numerous terrorists’ attacks even against their patrons, the British. Karmi remembers how it comes to be seen that Zionists wasted no time and the next very day of 9 April, 1948, the notorious incident of the Jewish paramilitary against the inhabitants of Deir Yassin takes place in which 109 inhabitants are killed, a village, which was “at peace with the Jewish militias” (*Return* 94). This massacre had a terrible impact on

the neighboring villages and terrified people started vacating their villages, including Karmi's family who had to leave Jerusalem.

Thus, the killing of Al-Husseini starts a snowball impact on Palestinian environment culminating into massacres like Deir Yassin, Plan Dalet and others mentioned above with reference to Professor Walid Khalidi's book cited in the bibliography. Murder of leaders like Al-Husseini is also a manifestation of Sir Sykes declarative statements that Schmeer has cited and I have quoted above in section 1.2. When Schmeer writes Sykes resolve that all the important people who put up any resistance "will be Killed" which astonishes the present, even a person of Arthur Balfour's stature, but Schmeer also tells us that Sykes' resolve was already bought by the audience because "Sykes was preaching to the converted" (48). With her narrative, Karmi foregrounds Sykes prognostications and their implications till this day.

Karmi writes how "Menachem Begin, the leader of the gang that had perpetrated the killings, and later, one of Israel's prime ministers, boasted that Deir Yassin had been worth a thousand military tanks in the war against the Arabs." Calling this massacre, or any similar massacres, as war, cannot be justified by any moral standards. As Salman Abu Sitta, one of the esteemed historians, who is referred to as the atlas of Palestine also, maintains in his writings that in 1948 the ratio of Jewish army to Palestinian defense in 1948, was 120,000:2500, and therefore it was a foregone victory for the Jews.²⁶ And that is why Karmi's comment contains the bitterest of ironies when she says that in her 1991 visit to this place of Deir Yassin, she finds that "it had been turned, perhaps fittingly, into a mental hospital" (*Return* 94). The mindless killings in this deir (village), proved the death knell for many other similar massacres. One being Lydda Valley massacre which is carried out by a mere wave of hand of Ben Gurion, with no written records for any orders, as Peretz Kidron reminds us.²⁷ Among many scholars, this massacre is also described by Professor Robbins. Using Ari Shavit's memoir's context that Lydda valley "massacre and expulsion were policy, not accident," Robbins points at the interpellation of Jewish army ("The Logic" 15). Therefore, anyone, least of all the prime minister himself, who perpetrates a massacre and then calls it a victory, is a disturbingly cruel phenomenon. Professor Robbins, describes the Lydda Valley massacre in these words:

Images of uniformed Jewish thugs robbing and humiliating helpless civilians come too close for comfort to iconic scenes of Jewish deportees herded and hounded by the Nazis. ("The Logic" 16)

Instead of any accountability of such war crimes, we witness an erasure of land, life, and property that Karmi writes in this memoir of 2015.

Through her text, Karmi draws our attention to this conundrum that may be seen as Palestinian reality. A reader is at a loss to decide whether it is the Zionist appropriation of Palestinian life, land and property, or the most operative interpellative strategies that buy the ministers of the PA, or the interpellated reality of a normal Palestinian that may be stated as the defining status for this, one of the greatest tragedies of twentieth and twenty-first century. The educated Palestinians are working for the spirals of the colonizers in the NGOs and ministries, while the ordinary citizens, *in this land without people*, on account of their poverty, are reduced to become Palestinian laborers. These laborers are interpellated to a level that they even have to bear the humiliation of “building these places, erecting settler houses on the very lands that Israel had taken from their villages” (*Return* 97). Can we, or any liberal powers, imagine the bitter resignation in this oppression? Or, it is, after all, as many historians, political scientists, or intellectuals argue,²⁸ a collusion in this tyranny that is letting all the perpetrating agencies of this cruel human abuse go scot free, which is increasingly becoming the binding seal for these hapless people.

Karmi’s subsequent trips to Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gaza complete the picture of her brazenly appropriated land and bring her the sad realization of the difference between the “occupying power and the people it occupied” (*Return* 99). While her earlier trip to Jerusalem (narrated above) was with Annetta with her Israeli number plated car, this time she is to make her journey on a bus, for which she has to book a taxi from her apartment in Gemzo suites to Qalandia check point which marks the boundary between Palestine i.e. Area A, and Israel i.e. Area C.²⁹ The potholes that the PA should have had repaired in the area (supposedly) under their jurisdiction, are to be maneuvered around by the vehicles. However, the checkpoint, with the wall rising “incongruously” to her right, with “the graffiti expressing freedom and struggle” and the “huge slate-grey watchtower” on the wall, makes her see the aphasia³⁰ of the people around her. The watchtower, with a “disembodied voice booming orders through a loudspeaker [] at the Palestinians below” (*Return* 106) offers a picture-perfect manifestation of Foucault’s concept of a panopticon and the “docile subjects” (Leitch 1618)—a presaging of which is found in his teacher, Althusser’s theory of Ideology (ISAs and RSAs discussed across this research).

Besides giving a graphic description of an eco-appropriated landscape—“a mess: rubble, bits of unfinished separation wall, kiosks [and] Israeli soldiers shouting at people

trying to cross the checkpoint” (*Return* 106), Karmi also sketches the details of the hardships that she faces during her bus journey following this scene. These “practices of incursion and dispossession” (Huggan 8), as they may be called, may be seen when soon after the departure of their bus, it is “flagged down by an army jeep” (*Return* 107). Even with the UNDP office’s clear instructions for its employees like Karmi that their UNDP employment card would suffice, and they are not to show their passports at any such situations, she is asked to get down from the bus for further interrogation when she tries to put her weight around by showing them her UNDP card only. Due to her being used to her British identity, Karmi is unable to grasp the full implications of the “arrogance” of the soldiers who are at a liberty to impede the “whole busload of passengers from getting to their jobs and other appointments,” for another mundane activity of checking their IDs which have “already been checked at Qalandia a few minutes before” (*Return* 107). Her justified protest falls on deaf ears and one army jeep is followed by another.

Besides giving us a sharp reminder of similar check posts and interrogations that Peer gives in his account (discussed in the previous chapter), Karmi’s encounter on this check point reveals another aspect of this appropriated land. In her infuriation, Karmi demands the name of the young soldier interrogating her. Reading his name as Dimitri Ovanov, she realizes that he is Russian and not even Jewish because she informs us that “about 40 per cent of the Russian citizens who had emigrated to Israel, supposedly as Jews coming to the Promised Land, were in fact Christians” (*Return* 108). His brief moment of uncertainty in giving her his name is soon replaced by a stern gesture when the other army jeep approaches them. Karmi’s description of a thickset soldier sitting leisurely with one foot on the dashboard, “sucking on a straw and looking at [her] with a faint amusement,” and beckoning, a quite distinguished looking woman like her, in such an offensive manner, to come closer to the jeep provides the picture perfect description of Althusser’s words about

interpellation or hailing, [] which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday [sic] police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there!’ (264)

This officer, whom Karmi can recognize as Druze, “a minority Arab Islamic sect which had thrown in its lot with Israel back in 1948” (*Return* 108), in a dismissive gesture of clicking his thumb and the middle finger against each other, tells Karmi:

I want you to understand that here in Israel your card and your UN and whoever else you like to mention is worth not so much as an onion peel! We don't give this much for any of them! Only our law counts. Only what we say and do counts. Get it? Now give me your passport. (*Return* 109)

So much for Karmi's justifications! She eventually shows her passport, and comes to the bitter realization that if this happens with a UNDP employee like herself, it is certainly worse for all the fuming passengers waiting for her to return to the bus, so that they could go to their drudgeries of life. Besides giving us a vivid description of the life under occupation, the relaxed and amused manner of this Druze officer is also a sharp reminder of wanton boys killing for sport phenomenon.

Many similar episodes are recorded in many other memoirs.³¹ An Israeli author and peace activist, Miko Peled, after living many years in the pervasive rhetoric of 'othering' the Palestinians, following in the footsteps of his father, gives up his position from the Israeli Special Forces, and becomes a Karate instructor in California. In his memoir titled, *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (2012), he records his protest along with Palestinians against the ongoing occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. In one such protests he gets released from the jail only because he is an Israeli citizen, with the words:

Look, he is an Israeli citizen and he has rights. It's not a Palestinian that I can just beat up and throw in prison. (186)

However, he is not so lucky when he protests in 2011, he is captured, and his iPhone is confiscated to delete the video of the shameful operations the soldiers are carrying out. Though Peled recalls that

Somehow, through all this madness, I stayed relatively calm—something I find hard to explain. Perhaps it had to do with the soothing Palestinian landscape. (188)

However, when Karmi is interrogated, she probably does not have the liberty to record the peaceful nature of her land with the verve that we see in the text of Peled. Gauged with any humanistic yard-stick, it is something rather shameless, that a sixty-six year old (Karmi's age in 2005) respectable professional woman is ordered about by young Russian and Druze soldiers, young enough to be her sons or grandsons, in such a harsh manner.

Her final arrival in the eastern "so-called Arab Jerusalem" (*Return* 110) is a depressing reality for Karmi. She realizes that with every subsequent visit,

the Arab city had shrunk further, with yet another street infiltrated by Jewish settlers, or some Israeli-owned hotel or other Israeli building, as if to stamp it with a seal of Israeli ownership. With each change of this kind East Jerusalem lost more of its distinctive character, and I could see that in time and perhaps before too long the pluralistic, mosaic city of my birth would become something unrecognizable. (*Return* 110)

It is this massive appropriation or what Rob Nixon terms as “blinkered eonationalism” (238) that Karmi sees as counter to the environmental ethic of an Arab place. Changing the Arab character of the city and replacing its age-old pluralistic and cosmopolitan life of the followers of three Abrahamic religions, with an occupying oppression, is what bothers Karmi. The overwhelmingly Arab “Salah al-Din Street opposite to the Herod’s Gate” in the city of her birth fills her with nostalgia. The “faint echoes of childhood,” her old school of “Al-Ma’omouniyya,” the “colourful embroidered caftans” (compare them with Kashmiri Pherahan) of the village women “sitting on the pavement with baskets of fresh fruit and vegetables around them” fills her with an “ineffable sadness” (*Return* 111) and a deep sense of loss.

So much for the promise of not touching the sacred sites that Theodore Herzl, the father of Zionism, gave to the mayor of Jerusalem when he wrote to him to request for some form of unaccommodating the Jews.³²

But no one thinks of ever touching those. As I have said and written many times: These places have lost forever the faculty of belonging exclusively to one faith, to one race or to one people. The Holy Places are and will remain holy for all the world, for the Moslems as for the Christians as for the Jews. The universal peace which all men of good will ardently hope for will have its symbol in a brotherly union in the Holy Places. (Herzl "Letter" 92)

What Karmi wants to point out through her narrative is a new understanding of this, more than a century old dilemma of the Red Riding Hood going unabated, with no possibility of understanding the allegory in this saga, on the part of the colonial-imperialistic hegemonies around the world. In other words, it is a cunning and interpellative strategics at play when, in addition to the red riding hoods, the whole world is made to buy the wolf’s narrative.

According to many scholars like Professor Walid Khalidi, it is the “atavistic and irredentist Zionist dimensions” of these colonial-imperial denominations, purblind to the

indigenous Palestinian populations that have brought this fate on them.³³ Karmi's text adds the element of corruption that makes these "internal colonialists" (Nixon 238), complicit in this saga of atavistic and irredentist (ancient or ancestral), and yet spurious Zionist claims.

Many other writers and scholars, (to quote only four) like Sitta, Haas, Peled, and El-Haj have likewise deconstructed these specious declarations in their books: *The Palestinian Nakba 1948 : the register of depopulated localities in Palestine* (2000) and *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2016) by Sitta, *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land under Siege* (1999) and *Reporting from Ramallah: An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land* (2003) by Haas, *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (2012) and *Injustice: The Story of the Holy Land Foundation Five* (2018) by Peled, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israel Society* (2001) and *The Genealogical Science: The Search for Jewish Origins and the Politics of Epistemology* (2012) by El-Haj respectively. The works of these scholars, academicians, and writers offer a detailed anthropological and autobiographical study in the Palestinian landscape, with Sitta's focus more on Gaza, Haas' two memoirs both on Gaza and West Bank, Peled's on Hebron, and El-Haj on Jerusalem.

The transformation of Jerusalem's medieval Arab character into "a modern, quasi-Western Jewish metropolis" (110) is what Karmi finds increasingly disturbing. Equally alarming is the village of Silwan on the outskirts of Jerusalem, which, as Karmi notes, became

the pivot and focus of an impassioned Israeli archaeological hunt for the biblical past. Religious Jewish settlers had associated it with the biblical King David, and from then on it was doomed. Israelis viewed archaeology as less a scholarly pursuit for its own sake than a battleground in which to promote Jewish history as they saw it, at the expense of any other kind. The imperative was to find proof of an ancient Jewish presence in Palestine's modern land that would show the world how justified, indeed how natural, was the modern Jewish desire to reconnect with those imagined Israelite ancestors the Bible spoke of in such realistic and concrete terms. If the evidence could be found, it would give their presence in Palestine a legitimacy they still felt they lacked. (*Return* 245)

karmi's words point out an important reality, namely that Zionist presence in Palestine is a myth and they are finding ways and means yet to prove their legitimacy which they lack

still. Nadia Abu El-Haj, in her book, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israel Society* (2001), dispels all ambiguities about the intent and methods of “Israeli archeology,” and argues that it has been used as a means to “produce a cohesive national imagination,” which she sees as a “national hobby” of Israeli society (El-Haj 3, 1). According to her, there is a lot that goes into tailoring or carving this national imaginary, because “the archaeological record tends to be taken as given” (El-Haj 13) to the existing Jewish theory.

This Jewish theory is something Karmi also exposes when she meets with the “pleasant and friendly” Israeli archeologist, looking over “the major archaeological excavation site, where the search for biblical authenticity was conducted” (*Return* 247), but the truth was that the

Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic remains were cut through and forever lost to archaeology. The remnants of an eighth-to ninth-century Abbasid building were dismantled in this manner, and the tunnels uncovered by the excavations under the Old City walls passed beneath Roman, Crusader and Mamluk historical layers that no longer existed as a result. (*Return* 248)

However, when Karmi points it out to the archeologist, his answer was no more than a dismissive shrug and the statement: “I don’t know about that, but the search for truth must go on” (*Return* 248). It is this apocalypse of the environment that Karmi is drawing our attention to. She brings out the explicit disregard for keeping the ancient character of these cities in order to carve out the Jewish brand of truth, while the actual truth is that “Israeli religious organisations, headed by the especially fanatical Elad, offered generous funding, thought to be from American sources, and spurred forward the archaeological excavations designed to validate the biblical claims to Silwan. (*Return* 246)

What Karmi is recording in her memoir in 2015, Nadia Abu El-Haj, a distinguished professor at Barnard College, Columbia University, New York pointed out in her book in 2001. Doing her research and exposing some of these, most heterogeneous ideas yoked together by violence, to use Dr Johnson’s phrase that he used for the Metaphysical Poets, El-Haj argues that the landscape is remade by creating particular angles of vision. Her premise is best explained by Peter Galison’s metaphor that she quotes about the goal of the experimentalist archeologists in this land:

They are like the relationship of Michelangelo's *David* to the block of marble from which it was hewn: the statue is in the stone, but the background has to be carved away in order to see it. (El-Haj 131)

She clearly exposes "the mythological digs," as one archeologist describes this phenomenon, as the characterizing traits of "early years of statehood" of "Israeli colonial-national imagination," which have been, quite resourcefully, also "directly tied to the media" (El-Haj 130). Consequently, El-Haj argues that the history of Jerusalem got lost in the presupposed "*Jewish* nationalist commitments" because it was simply not "coterminous with the (quest for) a Jewish national tale" (El-Haj 131), as she puts it. In other words, although the archeological findings may not have the same boundaries and results, or extent in space, time, or meaning to the Jewish theory but Michelangelo has to be hewn at all costs, carving *away* the actual reality.

Similarly, when Karmi gets her way to the UNDP office in this "new metropolis of Western mould" (*Return* 111), i.e. Jerusalem, she requests Mounir the official she had gone to meet, to change her position to another ministry or institution. Though she refrains from heaving out her frustration to him as Annetta had advised her, but she should have known better. After talking to him and hearing his reply she understands that there is no chance of any serious focused way forward. Her earlier observations at Abu Dis and Neblus and with the latter's competing NGOs was just a beginning. Mounir tells her in quite clear terms that "You're here under the UNDP programme for expatriates. We agreed you would be placed as a consultant, and that's what you're doing" (*Return* 112). At this point, Karmi realizes that if she is getting such a dismissive reply from someone sitting at the heart of this impacted land of Jerusalem, and that too from the United Nations' office, there is hardly any real objective of any real amelioration. All the pep talk of PA and devising a media campaign is just another eyewash for the actual suffering inhabitants of this land. Salman Abu Sitta comes to the same understanding in his memoir which is published one year after Karmi's. He writes:

The new Israeli war targeted the Palestinians' inner self, their identity, their being. It aimed to pollute their minds like a Trojan horse virus. This war did not bother to attack their hearts. Let them ache, dream, and remember, as long as they do not raise a hand or develop an idea....[The Palestinians have to maintain a rote learned rhetoric that] Palestine is our country. We are Palestinians, rooted in this land. European Jewish colonizers came to our land, carried out the largest ethnic

cleansing in Palestine's history, expelled us, took our land, and made us refugees. We are determined to return home [Thus] The Israeli myth and Palestinian facts competed for ascendancy. New players came into this war. They were not only the usual pro-Israel Zionists, or the opportunistic western politicians, the best democracy money can buy. Some were recruited Palestinians. (Mapping 297-8)

So, while the Palestinians are provided a make believe platform to have their catharsis; or are showered with the phrases like "how vibrant, clever, and resourceful they are. Real survivors. Whatever Israel throws at them, they bounce right back" (*Return* 113); the factual status quo is never challenged. The ethos of their point of view is always targeted by the ad hominem³⁴ of the oppressors.

The recruited Palestinians that Sitta talks about, are the PA and its workings that Karmi critiques in her memoir, the working (or no working) conditions of which give her an excuse to visit Jerusalem alone in the bus. Though her request for a change in ministry as her work place is not reciprocated favorably in this visit to Jerusalem, but she is also able to honor a surprise invitation that she gets from the *New York Times* bureau chief, Stephen Langer. He had written to her earlier that he could recognize the home that she had described in her earlier memoir, *In Search of Fatima* (2002), and that he believes he lived in the flat above what was her home. However, Karmi's visit to her home which is granted to her as a gracious gesture does not work out well, and she regrets the visit after all. Naturally, it is difficult to see another "well-to-do Israeli family" occupying it, who "thought it was chic to live in old Arab houses because they had 'character' and 'features.'" It also brings back disturbing memories of her childhood, of "quiet siesta afternoons spent playing with Randa Issa, [her] friend from across the road" (*Return* 116). It is also when she asks Langer's objective opinion about this premise of occupying another person's house in the answer to which she finds the "underlying smugness about him" quite irritating. This smugness about Langer is in sharp contrast to some Israelis she has met, who, she thinks, have what she calls "Zionist angst" (*Return* 120), because for some like a Jewish publisher who tells Karmi that she was unable to sleep because of what she had seen.

Her next trip to Hebron is no help either. It opens another dimension to the land under occupation—"a tormented place" (*Return* 131). Going with foreigners in an Israeli registered car, Karmi can observe the well-paved roads leading to Hebron from the south, all under Israeli control and full of settlements, with the cars passing them being driven by

settlers and their wives. She looks at the beautiful scenery of “lush farming land, fertile red soil for which the Hebron countryside was famous, and acres of vineyards and leafy plum and fig trees” (*Return* 131). But what she is about to witness and experience in this beautiful land rich in these bounties, leaves no room for doubt, except perhaps for the occupiers themselves or their complicit brokers, that it is a dirty, unscrupulous, and hegemonic occupation. Karmi accompanies the British journalist Chris Horton, and two Italian activists, Pietro and Filippo to the farm of Abu Ibrahim.

She comes to know that until recently, his farm and the farm of the land next door all belonged to his family. The main produce of his orchards was grapes but he shows them his withering yellowing vineyards with dying bunches of grapes. Karmi writes that “a couple of years before, the family was served with a military order that the lands were to be confiscated for ‘army use.’ A battle in Israel’s courts contesting the order ensued, but, as was the way with the majority of such cases, it failed. The land was duly expropriated and soon afterwards turned over to the settlers who now farmed it.” As if this wasn’t enough his family members, children and grand-children were tortured with all sorts of abuse. Sometimes their farms were barged in with “large, fierce dogs” (*Return* 132), sometimes they played loud music all night, sometimes Abu Ibrahim and his family were harassed, insulted, and cursed. But this is not all. Karmi comes to know that more recently,

The Israeli authorities which came to connect the settlements around his farm to Israel’s national water carrier had at the same time disconnected his supply. They were deaf to all entreaty, and as a result he was forced to use an old well that had been on the farm since as far back as he could remember, (*Return* 133)

which is not enough for his vineyards.

Abu Ibrahim’s “expropriated” land reminds us of what many scholars like Shlomo Sand write about the history of occupation of this settler colonialism. In his book, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (2009), Sand writes about the Jewish hegemonic designs from the beginning of Israel’s existence. He says: “It expropriated more than half their land, and kept them under military government and harsh restrictions until 1966, but legally they were Israeli citizens” (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 281). Here, Sand is talking in the context of the Palestinian (so called) citizens of Israel but Karmi is writing about the illegal land grab that is seen in all the cities and places of West Bank, supposedly under the control of PA. When she naively asks if Abu Ibrahim has complained to the Palestinian

Authority, his answer is bitingly truthful when he says “The Authority? What Authority” (*Return* 133)? He tells her that two men had come to him and talked to him and offered him a few hundred dollars as a compensation.

Shlomo Sand describes this rampant racism, which, he believes is present everywhere but racism

in Israel [...] exists deep within the spirit of the laws. It is taught in schools and colleges, spread in the media, and above all and most dreadful, in Israel the racists do not know what they are doing and, because of this, feel in no way obliged to apologise. This absence of a need for self-justification has made Israel a particularly prized reference point for many movements of the far right throughout the world, movements whose past history of antisemitism is only too well known. To live in such a society has become increasingly intolerable to me, but I must also admit that it is no less difficult to make my home elsewhere....I am tired and feel that the last leaves of reason are falling from our tree of political action, leaving us barren in the face of caprices of the sleepwalking sorcerers of the tribe. ("I Wish to Resign" n.pag.)

Sand gives his candid opinion on Israel's racism which, as narrated by Karmi brings out the ways, means, and manners of appropriation of Abu Ibrahim's land.

Though an acclaimed historian, Sand is quite humble for his achievements and says that he is not an expert and should not have written this book which got translated into 21 languages. While discussing his book in a seminar, he says that he starts the book with childish questions about national life and national people. Like El-Haj or Massad, Sand contradicts Jewish claims of authenticity. He says that the official narrative of archaeologists now even refutes the exodus from Egypt. Refuting the “ancient (and utterly fictitious) myths” (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 50) of a people he states that people are a myth of modernity. In his view, we need a general language and believes that it is not nations that create nationality in nationalism. But it's nationalism that creates nations. Discussing his religion, Sand believes that Judaism is a great religion and does not have any problem with the myth of the chosen people even. However, he is against its abusive use, which he says is the case in the settler colonialism of Israel, which is and running at the heels of the colonized. He decomposes the idea of the chosen people who has a nuclear weapon. He says that the new and the old testaments are not historical books

but theological books. He concludes his book by advocating a multicultural democracy which respects its minorities and “avoids harming them, and grants communal rights to minorities, making no attempt to impose one particular culture” (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 296). On the contrary he sees Zionism as a nationalism in which the leader states that State of Israel is not the state of its citizens. The minorities don’t belong to State (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 301). And so, according to Sand, the Jews in any other country are more Israeli than the actual people if they are not Jew.

The angry snort that an impacted Palestinian identity like Abu Ibrahim gives for the disgustingly pathetic gesture by the PA, reminds us of the similar pitiable gestures that we witnessed in Peer’s memoir when different victims’ families of Mubeena (rape victim), or Parveena (mother of disappeared son), Gulzar (Peer’s cousin blown with mine) and several others, show the interpellation of the oppressors with their ISAs and RSAs. Abu Ibrahim’s comment only makes Karmi feel impotent in the face of his tragedy when he shows them his vineyards. He cries as if it is his own flesh and blood that is dying. Karmi writes:

Look at this one! he cried. Or that one! Look how yellow and shrivelled they are. See my grapes, so small, they never had a chance to ripen before they died. He strode agitatedly from vine to vine, holding up their desiccated branches for us to see. He was shaking with anger, and I wondered how many times a day he looked at them in just this way and felt the same rage each time. I thought he looked ill, his eyes hollow and unnaturally bright, and I doubted his body could withstand all that anger and shattering loss for much longer. (*Return* 134)

Karmi is not alone to state this ecocide of her land. Many other writers around the world have written about the ecocide of their lands, which cannot be justified in any aspect; ethically, politically, socially, humanistically, or environmentally. Such occupation cannot be justified under any category of ethics. In the context of Palestine and especially in the context of Hebron, Miko Peled writes in his memoir, *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (2012):

As I saw all this I began to think to myself, *Palestine’s landscape is the kind that beckons you to open doors and its people are hospitable and always welcome you with open arms. It is a land of hospitality and kindness.* Yet the settlers and their protectors have chosen to impose themselves on this land and its people, to take the land by force and close themselves within fortified ghettos, called settlements.

Kiryat Arba, just like the other settlements in the West Bank, is an open wound in an otherwise peaceful and welcoming land. How or why people choose to live like this is beyond me. (185)

This settler imposition upon the local landscape is what Karmi also witnesses. She and her companions leave Abu Ibrahim with the wretched knowledge that “the settlers and their army protectors would win and Abu Ibrahim and his family would lose” (*Return* 134).

The social injustices that the ordinary Palestinian life is enduring are also getting manifested in the form of environmental appropriations. Like Jerusalem and its archeological quests, Karmi can see the appropriation of Ibrahim mosque of Hebron. She writes that Ibrahim mosque, serving as a major Palestinian shrine, was occupied by Jews in 1967 war. Since then, the Jews believing that the “biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives were allegedly buried” (*Return* 135) in the cave underneath this mosque, trust that the mosque was built on top of the cave. And therefore, in 1994, the “fanatical American Jewish settler, Baruch Goldstein who shared this view, shot dead twenty-nine Muslim Hebronites praying inside the mosque” (*Return* 136). Karmi knows that if the woman sentry post guarding the entrance of the mosque had come to know that she was a Muslim among her companions she would not have let her inside the mosque.

Looking at the most impressive Abraham’s tomb and other “octagonal-shaped sepulchers” draped in emerald-green cloths bearing “Quranic verses” and “Arabic calligraphy” (*Return* 136), Karmi wonders at the incongruity of this scene before her. She cannot understand how the devoutly praying Jews cannot see the essentially Islamic architecture of this typical mosque layout, the Quranic verses, and yet claim that the place is only Jewish. Her companion, Chris Horton disagrees with her and tells her that the religious zealotry of any religion makes the devotees “believe in things quite blindly, whether they can see them or not” (*Return* 137). But the religious fanaticism she is about to witness in the market place is something that leaves Karmi sad and frustrated.

The whole place is a depressing sight of ISAs and RSAs. Hebron’s covered souk, “the traditional Arab marketplace,” which she remembers as the “hub of economic activity” (*Return* 137), especially the al-Shuhada street is deserted with the closed shutters of shops. It presents a picture of a ghost town because the Israeli army had shut down the street to all Palestinians. With the graffiti on the closed shutters in Hebrew and English, “telling Arabs to get out,” the “star of David painted on the shop fronts,” and orthodox settlers stopping

and staring at Karmi and her companions (all Christians) with “undisguised hostility” (*Return* 140), leaves Karmi flustered. Further down to the adjacent souk (a part supposedly belonging to Muslims yet) there are some shops open but with absolutely no buyers, and the Muslim shopkeepers are living off a “monthly stipend the PA paid them to keep their shops open and fend off the settlers’ attempts to have them shut down” (*Return* 138). One of the shopkeepers begs them to take notice of the things they are seeing. It is a complete picture of “environmental ethnocide” (Nixon 246). Karmi tells us that more than 500 settlers living in this

Old City under army protection had only one aim in life: to force the Arabs out of the area altogether, and to this end had devised all sorts of tactics to bring it about. Those living in the high-rise settlement buildings above the souk ejected all manner of offensive detritus, soiled nappies, sanitary towels, rotten food, dirty water and even heavy rocks on to the souk below. The shopkeepers had roofed over the street with steel mesh netting to catch the rubbish that was incessantly hurled down on them, and it made an unpleasant sight if one looked up (*Return* 139).

This phenomenon, in which the ‘other’ is degraded to such an extent that the ‘self’ is at the liberty to abuse their rights to living, can only be called “ecoparochialism” or a “blinkerered econationalism” (Nixon 238). Throwing all sorts of garbage, rotten food, dirty sanitary napkins, dirty water, and even heavy rocks on the heads of the others, and denying them to a clean environment that one likes for oneself is a besmirch to a pitiable degree that exposes the lowly level of humanity in the mindset of the occupying force. One is forced to ask at this point, whether Jews were ever subjected to this kind of mental and psychological, not to say physical torture in their persecutions in Europe apart from the Holocaust.

The poor shopkeeper sees Karmi and her friends as a source of a meagre hope, cries out to them, and begs them to tell the world how miserable their lives are. Taking out a map, he shows them what the settlers are doing to their lives and property.

Please look around you, sir. You see how terrible this place is, how terrible our lives are. Please tell Britain when you are back, tell the world, what is happening to us.... Everyone here will tell you the same. We have no hope, no future, no end to this situation. It is like living in hell. Can you see, sir, can you see? Look at the settlements choking us. See, here is Kiryat Arba. (*Return* 139)

This appropriation and erasure in the heart of an ancient Muslim city, supposedly under PA control, with the added scenes of two terrified youths being manhandled by Israeli soldiers (a pervasive sight in Kashmir), is similar to what Nixon argues in his article “Environmentalism and Postcolonialism” (2005). Nixon questions the American “white soul dream of ‘untouched country,’” which he sees as “cultural erasure and dispossession” or “dubious settler lineage” (238). This strategical settlement plan is the manifestations of the ISAs carried out by the repressive state apparatus RSA of the Israeli army, which is choking the Muslim population like a pincers’ grasp.

After this physically and emotionally draining experience, Karmi goes back to Ramallah to a gathering at a Jewish Israeli, Halevi’s place, whom she thinks is “an interesting anomaly in the country of anomalies.” Ilan Halevi, after his education in France and coming to Palestine to see and learn about the real situation as a young man, had thrown his lot with the PLO and Yasser Arafat. Along with many present there, he is of view that ideological mistake of the “Hebron deal” was one of the worst mistakes that Yasser Arafat had made. Halevi fumes at this sloppy deal and questions Arafat’s standpoint on this agreement in 1997, saying, “How on earth could he have sacrificed the most important part to the Israelis” (*Return* 140). Halevi was referring to a pact Arafat had made in which he had ceded control of “Hebron’s Old City to Israel in return for Palestinians stranded in the Old City, living in close proximity to the settlers and at their mercy” (*Return* 143), as Karmi witnesses the whole day. Most of the ones present are extremely critical of the money PA is putting in to develop Hebron’s historic cites while the ordinary Palestinians have no relief from the oppression gnawing at them from all sides, especially when “the Hebron agreement is watertight,” and impossible to break, as a legal academic from Bir Zeit University puts it. However, on this evening, many present at Halevi’s place, believe that the life and property of the living people is more important than a “few old buildings” (*Return* 142), and therefore, some of them favor a mass uprising against this tyranny.

To use Karmi’s father’s views stated in her memoir, we see the idea of chosenness, that many Jews assume for themselves, giving the colonialists a God given right to conquer other people’s lands and exploit their riches (*Return* 150). If it is a distressing phenomenon in Jerusalem and Hebron that Karmi visits, the impact of this colonial-imperialism is no less alarming in Gaza, the next place she visits. Many other memoirs like that of Amira Haas’, *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land under Siege* (1999), Miko Peled’s *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (2012), and Salman Abu

Sitta's *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2016) talk about Gaza in graphic details, the biggest prison on earth.³⁵

In Gaza, Karmi evaluates the Israeli publicity campaign about the much trumpeted “generous, unilateral step towards peace, and a painful sacrifice on Israel’s part,” the “Disengagement Plan for Gaza” of June 2004. She reads it as a decision of Ariel Sharon “to ditch Gaza with its troublesome, hostile population in favour of concentrating all efforts on colonising the West Bank more thoroughly.” According to her, Sharon presented this disengagement plan of Gaza that “would secure the West Bank for generations of Israelis to come.” She writes about the “shrewd calculation[s]”/ the interpellative aspects that this plan “omitted to mention” about the fact that Israeli army would retain “control over Gaza’s every border, land, sea and airspace, exactly as before” (*Return* 123). It also retained the right to enter Gaza at any point and time to protect its ‘security’. So, the sham of Israel making a huge sacrifice and Gaza’s Israeli settlers weeping hysterically, clinging to their land flashing across the media screen in the western world was an eyewash, which, however, was bought completely by the viewers. The actual environmental appropriation was a bitterly opposite reality of what was being projected. About the actual state of affairs Karmi writes:

By the time of the disengagement in 2005 there were twenty-one Israeli settlements dotted along Gaza’s coastline and its interior, to the north near the border with Israel, in the centre of Gaza and to the south, cutting the Strip into non-contiguous areas and entirely blocking the towns of Khan Younis and Rafah from access to the sea. The settlements sat on top of Gaza’s best agricultural land and controlled its aquifers; all together they took up a third of Gaza’s land area, although only 8,000 settlers lived in this third, leaving Gaza’s 1.3 million Palestinian inhabitants to be crammed into the remaining two thirds. (*Return* 123-4)

With this worst example of tyranny, of meticulously syphoning off the Gaza life, and creating a prison ghetto for 1.3 million people, while twisting the arm of the World view for its advantage, is something that does not have much weight with world consciousness. It becomes bitterly ironic for Karmi, that with such grave realities of Gaza, all Dr Farid was interested in accomplishing, was either planning his trip to Gaza when Condoleezza Rice’s trip was due (mentioned above), or to engage Karmi to write a “proposal for an international conference to define a media strategy for how best to communicate the Palestinian point of view to the outside world” (*Return* 125). With this scenario we are bitterly reminded of the

Idées reçues that Flaubert's protagonists mindlessly copy from one text to the other that Said wrote about in *Orientalism* (1978). This phenomenon becomes something beyond even the bitterest of ironies when all the PA ministers are doing is planning and planning, while the Israeli propagandist ISAs with "dramatic scenes of settlers clashing with the Israeli army" (*Return* 124) when they are asked to leave Gaza, take away the bounty of the world's sympathies, lock stock and barrel.

There is another important manifestation of Israel's ISAs at work and causing a lot of damage to Palestinian future generations. This is the education system. Under the so called pretext to guard the Jews for the racism levied against them, the pro-Israeli groups scrutinized the text books used by the PA, while in reality, opposite of this was true. Nurit Peled-Elhenan, an Israeli Professor, maintains in her book, *Palestine in Israeli School Books* (2013) that Israeli students are taught racism against Palestinians. She exposes the ISA that presents a Palestinian entity as someone "whose life-world is unknown to them and whose very existence they have been taught to resent and fear" (232). While Peled-Elhenan is talking about the mis/ or disinformation that is being instilled in the minds of the Israeli students, Karmi observes another fact. She observes that the Palestinians living in Amman, though are well aware of the refugee camp of Baqa'a, in which the people still carried their hopes to return to their homeland, schools in Amman did not teach "history of Palestine or the dispossessions of 1948 and 1967" (*Return* 169). The irony is not that this ideological state apparatus is working for Israeli schools and educational systems only, but more so because the same is happening in Amman, the neighbor housing many refugee camps like Baqa'a. (The same is observed in the context of Kashmir by Hameeda Naeem, a Professor of Kashmir University, discussed in the previous chapter).

The refugee camps of Baqa'a, fully aware of their poverty and marginalization, are "islands of memory in an erased landscape, [and are] faithful repositories of a Palestinian history Israel had wanted obliterated." And it is no surprise that "Israelis so hated the camps and attacked them at every opportunity" (*Return* 169). In other words, Israel's ISAs are so pervasive that no one can dare challenge them. Not that these ISAs are supported in tandem by the equally belligerent, brutal and tyrannical RSAs. What Karmi is trying to bring home to the reader, is the disengagement of world with the actual world of "occupied Palestine and its crises" (*Return* 166). Looking at all the "tragedies and traumas repeatedly visited on innocent individuals and whole nations, without a trace of divine intervention to counter

them” (*Return* 161), going on all around her, becomes a cause of Karmi’s own loss of faith even.

The watchtowers on the wall at Abu Dis that Karmi visited earlier dimmed in comparison to what she witnesses in Gaza. The unseen voices from Israeli watch towers high above, are ominously yelling out every now and then from their “loud-speakers, ordering people below to hurry along.” The voices of “Get going, you dogs! Move!” (*Return* 191) conjures up the picture of the chained prisoners that Joseph Conrad wrote in his *Heart of Darkness* (1902) more than a century ago. It is neither a figment of imagination, nor fiction, not even magical realism that Karmi describes as the scene at the crossing to go into Gaza. The phrases that she uses to describe this sad place are strewn across her text: phrases like, “a formidable series of concrete buildings set into a high metal perimeter fence,...[while the guards] barked out orders through loudspeakers” (*Return* 190). She talks about the “fearsome reputation [of] Erez checkpoint,...[and makes the readers imagine] how a child would feel, trapped in such a place,...[with] horror of the furnace inside the airless tunnels under their oven-hot metal roof,...[with the result that anyone inside may be] suffocated to death” (*Return* 191). Writing about “Gaza’s strangulated situation” (*Return* 197), that she witnesses, Karmi describes graphically what the people had to go through, day in and day out. How Palestinians

had to cross Erez on foot through a kilometer-long labyrinth of high concrete walls and corrugated metal roof. It was closed at both ends by heavy steel doors; once through the first door, pedestrians walked along a narrow, dingy tunnel fitted with cameras and punctuated by a series of tall turnstiles that could suddenly lock, trapping the person inside until the soldiers gave the order to open them. In this section of the crossing, no actual soldiers were to be seen; their presence could only be discerned by the eerie sound of their disembodied voices coming through loudspeakers from somewhere above, giving commands to those inside the passage. People might be told to lay down their bags on the ground, turn slowly around before the cameras, take off their coats or jackets, and the like. (*Return* 191)

By any standards, this picture far exceeds interpellation theorized by Althusser of “Hey, you there!” (264). How Gramsci or Althusser would have hypothesized about these harsh and brutal state of affairs that Karmi describes of Erez checkpoint, is an open question. It also makes one question, if it is the times of the Pharaohs? Why do the Zionists hate humanity so much? Peled-Elhenan’s theory about the education of the Israeli students that

she presents in her 2013 book, goes back to 1948, or perhaps even much before that, when Lord Kitchener went to explore the land of Palestine in 1870s.

The ordeal of the Erez checkpoint does not end after this. The “security zone created by Israel on what had been Gaza farmland, and to which no Gazan was allowed access thereafter” (*Return* 192) speaks for an “environmental ethnocide” (246), to use Nixon’s terms. It can also be called a selective ecocide, because checkpoints can be set up on Gazan farming land and not Eretz Israel, on “random,” “unknown factors,” or simply a “momentary impulse” (*Return* 193); because it has reduced majority of population in Gaza to live in “abnormal isolation” which “could only be called a cruel social experiment” (204); because mental health services have now to be set up for “traumatized Gazans,” and because this landscape of Gaza is “nothing but a spectrum of despair” (206), —“a place of Israel’s making, created out of deliberate impoverishment and violence” (207). (Note the similarity between this phenomenon with slight variations that we discussed in the context of Kashmiris in the previous chapter. See the discussion about the works of Professor Saiba Verma). Karmi etches a graphic description of this beautiful place that is being subjected to such devastations.

Stating the environmental ethic of her landscape Karmi presents the vivid picture of the hegemonic maneuvers of the occupiers. She writes:

I looked out at the glittering azure sea, so calm, so beautiful, its graceful waves, as if unaware of the encaged, tormented place they touched, gently lapping against the shore in languid succession. The sky overhead was a crystal clear blue as far as the eye could see, and the sandy beach that fell away from the edge of the café was pale and smooth, sloping quietly into the water. It was a view from the best travel brochure, the perfect holiday beach. With its natural beauty, Gaza would have been a paradise, a place for artists and holidaymakers, of fun and relaxation. Only this was no Riviera and no one here, except perhaps the Israeli settlers, was on holiday. The air had a pungent stench of seaweed mixed with raw sewage discharged from the Jewish settlements on to Gaza, and thence into the sea. (*Return* 195-6)

This text leaves nothing to imagination. It seems that the scene of Gaza’s beach and its deliberated pollution is part of the same ISAs and RSAs of syphoning off the Palestinian existence that we are witnessing through Karmi’s narrative.

The description of this paradisiacal place and its selective ecocide that Karmi witnesses in her visit to Gaza is something, presented in graphic details by Amira Haas in her memoir, *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege* (1999). The natural beauty marred by the pungent stench of raw sewage, discharged from the Jewish settlements, and the people living in this strip of land not allowed for any infrastructure for sewage system is a variant form of “ecoparochialism,” which Rob Nixon discusses in the context of “the perspective of North America’s First Peoples” (238). Whereas, the ultra-modern Israel is just as American “white soul dream of ‘untouched country’” (Nixon 238). This ecoparochial Israel with its lush green environment is erected by throwing their rotten garbage on Palestinian heads and cutting off the water to many a vineyards like that of Abu Ibrahim’s. This environmentalism is in sharp contrast to environmentally impacted picture of the “third-world place of dusty uneven roads and litter...[or] half-demolished buildings with gaping holes of walls and twisted metal and wire everywhere commonplace in the aftermath of several recent Israeli bombings” (*Return* 192). This “dubious settler lineage,” bringing about “cultural erasure and dispossession” (Nixon 238) makes the mockery of the staged environmentalisms pervasively flaunted around for the world to see. However, the bigger irony is that this pervasive rhetoric is bought unconditionally while the expression of this impacted landscape of Palestine is yet to be grasped with all its implications.

Karmi exposes the hoax of Israel’s Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon’s “Disengagement Plan for Gaza” in the June of 2004, “much trumpeted as a generous, unilateral step towards peace” (*Return* 123). The cruel State interpellation in this plan can be deciphered when, according to Karmi, “the plan omitted to mention that after the coming ‘disengagement’ the Israeli army would retain control over Gaza’s every border, land, sea and airspace, exactly as before, and reserved the right to enter Gaza at any time to protect what it called its ‘security’” (*Return* 123). While the repressive state apparatuses RSAs of the media show the world settlers clinging to their land in a melodramatic display of crying and holding on to their land. They do not, however, report that the settlements had cut the entire belt of this land into different factions and blocking towns like Khan Younis and Rafah (as mentioned above) from any access to the sea. Cramming the Palestinians in these factions without any basic amenities of life even makes their life a living hell and rightly called as the biggest prison on earth by Ilan Pappé. Though the disparity of the figures of the Israeli and Palestinian inhabitants living in such disparate spaces, speaks for itself, but the irony of the

situation is, that Israel's publicity campaign accompanying the Disengagement plan is so effective that the world media is reverberated by the selfless gesture of the Israelis. While, the representatives or of the actually oppressed, like Dr Farid, the "internal colonialists" (Nixon 234), have their own agendas of self-aggrandizement.

This discriminating state of affairs from the oppressors and their allies in the world, becomes an all the more unbearable situation for Karmi when she sees that the representatives of the down trodden Gazans, the PA, hardly doing anything for actual amelioration of the traumatized Gazans. Their sole jurisdiction is reduced to flaunting "their power and wealth" acquired through "financial corruption[s]," and "lording it over" (*Return* 194) the poor waiters of the restaurants and ordinary civilians. Pointing out an important fact in the aftermath of the first intifada, erupting as a protest against Israel's occupation, Karmi notes that the "bravery of Gaza's unarmed people standing up to Israeli tanks and guns had set a proud example for others to follow" (*Return* 206), and comes as a great blow for the manipulative designs of Israel's face-savings in front of the world. She is critical of the fact that instead of campaigning for the valor, courage, and resilience of the refugee population of Gaza, who, in 1948, had to flee from their homes, towns, and villages, "under attack from Jewish armies" (*Return* 196) situated in the north of the Strip, the PA becomes yet another marionette in the hands of their oppressors and their allies.

Karmi writes about Israel's ISA of maiming the Hamas leadership of Gaza. Her chance meeting with one of the senior Hamas leaders, Mahmoud Al-Zahhar, makes Karmi question the Idées reçues built around this political party, which confirms what Amira Haas had written in her 1999 memoir, cited above. Professor Greshon Shafir's recent book, *A Half Century of Occupation: Israel, Palestine, and the World's Most Intractable Conflict* (2017), which traces the pros and cons of this occupation, also evaluates Hamas' role over the period of time. Shafir writes that "while Hamas is a true mass movement that has shown signs of pragmatism over the years, to the extent of considering a long-term truce with Israel. It remains unclear how effective Gush Emunim³⁶ and Hamas would be in blocking a potential partition of Palestine into two states" (Shafir 5). Therefore, Karmi's meeting with Hamas' leadership chase away this Idée Reçue of the pervasive negative portrayal of Hamas.

Like the texts of Haas (1999), Peled (2012), and Sitta (2016), Karmi's memoir dispels many erroneous slogans for this political party. Al-Zahhar's assertions borne out by facts reveal the capitalistic circus that goes behind Israel's tabloids about Hamas and Gaza.

He tells Karmi that neither the war that Israel is waging on Gaza is of Hamas' making, nor is its resistance any match for the "big guns, cluster bombs, F-16s, Apache helicopters, [and] tanks" (*Return* 202) that Israel is using against Gaza. Testifying about Israel's oppression and injustice that has brought such misery for Gazans, Al-Zahhar's words can be seen as his stating the environmental ethic of his land when he says:

Israel will not last. Its power comes only from America, and who says America will be there forever? Will Arab weakness in the face of Israel also last forever? No, it will not. So our duty while we wait is to remain steadfast, never to give in to them, never to accept their colonisation, never to make deals or compromises. They are uncivilised people and so is the West that supports them. True civilisation means compassion, caring for your fellow man, building, not destroying. They have done nothing but destroy since they came, just as America destroyed Iraq. (*Return* 203)

This matter of fact tone clearly defines Palestinian stance toward the occupying force of Israel, and states, in no uncertain terms, their resolve for their right to their homes and land. What is stated as "Israeli policy toward the Gaza Strip as an incremental genocide" (I. Pappé "A Brief History of Israel's Incremental Genocide" 147) elsewhere, is what Karmi witnesses during her stay in her homeland and records the same in her memoir. Her elevated position as an advisor for the publicity campaign to promote the Palestinian cause in the UNDP office gives her the opportunity to write about the inner games of both the colonizers and the "internal colonialists" (Nixon 234).

The spirit of resistance against "Israeli occupation" (*Return* 209), in addition to being discussed in many critical books like that of Shafir (cited above), is a motif in many other memoirs (some of them mentioned above). In addition to Karmi's memoir under study, writers like Haas in *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege* (1999), Peled in *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (2012), Sitta in *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2016), and Busaila (a blind English Professor in the US) in *In the Land of My Birth: A Palestinian Boyhood* (2017), state their respective modes of resistance or "ethic of resistance" (Curtin 45), which, Curtin has theorized in a different context, in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005).³⁷ Karmi meets many resistance leaders like Jaber Wiswah, deputy director of the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights,³⁸ in addition to leaders like Al-Zahhar.

Born and bred in Bureij refugee camp and educated by UNRWA to become a physics lecturer, as Karmi tells us, Jaber Wiswah, is jailed for fifteen years for carrying out “acts of resistance against the occupation” (*Return* 209), which ruins his career, but it could not break his spirit. He and his family, his mother, whom Karmi goes to visit, vividly remember their “expulsion from their village near Asdud (renamed Ashdod by the Israelis)” (*Return* 211), as if it was yesterday. Wiswah states in declarative sentences about his resolve “to fight them, not with violence, but through the struggle for human rights and the rule of law” (*Return* 210). Such principled acts of resistance are a source of deterrence for these settler colonialists and they resent these refugee camps, may they be in Amman, Nablus, Gaza, Syria, or any other place. The refugee camp Bureij’s turbulent history, running back to 1953, has a reason for being so. As Karmi notes,

how in 1953, when it had barely come into existence, an Israeli army unit under the command of Ariel Sharon—the same ‘man of peace’ being lauded by President George Bush—opened fire on the camp as people slept and killed forty-three of them; how when Sharon became Israel’s prime minister in 2002, his army raided the camp again, killing ten people, two of them UN employees; and how it attacked again in 2003, demolishing the camp’s mosques and fourteen of its homes. (*Return* 211)

Providing the facts about only one of these massacres,³⁹ Karmi draws our attention towards ISAs and RSAs that Israel has maintained since its self-declarative claims of independence. By citing examples of these resistance leaders, ordinary men, women, and children, Karmi is writing their and her own ethic of resistance, in line with what Deane Curtin suggests in the context of Mahatma Gandhi, Aimé Césaire, Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanón, and W. E. B. Dubois.

Similar narrations about some of the “unhappiest places” (215), with manifestations of selective ecocide, may be seen in the transformation of Jubaliya, which is now “the largest of Gaza’s eight refugee camps” from “a place of lush citrus groves and fertile soil” (*Return* 215) into “a dilapidated state with an inadequate drinking water supply.” I find Karmi stating the environmental ethic of the place when, pointing out the interpellative measures carried out by Israeli State policies, she tells us that the only water available was expensively bought from Israel. However, the bitter irony is, that this water is originally “extracted [] from Gaza’s aquifers in the first place.” Karmi finds the plight of people like Um Sufyan, in this camp of “equally deficient electricity supply” (*Return* 216) quite

depressing, especially when she finds Um Sufyan's invalid husband, many "unfriendly" (*Return* 219) and "traumatized and disturbed" (*Return* 220) children suffering from PTSD, while the "lights of the huge Nezarim Israeli settlement" can be seen glinting "in the darkness" (*Return* 221) nearby. (Another similarity with the plight of Kashmiris, discussed in the previous chapter).

Speaking for the atrocities meted out to the people of Palestine, Karmi feels helpless when "orchard full of vines and fruit trees, one among many such orchards and testimony to the richness of Taybeh's soil" (*Return* 131) are confiscated with absolutely no transparency for Zionist deeds. Exclamations like "Of course they're being punished! Just as we all are, aren't we? [Or] This was not unusual amongst the older generation of so-called Israeli Arabs–Palestinians with Israeli citizenship—who had not forgotten the harsh military rule imposed on them by the Israeli state in its early years; many had been evicted from their villages and lost their land to the new Israeli farmers" (*Return* 130), speak for Karmi's anger and frustration that she feels for her land and her people.

Unsealing the memory of Nakba with the people like Um Jaber and Um Sufyan, who recount the pervasive Jewish violence of 1948, Karmi listens to the harrowing tales of loss of life, property, and land, which resulted in the dispossession of the ordinary Palestinian population. These massacres and expulsions, which are admitted as "policy, not accident" (Robbins, *The Logic of the Beneficiary* 15), by Ari Shavit in his book, *My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (2013), among many other critics⁴⁰, had a general pattern of atrocities.

[S]mall children had been forced out at gunpoint by Jewish fighters who invaded their village in the night. All the neighbours were driven out with them and all fled. They walked, half carrying the children, half dragging them, through fields and orchards until exhaustion forced them to stop. They found concealment among the trees and survived on what fruit they could pick. Everyone was afraid the fighters would find them and so kept on moving until finally they reached Gaza where there was no fighting. Abu Jaber wanted to return to the village with the other men once she and the children were safe, but they heard that the Jewish militias fired on anyone trying to come back, and so they resigned themselves to waiting for the time they could return. (*Return* 212)

This policy of planned and timed atrocity that lies at the heart of Israel's existence, belies any claims for peace, which the media is ever ready to buy. By citing such incidents, that surviving family members of the dispossessed, narrate to Karmi during her stay and visits to different cities of her landscape, she unpacks the rhetoric that Israel or its apologists have been propounding ever since. The factual realities of this ongoing Nakba tell harrowing tales and are still going⁴¹ unabated, while the internal colonists are "lording it over" (*Return* 194) on their own brethren.

The saga of Palestine is also a tale of defiance and resilience, may that be of "refugee mothers [who] were legendary in Palestinian folklore, ... the bedrock of Palestinian endurance" (*Return* 220), or Reja-e Busailah (2017) as "the blindness and brutality of history as told by the blind" (Khoury xiv), or told by Mahmoud Darwish, who is considered as "one of the most celebrated and well-read poets of our era" (Mattawa n.pag.). His words reverberate from one of his seminal poems written in 1988. Darwish's poem "Those Who Pass between Fleeting Words" (1988), created a havoc, especially because they were the words of a secular and Marxist writer, who chose to become an Israeli citizen. However, this did not deter him to write the environmental ethic of his place. His poem reads as:

O those who pass between fleeting words
 Carry your names, and be gone
 Rid our time of your hours, and be gone
 Steal what you will from the blueness of the sea and the sand of memory
 Take what pictures you will, so that you understand
 That which you never will:
 How a stone from our land builds the ceiling of our sky.

O those who pass between fleeting words
 From you the sword—from us the blood
 From you steel and fire—from us our flesh
 From you yet another tank—from us stones
 From you tear gas—from us rain
 Above us, as above you, are sky and air
 So take your share of our blood—and be gone
 Go to a dancing party—and be gone
 As for us, we have to water the martyrs' flowers
 As for us, we have to live as we see fit.

O those who pass between fleeting words
 As bitter dust, go where you wish, but
 Do not pass between us like flying insects
 For we have work to do in our land:
 We have wheat to grow which we water with our bodies' dew
 We have that which does not please you here:
 Stones or partridges
 So take the past, if you wish, to the antiquities market
 And return the skeleton to the hoopoe, if you wish,
 On a clay platter
 We have that which does not please you: we have the future
 And we have things to do in our land.

O those who pass between fleeting words
 Pile your illusions in a deserted pit, and be gone
 Return the hand of time to the law of the golden calf
 Or to the time of the revolver's music!
 For we have that which does not please you here, so be gone
 And we have what you lack: a bleeding homeland of a bleeding people
 A homeland fit for oblivion or memory
 O those who pass between fleeting words It is time for you to be gone
 Live wherever you like, but do not live among us
 It is time for you to be gone
 Die wherever you like, but do not die among us
 For we have work to do in our land
 We have the past here
 We have the first cry of life
 We have the present, the present and the future
 We have this world here, and the hereafter
 So leave our country
 Our land, our sea
 Our wheat, our salt, our wounds
 Everything, and leave
 The memories of memory

O those who pass between fleeting words! (Darwish 126)

The echo of these plainly stated facts by Darwish expose the eco parochialism of Israel which gets manifested in all the atrocities it has been carrying out with its policies, ever since its self-declarative independence or even before it. The interpellative maneuvers, however, may be traced back to Lord Kitchener's survey of this land in the late nineteenth century and later Basle Conference in 1897 (discussed above).

What Karmi is recording is nothing new. Many other writers before her, and many from among her contemporaries are writing about the atrocities meted out to the Palestinians. Karmi, being the daughter of eminent figure like Hasan Karmi, niece of leftist journalists like Mahmoud, and granddaughter of "a well-known scholar and *qadi*" (Karmi, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* 19), Shaikh Said Alkarmi, has narrated her experiences of her land in her earlier writings and is still writing prolifically. This memoir is a recollection of facts during her visit to her homeland in the twenty-first century. If she is critical of the occupiers' interpellations, she is also aware of the comprador role that PA is playing in adopting the apparent persona of being the representatives of the Palestinians, though in actuality is providing a "cover for occupation"⁴² (*Return* 236). Although, their wishful thinking about "statehood [being] around the corner" (*Return* 232), especially "after the signing of the Oslo Accords" (*Return* 234) is seen as a fool's paradise of a "[b]unch of clowns" (*Return* 232) by Karmi and many other intellectuals. She, quite clearly, indicates the interpellative strategies of Israel's ISAs and RSAs, and the consequent lack of choices for the Palestinian identity. Her powerful argument that she gives to Michel Habibi, a lawyer of Palestinian descent, now living in Washington DC, is a summation of complete picture of this interpellated land and partial reasons for the incapacitations of the PA:

'[W]ho on earth *was* a match for Israel? We were very unlucky to have such an enemy. Israel was an advanced Western country which knew all the tricks, could get its friends to manipulate the US Congress, make and unmake US politicians. It scared US presidents, forced Europe to fund its occupation of our country and got away literally with murder....Against that, who did we have? People who mostly haven't lived in the West and aren't familiar with the way Westerners, including Israelis, think, and simply don't have the deviousness or the sophistication to play the game as they should. Like you, I find them pretty annoying, but aren't they just people who're not up to the job because it's a hell of a difficult one, rather than

villains or fools?’ I had never expected this defence of the PA and its officials to escape my lips. But his disdain and condemnation stirred a sort of pity for them in me....Anyone who had read Franz Fanon knew how that sort of thing worked, I said. To be sure he was writing about the French in Algeria, but the essentials were the same. The colonisers did everything they could to stop any form of resistance against them. They set leaders over the people they colonised who could be bribed to care more about the privileges of office than the welfare of the community they represented. Anyone who threatened to upset this arrangement was killed or put in prison, making it impossible to change them for better leaders, and so it went on. ‘In the end, everyone gets so demoralised they learn to live with the situation. And as for the ANC,’ I said, ‘the two situations are not the same. Don’t forget black South Africans were in the majority and living inside their country, whereas most of us are outside. Apartheid exploited blacks and moved them off their lands when it wanted to, but it wasn’t primarily about expelling them outside the country and taking their place, as Israel did to us. And white South Africans didn’t have the influential and powerful friends all over the world that Israel has. These are huge differences, and you can’t discount them. (233, 4, 5)

Karmi’s mention of Israel’s powers of controlling even the state heads of US seem a reverberation of the more than century old gambits employed in concocting/crafting Balfour Declaration (or more than seventy year old stratagems for acquiring the Instrument of Accession in the context of Kashmir), as discussed earlier. Said’s words in his book, *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (1988) are quite instructive to understand Karmi’s point of view stated above. Said writes:

[W]hether Arab ‘terrorism’ could compare in results either with the terrorism of the Stern Gang, the Haganah, and the Irgun, or with Israeli claims of ‘purity of arms,’ whether in fact it was correct, just, or historically inevitable that land owned by one people could be promised over to, and then taken militarily by, another people, the enlightened West applauding the conquerors, and blaming or ignoring the victims almost entirely. (4-5)

It is a phenomenon of literally getting away with murder when, like many other places that Karmi visits in Palestine, she sees the town of Qalqilya in the south-west of Tulkarm that “[n]owhere in the West Bank was as tightly encaged as Qalqilya” (*Return* 238). It is one of the worst forms of interpellations when Karmi informs us that with “nine Jewish

settlements ringing the town, using its farming lands and sucking the water from its aquifer, [the] huge, dark wall reaching upwards to the sky shutting out the light...with its razor wire on top and its watchtowers monitoring everything below” (*Return* 239-240), is “like a slap in the face,” both physically and metaphorically. It is the suspension of all moral rules on the part of the occupiers, when the farmers whose farming lands have been confiscated, become “impoverished,” and are reduced/ interpellated to work as laborers in Israel to construct the Jewish settlements “on the land they had lost” (*Return* 239), while necessity making its own rules⁴³ in the case of the interpellated people of this place, and all the other cities Karmi narrates about in her memoir.

The question, to borrow Robbins words, is that “Faced with blatant injustice, it is disorienting and frankly upsetting to think that the mere passing of years should make any ethical difference at all” (Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 149). Karmi states the environmental ethic of her homeland, and records her ethic of resistance in no uncertain terms, that there is no moral ethic, when the ancient city of Silwan is demolished and recreated to suit Israel’s archeological whims (discussed above); when “Silwan’s ancient cistern, a source of water the villagers had used for centuries [is] renamed ‘Jeremiah’s Cistern,’ or a place is whimsically labelled as ‘Bathsheba’s Bath,’” or when there is a complete jeopardizing of the level of danger such digs could inflict on “the eighth-century Islamic buildings and the fourth-century Church of the Holy Sepulchre above” (*Return* 248); or when “the local people [] watch[] their village being torn up and reshaped according to this historical Jewish fantasy;” or when, “a rubble-strewn patch of ground where the house that had previously stood there was bulldozed by the army” (*Return* 249); or where the interpellation runs amok when it may be seen that the “owners of houses thus destroyed were usually required to pay the authorities for the costs of demolition” (*Return* 250); or how the great heritage of the likes of Sakakini family is “ransacked by Israeli soldiers”, when “experts from the Hebrew University library turned up in vans, carted off Sakakini’s most valuable books [around 30,000] and placed them in the Israeli National Library at the university, where they were classified under the designation of ‘Abandoned Property;’”,⁴⁴ when many “other Palestinian book collections held in private homes in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Nazareth met the same fate,” including Karmi’s father’s library, which “was one of those likewise removed from [their] house at about the same time” (*Return* 254). These are the “ongoing debts” (Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 149) and injustices that need to be addressed at all costs.

However, the brutal reality is, that in order to put her mind at rest, Golda Meir totally denied the existence of any Palestinian identity and Palestinians were put under erasure both literally and metaphorically (Massad 35). Many contemporary intellectuals in the western academia point out the instances of cultural, environmental, and physical erasure of the Palestinians, something recorded in detail in Karmi's memoir that we studied here. According to Professor Massad, renaming of Palestine as Israel is a part of such a "spatial reorganization....A geographic overhauling of the whole country" (36). Where, "It goes without saying that the secularization of history took place under the hammer blows of cultural globalization, which continually takes unexpected forms throughout the Western world" (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 22). (Similar point discussed by Hameeda Naeem in chapter 4). While Ella Shohat, a Mizrahi Arab Jew and an American academic, maintains in her article, "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims" (1988) that: "obviously Palestinians are those most egregiously wronged by Zionism" (33).

5.5. Conclusion

The persistence of Palestinian question, stated by Karmi and all the critics cited in this research,⁴⁵ can be read as Jewish anti-Semitism that they blame others with, while themselves are perpetrating against other peoples. Thus, we see settler colonialism defining Jewishness with its genetic markers, blatant racism against non-Jews, especially Palestinians; with epithets of 'dirty Jews' metamorphosing into 'dirty Arabs,' as a planned erasure of Palestinian identity. The desertification of Palestinian lands by uprooting hundreds of thousands of olive trees in a planned and strategic erasure of Palestinian name, body, and existence. Then there is the appropriation of Palestinian history as Jewish history, by a spurious Aryanization of the Jewish State. Rather than a postcolonial stance that the Jews claimed to have started off with, this is the ecocritical demand of a nationalization with not a purely Jewish identity but a new Zionist identity, an anti-Semite identity, which emphasizes on place rather than cosmopolitanism. The entity of diasporic Jew, according to Massad, with which this whole business of homeland for Jews started, is considered ancient history now. It all comes down to the simple Zionist lingo for an annihilation of even the diasporic Jew.

Karmi's memoir reminds us of that aspect of Kincaid's writings, for which Nixon writes in his article: "At the heart of much of her nonfiction stands this blunt question: 'What is the relationship between gardening and conquest'" (240)? By exposing the

“environmental ethnocide” (Nixon 246) of Palestine, Karmi draws attention to what Huggan and Tiffin maintain in their article, “GREEN POSTCOLONIALISM” (2008). According to them, “the continuing hierarchies and divisions reproduce practices of incursion and dispossession, suggesting that postcolonialism is as necessary as it has ever been in supporting and facilitating incomplete processes of social and environmental liberation in the modern globalized world” (Huggan 8). By narrating the interpellated reality of the Palestinian Authority PA, who are not only acting the ruthless comprador class, but also, whose hands are tied behind their backs, due to “superpower parochialism” (Nixon 237) of Israel; and by stating the “ecological genocide” of Palestine, Karmi states her “moral right to defend the environment against a corrupt land grab” by the “kleptocratic government” (Nixon 243) of Israel or what Mamdani defines elsewhere as “colonial despotism” (276). Israel’s hegemony which may be seen as a kind of a “jingoistic transcendentalism” (Nixon 237) at best, and a European legacy of an unchecked executive and “an arbitrary power on the loose” (45), to say the least, as Professor Wael B. Hallaq writes in his book, *The Impossible State* (2014).

Notes Chapter 5

¹ Two phrases borrowed from Karmi's memoir, *Return* (2015), (p. 7).

² Though Khalidi writes this sentence for a general body of writings, I use this quote in my context serving the same meaning. See Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (2006) (p. xxxv).

³ For a detailed discussion, See chapter 3 of theoretical framework and research methodology.

⁴ Memoirs of Amira Haas, *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege* (1999), Miko Peled, *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (2012), Salman Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2016), and Reja e Busailah's *In the Land of My Birth: A Palestinian Boyhood* (2017).

⁵ As cited in the blurb of this book.

⁶ See: "Lecture by Rashid Khalidi on the Balfour Declaration and the impact it has had on the Palestinian people-The United Nations Palestinian Rights Committee." *UN Web TV: The United Nations Live & On Demand*. Nov 2, 2017. Accessed, Aug 10, 2019. <http://webtv.un.org/watch/lecture-by-professor-rashid-khalidi-on-the-balfour-declaration-and-the-impact-it-has-had-on-the-palestinian-people-the-united-nations-palestinian-rights-committee/5631748128001/>

⁷ It should be borne in mind that I am referring from several works of Rashid Khalidi (1948-), an Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies at Columbia University, New York, US and editor of *Journal of Palestine Studies*. I am also citing from Walid Khalidi, (1925-) an Oxford University educated Palestinian historian who has written extensively on the Palestinian issue. He is General Secretary and co-founder of the Institute for Palestinian Studies, established in Beirut in December 1963 as an independent research and publishing center focusing on the Palestine problem and is one of the earliest and most respected historians on Palestine. And for the sake of convenience, I would write 'Professor' with Walid Khalidi, across my text.

⁸ See Rashid Khalidi, "Observations on the Palestinian Right of Return," 1-16. These phrases used in Khalidi's paper are part of the same book, along with the other paper of Itamar Rabinovich from Tel Aviv University. The two papers of these scholars make a study initiated by The Committee on International Security Studies (CISS). These two papers were a part of the program, "Emerging Issues in International Security" by (CISS), in the multi-year project initiated in 1990. Rabinovich's paper is titled "The Right of Return: Two Views," in the same book, *Emerging Issues: Occasional Paper Series of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 17, ed. Jeffrey Boutwell (American Academy of Arts and Sciences and its Committee on International Security Studies (CISS), 1991): 17-28. These articles, initially meant to be conference papers, generated this debate of the right to return in 1991. I found a copy of this text in the Butler library, Columbia University, New York, USA.

⁹ A phrase borrowed from Karmi's memoir, *Return* (2015). Explaining this phrase she writes, "that's what we have become") (p. 7). She uses crestfallen for herself on page 23.

¹⁰ Many scholars criticize the role US has played in bringing the Palestinian crisis. Several books of Rashid Khalidi, cited in the bibliography, and Eqbal Ahmad in his several interviews, essays, and books, have established the link between the "United States policy, and the seemingly unconnected question of Palestine" (R. Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* xviii). Rashid Khalidi also uses the term "a garden variety bigotry" for Barack Obama (R. Khalidi, *Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined the Peace in the Middle East* 66).

¹¹ *Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege* (1999) is a memoir concerned with the time period of Haas's life when she starts living in Gaza in order to understand this microcosm. It is a detailed account of the life and plight of Gazan's through the pen of a Jewish reporter who chooses to live among her brethren in humanity, and to tell the truth about them with her experiences. Haas, Peled, and Shubh Mathur (quoted in chapter 4) are some examples of organic intellectuals, to use Said's term, who choose to speak truth to the power.

¹² For details see Massad's work cited above in chapter 1, and also Gil Hochberg's *In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs and the Limits of Separatist Imagination* (2007) and works of Shlomo Sand, Ilan Pappé among others, all cited in the bibliography.

¹³ See Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* (2006).

¹⁴ In an article, "The Aliens Bill and Jewish Immigration to Britain 1902-1905" by Oskar K. Rabinowicz, given in Professor Walid Khalidi's book, *From Haven to Conquest* (1971), Rabinowicz discusses the problem of Jewish migration from Russia and Roumania due their persecution in Eastern Europe in the early eighteenth-eighties. He discusses how there was a talk of a bill to be passed declaring Jews as alien. Earlier Professor Khalidi also quotes Lord Balfour's declaration in defense of this alien bill. Khalidi writes: "Defending the Bill in 1905 Prime Minister Balfour had unburdened himself as follows: "...a state of things could be easily imagined in which it would not be to the advantage of the civilisation of this country that there should be an immense body of persons who, however patriotic, able and industrious, however much they threw themselves into national life, still, by their own action, remained a people apart, and not merely held a religion differing

from the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen, but only inter-married among themselves” (xxx). With this background in mind, the context of Rabinoicz’ article becomes clear when he quotes Herzl: “If you allow me to say so, Mr. Chamberlain, I should prefer for England’s glory that you do not make such a Bill. Drain them elsewhere, but don’t make an Alien Bill.”(102).

¹⁵It is not that India has not had its fair share of the puppet regimes in Kashmir. It most certainly has it in the form of the Abdullah dynasty, if we may call it, but it does not feature as one of the main arguments that Peer gives in his memoir the way Karmi makes the discussion of this ‘circus’ as she calls the ministry businesses in the PA, as one of the main arguments of her memoir along with the discussion of the occupation of Israel on Palestine. It is also because Palestine is one part of the larger scheme of colonial-imperialism that is manifest in many regions of the Middle East. It is a region, which is repeatedly been occupied, destroyed, and reinstated by puppet regimes prior to, and after the Arab Spring, with most devastating outcomes as many historians argue. For details see, Rashid Khalidi’s two works especially, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East* (2004), and *Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined the Peace in the Middle East* (2013).

¹⁶ For details also see Joseph Massad’s books cited in the bibliography. Massad is a distinguished professor at Columbia, and a Palestinian Christian like Edward Said, who was also a Professor at Columbia. Besides other works of Edward Said, see also, Said’s “Keynote essay” in Karmi’s anthology, titled, *Jerusalem Today: What Future for the Peace Process* (1996). In this essay Said argues how Jerusalem was converted from a “multi-cultural and multi-religious city into a principally Jewish one” (E. Said, Keynote Essay 3).

¹⁷ This phrase is borrowed from Nadia Abu El-Haj’s book, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israel Society* (2001), (p. 5)

¹⁸ For details of postcolonial environmental ethic, see, chapter, 3 and 4. As my selected theorists also suggest to look beyond the American environmentalism that does not cater for the environmental ethics of particular places as argued by Rob Nixon and Deane Curtin. See bibliography for their quoted works in my research.

¹⁹ For example, Suvir Kaul, Shubh Mathur, Angana P. Chatterji, Sanjay Kak, Arundhati Roy, Gautam Navlakha, Mona Bhan, and many others.

²⁰ I draw this term from what Deane Curtin has written in the context of Gandhian resistance,. He writes “environmental resistance movements around the world that are localized defenses of human relationships to place” (11). For a detailed analysis see his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005).

²¹ The details of Nail’s plight may be seen in a recent documentary titled *Naila and the Uprising* (2017), the trailer of which may be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zotlaEEnSZw>. I first watched in a film screening of this documentary during my fellowship at Columbia University, New York, USA.

²² For a detailed discussion of ISA and RSA and interpellation, see chapter 3 of this research.

²³ For example, earlier works by Walid Khalidi, especially his book, *All that remains: the Palestinian villages occupied and depopulated by Israel in 1948* (1992).

²⁴ Karmi writes in the footnote that “The NSU was a British-funded organisation whose purpose was to provide well-researched factual studies for the use of Palestinian negotiators in the peace process with Israel. It was staffed by bright young professionals who came from all over the world and whose reports and briefings were widely regarded as accurate and authoritative” (*Return* 72).

²⁵ I have adopted and synthesized T. S. Eliot’s term “The objective correlative” that he uses in his essay, “Hamlet and his Problems” (1919), in one of my reviews about a theatrical performance, that may be accessed on my blog.

²⁶ For details, see *The Palestinian Nakba 1948 : the register of depopulated localities in Palestine* (2000) and his other works.

²⁷For details see his article in, *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (1988) (Kidron 92), a book by Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens.

²⁸ Works of historians like, Jeffries, Schneer, Khalidis, Ilan Pappé, Shlomo Sand, Chomsky, Al-Haj, Said, Eqbal Ahmed and many more cited in the bibliography.

²⁹ As a footnote karmi writes in her memoir, “The Oslo Accords led to a division of West Bank into Areas A, B, and C, the first controlled by the PA, the second under joint Palestinian-Israeli control, and the largest under sole Israeli Control” (*Return* 98).

³⁰ More than its literal meaning , “inability (or impaired ability) to understand or produce speech, as a result of brain damage,” I have used this term as a metaphor for the trans or delirium like state the general population must be due to their losses day in and day out. This meaning in the speech marks may be accessed at https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1CHBD_enPK776PK776&ei=x9guXb2JErOW1fAP_KCNsAw&q=aphasia+meaning&oq=aphasia+&gs_l=psy-ab.1.1.0i6713j0i67j0l5.11615.11615..14082...0.0..0.326.326.3-1.....0....1..gws-wiz.....0i71.bPrEglwj2G0

³¹ Especially memoirs of Salman Abu Sitta, Amira Haas, and Miko Peled cited in the bibliography.

³² Walid Khalidi writes in the footnote “Y.Z. Khalidi, Member for Jerusalem of the Ottoman Parliament, 1877, Palestinian scholar and Mayor of Jerusalem in 1899. Herzl’s letter, which was written in French, was

received by Y.Z. Khalidi while on a visit to Constantinople,” (W. Khalidi, *From Haven to conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948*).

³³ This key note address is given by Professor Walid Khalidi, *The Nakba: Sixty Years of Dispossession, Sixty Years of Resistance* (2012), which may be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PXY1oUmpsqw>

³⁴ Ad hominem means: “Attacking the person making the argument, rather than the argument itself, when the attack on the person is completely irrelevant to the argument the person is making.” (*also known as: personal abuse, personal attacks, abusive fallacy, damning the source, name calling, refutation by caricature, against the person, against the man*)

<https://www.logicallyfallacious.com/tools/lp/Bo/LogicalFallacies/1/Ad-Hominem-Abusive>

³⁵ For details see the works of Pappé, Khalidi, Said, Chomsky, and many other scholars cited in the bibliography. Pappé’s 2017 book is titled, *The Biggest Prison on Earth: A History of the Occupied Territories*.

³⁶ Greshon Shafir discusses the respective roles of “the religious nationalist communities of the respective societies—Gush Emunim (the Bloc of the Faithful) in Israel and Hamas among Palestinians” (Shafir 5), in his recent book, *A Half Century of Occupation: Israel, Palestine, and the World’s Most Intractable Conflict* (2017).

³⁷ Curtin uses this term, “ethic of resistance”, while discussing the modes of resistance of the colonized people. He writes: “Mahatma Gandhi, one of the leaders of the nonviolent resistance to British colonialism in India. Other major voices include Aimé Césaire of Martinique, who coined the term “Negritude” as a source of resistance to the colonization of Blacks; Albert Memmi, a Tunisian who explored the psychology of colonization; Frantz Fanón, also of Martinique; and W. E. B. Dubois of the United States” (Curtin 45).

³⁸ In the footnote, Karmi writes: “An NGO based in Gaza city, was established in 1995 and headed by Raji Sourani, an internationally reputed Gazan lawyer. It fights for Palestinian rights in accordance with international law, and its human rights work is widely respected. Israel has frequently denied Raji Sourani exit from Gaza to engage in international conferences and meetings.

³⁹ For details, see Walid Khalidi’s book *From Haven to conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* (1971) among many others.

⁴⁰ For details, see works of Pappé, Chomsky, Barat, Said, Sand, and many others cited in the bibliography.

⁴¹ For details see *Israel’s Military Operations in Gaza: Telegenic lawfare and warfare* (2016) by Marouf Hasian.

⁴² I add this footnote to mention what Karmi discusses in the context of the argument of complete removal of the Palestinian Authority as the representatives of Palestinians that some intellectuals raise. She mentions the article of Ali Jarbawi, an academic from Bir Zeit University, the main argument of his 1999 article was “unapologetically calling for PA’s dismantlement.” Karmi gives a counter argument and writes: “His argument was that the PA’s main function was in effect to provide cover for the occupation, absolving Israel of its legal responsibilities for the territories it occupied. By presenting a picture of a false parity between the government of Israel and that of ‘Palestine,’ as if they were equivalent in power and resources, it absolved the world of its responsibilities towards the Palestinians too” (*Return* 236).

⁴³ The phrases are borrowed from the book, *The Beneficiary* (2017) by Bruce Robbins when he writes in the context of the discussion of becoming a beneficiary from the given scenarios and writes: “the “moral rules are suspended [, n]ecessity makes its own rules, which are beyond good or evil” (Robbins, *The Beneficiary* 132).

⁴⁴ Karmi gives the following explanation as a footnote in her book; “The story came to light through the researches of Gish Amit, an Israeli PhD student, who estimated that 30,000 books, many of them irreplaceable treasures of historical and religious significance, had been pillaged in this way as part of a systematic assault on the Palestinian cultural heritage. His findings were made into a documentary, *The Great Book Robbery*, by the Israeli filmmaker Benny Brunner in 2011” (*Return* 254).

⁴⁵ All the historians, critics, and memoirists mentioned in this study, especially, Joseph Massad’s book would be an easy and instructing read to confirm these concluding remarks.

Conclusion: Towards Ecodevelopment through Eco-postcolonial Ethic

Dwelling together on earth in peace is certainly a tall order, perhaps another modern Utopia, but subjecting modernity to a restructuring moral critique is the most essential requirement not only for the rise of Islamic governance but also for our material and spiritual survival. Islamic governance and Muslims have no monopoly over crisis.

(Hallaq 170).

Whatever its politics, green postcolonialism brings out a truism that clearly applies to, but is not always clearly stated in, the different strands of both postcolonialism and ecocriticism: no social justice without environmental justice; and without social justice— for all ecological beings—no justice at all” (Huggan 10)

OK, I'll tell you what I think. I think you should not be wasting your time doing this seminar, and you and the rest of the Palestinian Authority leadership should not be behaving as if you were a government of a state. There is no state. You are under occupation and your proper role is to be the leadership of a people under occupation.

(Amira Hass, Haaretz reporter qtd. in *Return* 307-8)

6.1. A Parthian Glance

In order to conclude my research project, it would be helpful to review the basic premises that I started off with, and look at the importance of my research questions with respect to the primary texts that I examined. This review would enable the readers to see the importance of the tripartite theoretical approach that I adopted to study my primary texts which consisted of the lens subverting the *Idées reçues* and examining the interpellation and environmental ethic in the selected narratives. Since this exploratory study was qualitative in nature, therefore, the research methods of historiography and ethnography, overlapping with the other two methods of hermeneutical phenomenology, and textual analysis suited well for my analysis of the texts. Without taking any essentialist positions, this qualitative analysis allowed for a degree of discursivity in my answers, which is a hallmark feature of a qualitative research. Although, not considered as final and binding, the findings address my thesis statement and research questions that I discuss here shortly,

and enable me to incorporate a sort of theorizing that I present here, before giving suggestions for further research endeavors.

In order to validate the importance of the research lens and research tools that I used, I would cite Hamid Dabashi's argument that he gives in his book, *Post-Orientalism: Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror* (2009). Dabashi favors Ramachandra Guha's "virtuoso dismantling" of this Hegelian concept of world history to be an invention. My primary writers, in their respective memoirs seem to be in line with Guha's view of "the prose of the world in its everydayness, in its being-with-others, and ultimately his judicious positing of *wonder* against *experience*, *civil society* against *the state*, or in short *the poetics* of our resistance against *the prosaics* of power we face." He believes that our part of the land is a "glorious multicultural tapestry that is the very prose of our historicity in that neck of the woods" (Dabashi *Post-Orientalism* 143, 4, 8). This is the stance adopted by the two memoirists selected for this study, i.e. Peer and Karmi. Both these writers emphasize an everydayness of their respective realms of Kashmir and Palestine, and belonging from the civil society, have contributed their poetics of resistance, or ethics of resistance (to use Curtin's term) against the prosaics of power faced by the people of their lands, as illustrated through their texts of *Curfewed Night* (2010) and *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015).

They seem to correspond to Rashid Khalidi's view that reading "history of the losers in the records of the victors" (The Iron Cage xxxvii) is not really a beneficial exercise. It is a kind of making use of Audre Lorde's dictum that the master's tools would never dismantle the master's house.¹ Therefore, while doing the historiographic analysis of the selected texts, I have mostly relied upon independent historians and critics. With the help of my analysis chapters, I have managed to show that the investigative lens of Said's concept of *Idées reçues*; Althusser's theory of ideology, Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses, and interpellation; and postcolonial environmental ethic, are some of the suited modes of inquiry. My research further shows that in order to use these analytical lens, the investigative methods of hermeneutical phenomenology, textual analysis, and historiography have proved to be quite effective in this exploratory study which I have applied eclectically across my research.

There are, by far, more similarities than differences between the two situations of Kashmir and Palestine (for some difference refer to section 5.4 in chapter 5). My ethnicity of being a Pakistani, instead of being an impediment, has proved to be beneficial during the course of my research for the simple reason that I started off with certain presumptions

and affinities that I felt towards the two places. However, for objective analysis of my selected texts, my initial interest of being drawn towards the literatures of the two places of Kashmir and Palestine was helped by my physical distance from the two realms. Therefore, I have worked to develop an objective analysis with the facts narrated in the two texts.

For the sake of clarity, let me discuss here some of the similarities.

After analyzing the primary texts we come to these findings, that though there are many aspects different in the situation of Kashmir and Palestine, it would be instructive into account the similarities, which can hardly be ignored or categorized as incidental. Thus narrating the similarities would bring the discursive answers to the research questions we started off with in the introduction.

My first question was *to inquire about the modes in which Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi's memoirs articulate the presence and praxis of idées reçues (unconditionally accepted ideas) built around the Kashmir conflict and Palestinian issue.* This question, in conjunction with the second question, *which was an investigation about the interpellation caused by multiple socio-political hegemonies,* gives us a complete understanding about the Idées reçues. My third question was about *the ways in which the life narratives of Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi trace the environmental ethic in the disputed territories of Kashmir and Palestine.* Both the texts invited an historiographic analysis in order to subvert the Idées reçues built around the two troubled lands as depicted in both the texts. This historiographic study enabled me to question these Idées reçues and consequently expose the interpellation (miscognition, or creating flawed perception and forcing it to be accepted as true, without leaving much choice otherwise). The other research methods of textual analysis and hermeneutical phenomenology (cf. section 3.4.2 for details), were equally good for the analysis of the two texts. This analysis helped me address my third question about the modes of stating the environmental ethic of Peer and Karmi's respective disputed territories of Kashmir and Palestine.

The first similarity that we come across is the historical reality of the unfinished or rather badly capped business of the British Empire. When the "UN special committee on Palestine had found the Mandate to be unworkable," the Palestinians were in complete denial of "a British withdrawal from Palestine," while, the fact on ground was, that the "British army kept a noticeably low profile, except for the imposition of curfews" (Karmi, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* 74, 5, 9). Same can be seen in Kashmir, when we

see a Kashmiri Pandit stating that “Kashmir is the unfinished business of the end of Empire, of the Partition of British India, carved up into India and Pakistan in 1947” (Kak xii), or historians like Alastair Lamb warning against the existing chaos at the time of partition, if it was “allowed to extend to Kashmir and the strategic borderlands” (Crisis 41). These facts, discussed in detail in the previous chapters, subvert the pervasive *Idées reçues* of *A Jewish State* (1904), a supposed homeland for the Jews, or the “integral, not negotiable” (Chiktara 167), in the context of Kashmir (an age old justification of colonialism discussed shortly as findings).

Besides, it is also a recorded fact that with the “preferential treatment of Jews” (*Return* 157), when the British left, they left a great deal of progress and education among the Jews and the Indians, while the Palestinians and the Kashmiris were deliberately kept back from modern education. The modern day State interpellation may be seen in the diktats when a professor, Nurit Peled-Elhenan, notes in her book, *Palestine in Israeli School Books* (2013), that Israeli students are taught racism against Palestinians, while Indian “statist epistemology” and “state machinery” (Naeem 219) are critiqued upon by a Kashmiri Professor.

During the course of our analysis we saw that in both the cases of Kashmir and Palestine, the terrorism is identified with the weaker. In other words, the resistance of the colonized people of Kashmir and Palestine is maimed as terrorism. While the fact of the matter is, that “Palestinian security forces were trained by CIA personnel to collaborate with Israel” (*Return* 98) to pursue “ Hamas, the PA’s sworn enemy,” which is labeled as “a terrorist organization according to Israel” (*Return* 99). The same can be seen in Kashmir, when, Ikhwanis, “armed by the Indian government and given free hand—immunity from prosecution for their crimes,” were torturing and killing “like modern-day Mongols” (*CN* 170). Also, when Tariq Ali notes in his article, “Afterword: Not Crushed, Merely Ignored” (2011), that “Israeli military officers were invited to visit Akhnur military base in the province and advise on counter-terrorism measures” (133). It is a similar phenomenon as stated by Sumantra Bose in his book, *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007). Bose writes:

“Between 2002 and 2004 the Indian army erected a multitiered fencing system along 734 kilometers of the 742 kilometer LOC to deter cross-LOC movement by insurgents. This fencing system comprises ‘two or three rows of concertina wire, about three meters or ten feet high, electrified and connected to a network of motion

sensors, thermal imaging devices and alarms acquired from the United States and Israel,' and was built without a fraction of the publicity attending Israel's construction of its controversial 'security barrier' with the West Bank, labeled the 'Great Wall of Palestine' by skeptics. (160-1)

The *Idées reçues* (pervasive propaganda) and their vindictive and interpellative strategies are self-evident and self-explanatory in the two quotes. Similar is the phenomena of "tear gas and rubber bullets" (*Return* 41-6), (CN 116) (Kak, *Until My freedom has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir*).

Salman Abu Sitta, one of the eminent and earliest historians and one of many like Karmi, who fell victims to the Jewish Nakba, refutes the Zionist theory that claims that Palestinians/ Arabs outnumbered the Jews or the Zionists. He states that strategic immigration of highly militaristic Zionists, which resulted in the ratio of 120,000 Israeli armed forces to 2500 Palestinian semi military force was meant to be a forgone conclusion, for the resulting forced expulsions of the local people, killings, demolition of Palestinian property, and ethnic cleansing. He also maintains that Ben Gurion's policy of taking over Palestine even before the British left, strikingly, is one of another similarity that we see in the case of Kashmir and Palestine, when in the case of Kashmir (Alastair Lamb has declared the same policies carried out by the Indian leaders well before partition.) 675000 villages were depopulated only 99 remained. 30 military operations beginning with massacres (Sitta, *The Geography of Occupation* n.pag.).

Sitta also talks about the prisons, which is a strikingly similar phenomenon in the case of Kashmir too. He writes: "Next door, the government building had been converted into the notorious Beersheba prison where stories of Israeli torture are common. We entered the school building, now missing its doors and windows" (*Mapping My Return* 292). And, as mentioned in chapter four of this research, the interpellative hegemonies led to the Indian Abu Ghraibs of Kashmir, known as Papa-2. These prisons in Kashmir and Palestine are the worst nightmares of human history, the modern day holocaust, and yet, never given any name in this capacity nor are ever brought to light of justice as the Nuremberg trials.²

Narrating some more similarities in the two realms of Kashmir and Palestine, we see the two writers are stating the environmental ethic of their respective places against all interpellative odds. If Karmi describes "the much-dreaded *tatwiq* (round up)" as a "pernicious practice used by the authorities to root out Palestinian resistance fighters and

to search for hidden arms” (Karmi, *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story* 11) in the early period of Israeli occupation, Peer, records the same phenomenon of “crackdowns” (*CN* 50) in the early part of dawns, and all sort of misdemeanor that may possibly go with it in harrowing details. The phenomena of “power cuts” (*Return* 295), and “where people can be killed merely for protesting power cuts” (Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* 15), is also a striking similarity. Same is the case with the hierarchal order among the Jews, as Ashkenazi, Sephardi, Black Jews, and Palestinian Jews [see Massad, (Karmi Married 62) and other writers], and the marginalized communities and the caste system among Hindus (Peer AQO 71).

My findings, comprising the similarities between the two situations, may also be seen in carving up of the concocted Jewish and Hindutva realities. They manifest in the “archeological hunt” for “imagined israelite ancestors” (*Return* 245) in Palestine or “destruction of the Babri Mosque at Ayodhya in northern India on December 6, 1992” (1) an incident which becomes a source of inspiration for Aamir Mufti’s book, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (2007). Mufti reminds us that the “officials and liberal media alike spoke of undoing the work of the mobs in Ayodhya, the word ‘mosque’ could not even be uttered, and they spoke, with a straight face, of rebuilding ‘the disputed structure’” (2). Another, very pervasive similarity, besides the visual likeness between the JKLF flag and that of PLO’s, is the phenomenon of stone-pelting. The “narrow alleyways of the Palestinian cities” (Karmi Married to Another Man 217) and Kashmir are very similar and a possible refuge for the “stone-pelters” or “sang-baz” (Kak "The Fire is at My Heart: An Introduction" xvi, xiv), a right which the Palestinians and Kashmiris are using to state their ethic of resistance, discussed shortly.

My three research questions relating to my primary texts, the postcolonial memoirs selected for this study, evoked postcolonial theories of environmental ethics that furnished the most appropriate ecological reference point. The comparative aspects, briefly discussed as my findings, of contemporary Kashmir and Palestine have received relatively little attention from historians and political analysts; the literature of these places has received still less attention in a comparatist vein. Thus, in reading Peer and Karmi together, I have tried to highlight the importance of such a study in literature. This inclusion of an ecocritical dimension in my work lends it an additional import and may prove a significant contribution to the study of postcolonial literatures and environmental ethics.

To conclude, I am in favor of an ecodevelopment that is “inherently diverse. It must begin at the local level because communities and places are diverse...the implications of this idea is that the first world cannot be free while the third world is enslaved.” (113, 111, 112) as Curtin argues in his book. This is not possible unless the postcolonial environmental ethic or eco-postcolonial ethic of the respective places of Kashmir and Palestine are accounted for, otherwise it is reduced to the rhetorical question: “Is all ecodevelopment just neocolonialism in disguise” (Curtin 98)? Both the writers of the primary texts selected for this study have recorded their ethics of resistance, as Fanon would argue. In order to gain back the dignity of their respective lands, they state their respective environmental ethics of Kashmir and Palestine. This is, then, a justified ecodevelopment, which is en route a postcolonial ethic or eco-postcolonial ethic.

As I deduced a definition of postcolonial environmental ethic or eco-postcolonial ethic, as I phrase it, in section 4.4 of chapter 4, I now endeavor to theorize one other finding that has emerged from the discussions in this research.

6.2. Implonialism: Theorizing for Future

After studying the neocolonialism in the context of Kashmir, and settler colonialism in the land of Palestine, I propose a concept that I neologize as implonialism, which implicates colonialisms and imperialisms that the world has been witnessing for centuries.

One pertinent observation that Herzl makes in his 1904 book, *A Jewish State: An attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish question*, is that all the attempts of colonizing the Jews, even by “really benevolent men...have so far been unsuccessful” (Herzl 5). The same line of reasoning can be raised in the context of Palestine, who are declared as the original inhabitants of this land, embracing Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, in different periods of history.³ It may therefore be argued, that if any attempts to colonize Jews or Indians,⁴ had been unsuccessful, then, how can they apply the same formula on Palestinians or Kashmiris? An adjoining argument can be, that if attempts of any colonizing are bound to fail (as claimed by Herzl), then what is the “ization” Israel is practicing vis-a-vis Palestine or India, in case of Kashmir?⁵ With the help of my primary text, I argue that the appropriation of land culture and resources, marginalization, and erasure meted out to the Kashmiris and Palestinians, is beyond the hegemonic strategies of either imperialism or colonialism.

Colonialism is defined as the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically, while, imperialism is defined as a policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force. Based on the discussion in this research, the settler colonialism⁶ of Israel and Indian occupation of Kashmir may also be called a colonial-imperialism,⁷ a phenomenon which is extending the implications of both colonialism and imperialism, and may also be neologized as implonialism. This colonial-imperialism or implonialism is more aggressive⁸ due to sheer savagery of the attacks and uses a hammer against a fly phenomenon.⁹

It may therefore be inferred, that while colonialism has been thriving on the metaphors of 'educating and civilizing the innumerable millions' and 'white man's burden,' imperialism has bothered itself to borrow only some of these tropes from colonialism. Their synthesis brings despotism or fascism,¹⁰ which simply disregard any option to bother itself with any such euphemisms. Neither does despotism has any use of this vocabulary, nor bothered by its imports. Such recklessness caused the two world wars of the previous century with the consequences of ostensible decolonization in many parts of the world including India, and the question of Jewish colony in Europe resulting in Eretz Yisrael. The subsequent world order, thriving on Cold War, is culminating into a praxis that is witnessing a re-colonialism, re-imperialism, and despotism in the context of the two places of Kashmir and Palestine, a form of imperial-colonial-despotism, which I have called an implonialism for convenience.

Employing excruciatingly brutish, massacarian tendencies and unrestraint genocide carried out against humanity is what qualifies this imperial-colonial-despotism in the two realms to be beyond colonialism, and imperialism. This then becomes a combination of, not only colonialism and imperialism in their most heinous and barbarian forms, but also has a fair share of fascism and despotism, and thus, may be neologized as implonialism. The world is witnessing this implonialism in the context of specifically discussed lands of Kashmir and Palestine as manifested in the memoirs of the two places. Indian neocolonialism and Israel's settler colonialism, it may be argued, therefore, is in the phase of colonialism/ imperialism and despotism, from which it had sought to liberate itself for more than seventy-five years ago. Their implonialism has occasionally bothered itself to table some justification for their policies of erasure, marginalization, and genocide, but usually, have a *carte blanche* with least bit of accountability, which, the colonial, imperial,

and despotic/fascist regimes once exercised. The postcolonial environmental ethic of the two places, with its attendant methods of inquiry, as manifested in the selected texts of this project, questions and impedes this unrestricted blank check.

There is value in entertaining the possibility that if this implonialism is not checked, it has the tendency of establishing the similar patterns of imperialism, colonialism, despotism, and authoritarianism that is exercised in the two cases of neocolonial policies of India and settler colonialism of Zionism in Palestine in other parts of the world. The neocolonial strategies of India towards its borderlands of north eastern regions and the State of Kashmir in the north western region, and its own marginalized communities like Dalits show remarkable similarities. Likewise, the settler colonial Zionist project in Palestine, has shown a notable consistency in its policies towards Palestinians and their land.

Studying the ontological realities of both the lands led me to this epistemic inquiry of environmental ethic of these places. Such an interventionist and interdisciplinary exploration can thus help us locate similar patterns for examining how specific ideologies are used for interpellative strategies and work in building *Idées reçues* that may imbricate the ontologies of places, as may be seen in the case of Kashmir and Palestine, and even, contravene the processes of epistemological analyses. With a historiographic, textual analytic, and hermeneutical phenomenological methods of inquiry, I have discussed how occlusions and claims of authenticity create a web of influence, which interpellate to efface, exclude, and otherize those inquiries that may endeavor to subvert such categories of knowledge-making.

This implonialism does not care much for any cover statements and is unscrupulous because it is not bothered by any environmental ethical concerns of the existing populations. Crossing all limits of consciousness for humanity and human laws, which some historians and critics describe as “unbridled ethnocracy that grossly discriminates against certain of its citizens” (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 22), or define as a “creeping apartheid” (Plonski 183). This term also has an implication of implosion, i.e. self-destructing predilections, because they are not environmentally sustainable in the long run. I say this because both, Europeans suppressing the Jewish Question in Europe, and colonialism in India, had to answer for their misdeeds eventually (The Nuremberg trials for the perpetrators of Holocaust and British roll-back from India). Since both these phenomena of colonialism and imperialism are impacting the case of Kashmir (chapter 4)

and Palestine (chapter 5), their definitions, with the added factor of concerns for environmental ethic, may serve as working definition of this neologism of implonism.

Alternatively, it can be said that colonizing and appropriating all possible resources, both physical and psychological, with all possible means, is what makes this phenomenon of implonism or colonial-imperialism, holding sway yonder than what colonialism and imperialism could accomplish till the first half of the twentieth century. One possible evidence of this inference is, that the benevolent tropes of colonialism of “educating the ignorant millions” and “white man’s burden,” lose much of their use in the rhetoric of imperialism, and become, with one possible manifestation like, “a land without people for a people without land.”¹¹ It is not that both the terms, colonialism and imperialism, are not interchangeable, they most definitely are, and, likewise they borrow heavily from each other too. But an ‘ism’ like implonism, which I am suggesting, is a practice of exercising absolute power that allows for doing away with any explanatory positions that either colonialism or imperialism have ostensibly maintained in history. It has no qualms or trepidations for any accountability of the like of Nuremberg trials, and perhaps, exercises indemnity in the vein of witch hunting trials of Salem. In the context of Kashmir and Palestine, it is the employing of unrestrained and ongoing genocide, excruciatingly brutal, egregious and unspeakable crimes against humanity in the twenty-first century. This colonial-imperialism, or its protégé, implonism has absolutely no transparency for its Ideological State Apparatuses and Repressive State Apparatuses (to use Althusser’s terms) and has a complete disregard to the environmental ethic of the place, that qualifies it to be beyond colonialism and imperialism and makes it a combination of both in the most strategically crafted heinous and barbaric forms, that may be called implonism. It therefore, calls for a de-Indianization in Kashmir and, as Sand argues, a “de-Zionization” (Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* 292), in the context of Palestine.

I consider it a natural affinity that any Christian is going to feel for another Christian, a Muslim for another Muslim, and so a Jew for another Jew. But that does not entail that all Muslims, Christians and Jews can be confined in geographical blocks. That would be ethno nationalism or Parochial nationalism but a nationalism like America saying that an ‘American’ has always civil rights irrespective of race and religion, or a Christian or a Parsi living in Pakistan is very much a Pakistani is what I call a multicultural-transcultural-cosmopolitan nationalism. Humanity is not a flock of sheep to be put in a separate pen if he/she is a Muslim, or a Jew, or a Christian, or a Hindu, or a Buddhist. So

if Israel, India or the Arab nations (those who exercise this parochial nationalism) claim a Jewish identity for its nationals, or a Hindutva mindset or a Saudi or an Arab to become a mutualized citizen of that place, it goes beyond parochial nationalism, worse than any colonialism or imperialism of the 20th century.

And therefore, if only for emphasis sake, I call it implonism, which is more than any imperialism, colonialism, fascism, or despotism. The first syllable in imp-lonial-ism denote the first three letters of imperialism, the second and the third syllables may be a symbol of colonialism, while the last syllable stands for the fascisms or despotisms that we discussed through the course of this research. This settler colonialism, or impregnated militarism, unaccountable for their imperialism is what makes today's world not postcolonial world but postimplonial world. The human beings who are facing the brunt of such shameful, hateful, brutal, egregious, and unspeakable crimes of implonialism are implonialized people living in a post implonialized world with the lowest possible subalternite positions of an implonialized entity and the real wretcheds of the earth.

We should not be critical of a generic nationalism, as criticized by many anti-nationalists, or who raise objections to nationalism, but the parochial nationalism is what I call implonialism that should be weeded out of the truly multicultural, multi-ethnic, equality based nationalism with a sense of belonging. A belonging that does not have a dagger under every arm to slaughter anyone with different caste, color, creed, or religion.

However, as Hannah Arendt would argue, that a pack of lies are bought easier than truth,¹² so that it is quite a task to bring truth to the surface. Through this theorizing, I offer an aid for any future research in these or any similar areas.¹³ Therefore, with this brief theorization about my neologized term, implonialism, I now move to the final segment of this research about recommendations for further research, in the next section.

6.3. Recommendations for Further Research

This research project is just a beginning to help kindle many new research dimensions in so many diverse and challenging literary studies.

We saw in the conclusion, that the age old British colonial strategy of using the local forces against their own is a pervasive reality in the two cases of Kashmir and Palestine. The Special Rapporteurs, both for Kashmir and Palestine also keep releasing in their reports besides many other shocking realities. The scale and nature of military violence and war crimes calls for the international judicial tribunal, if there is one, to bring

even a retrospective justice to the crimes committed against humanity in Kashmir and Palestine. It is time for re-enacting the Nuremburg trials. I am sure the world would be in for a shock at the results.

Any future research may incorporate other memoirs, fiction, or poetry from the two places that I have researched about, or they may do a similar study on the literatures of other places. The rich poetical texts by such iconic poets like, Agha Shahid Ali and Ejaz Rahim from Kashmir, and Abu Salma (Karmi's uncle) and Mahmoud Darwish from Palestine offer a promising research projects. Similarly, the contemporary poetical works like *born palestinian, born black* (2010) by suhair hammad (she writes her name in lower case like bell hooks) are also a researchable perspectives. Karmi has written extensively, and her first memoir that I have occasionally used as my secondary source, has an ample room for research, especially if studied in conjunction with her critical works, *Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine* (2007) and her edited work, *Jerusalem Today: What Future for the Peace Process?* (1996). Similarly, Said's memoir, *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (1986), the title of which is inspired by Darwish's poem, may be studied in conjunction with Karmi's first memoir for studying similarities. Even, Said's daughter, Najla Said's memoir, *Looking for Palestine: Growing up Confused in an Arab-American Family* (2013), may prove to be an interesting project for some researchers. Also, the memoirs by Salman Abu Sitta, Reja e Busailah, Amira Hass, and Miko Peled, cited in the bibliography are important texts for research.

Similarly, the anthologies like *Until My freedom has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2013) by Sanjay Kak, *Of Occupation and Resistance* (2013) by Fahad Shah, and *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017), a quite recently written book by an English Professor in USA, Suvir Kaul, may be studied as petit recits of Kashmir, with the same theoretical bricolage that I have used in my research or with any other theoretical lens that I have used partially, like that of Bruce Robbin's theorizing in *The Beneficiary* (2017), or Wael Hallaq's book, *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament* (2014), or many other books mentioned in my project. My theoretical structure may also be helpful in studying other literatures as well, for instance. Mirza Waheed's novels, *The Collaborator* (2012) and *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2015), and Arundhati Roy's latest novel, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (2017) can also be important researchable texts. A relatively new dimension of research can be the graphic novel written by a young cartoonist from Kashmir, Malik Sajad, whose two maps of

Kashmir are part of Peer's memoir and I have cited in my research. His graphic novel, *Munnu: A Boy from Kashmir* can be an interesting comparative study with art Spiegelman's graphic novel, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*.

Similarly, the research methods of phenomenological hermeneutics, and historiographic analysis are relatively new methods of analysis, and may be used with the other two methods of textual analysis and ethnographic method of inquiry or may be used eclectically with newer combinations. This dissertation may serve as a good reference source for many future research projects.

Notes Conclusion

¹ *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House* (2018) is a recently published 64 paged book by feminist writer Audre Lorde (1934-1992) based on her famous dictum itself. For details about the publishing etc. see

https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/The_Master_s_Tools_Will_Never_Dismantle.html?id=Cv5cDwAAQBAJ&source=kp_book_description&redir_esc=y

² For details of the legal pursuings of the human injustices being carried out by these paramilitary forces in Kashmir, see Shubh Mathur's book in which she has recorded these abortive attempts and tried to record these gross human violations and injustices against humanity. It is not a surprise, that there is very little data available about these writers themselves on the internet, and with no pictures most of the times.

³ The myth of Zionist Jews being the original inhabitants of this land has been questioned by many scholars. Joseph Massad has exposed the myth of an unbroken lineage of European Jews in his book, *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (2006). Nadia Abu El-Haj exposes this myth in terms of anthropological excavation in her book, *Facts on the Ground: Archeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israel Society* (2001), and Shlomo Sand, in his book, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (2009) has completely falsified the Jewish claims. He rather declares Palestinians to be the actual inhabitants of the land who embraced Judaism, Christianity and Islam as they came to the land.

⁴ As Shashi Tharoor argues in his book, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India* (2017).

⁵ For an ongoing and current comprehensive analyses and reports see the website of *Middle East Research and Information Project* at <https://www.merip.org/> or *Kashmir Wala* magazine

⁶ It is not a contested but now an established term. Almost all the scholars, historians, critics cited in this bibliography, write against this settler colonialism. However, the occupation of Kashmir is relatively a recently established term by a number of scholars, historians and critics also cited across this research. Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880-1940) used the term, "Jewish colonization" in his essay as early as 1937, "Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission 1937" (Jabotinsky 321).

⁷ The definition of the two terms are quoted from:

https://www.google.com/search?q=colonialism+definition&rlz=1C1CHBD_enPK776PK776&oq=colonialism&aqs=chrome.1.69i57j0l5.6022j0j8&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 and

https://www.google.com/search?q=imperialism+definition&rlz=1C1CHBD_enPK776PK776&oq=imper&aqs=chrome.0.0j69i59j69i57j0l3.3935j1j8&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

⁸ Many scholars have discussed Israeli aggression and terrorism in their writings. See for instance, "Middle East Terrorism and the American Ideological System" by Noam Chomsky, an article in the book: *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (1988) cited in the bibliography.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ A recent book, *Dictator Literature: A History of Despots through their Writing* (2018) by Daniel Kalder is quite instructive for developing an understanding of the two terms with the help of the writings of many dictators that he includes in his book.

¹¹ This is a popular Jewish slogan, cited in many books used in this research. I have quoted it here from Joseph Massad's book, *The Persistence of Palestinian Questions: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (39). But it can also apply to the discovery of America, in 1492, with slight variations.

¹² In her 1951 book, *Origins of Totalitarianism* Hannah Arendt writes: "In an ever-changing, incomprehensible world the masses had reached the point where they would, at the same time, believe everything and nothing, think that everything was possible and nothing was true... The totalitarian mass leaders based their propaganda on the correct psychological assumption that, under such conditions, one could make people believe the most fantastic statements one day, and trust that if the next day they were given irrefutable proof of their falsehood, they would take refuge in cynicism; instead of deserting the leaders who had lied to them, they would protest that they had known all along that the statement was a lie and would admire the leaders for their superior tactical cleverness" (Jones n.pag.).

¹³ Sumantra Bose's political science inquiry, in his book, *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007), was helpful in my work. However, he clearly mentions in his book that his political science inquiry falls short in doing a literary inquiry, which is the gap, one among many, that I tried to fill with my work.

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