

**INTERROGATING THE COLONIAL
VIOLENCE: A STUDY OF MIRZA WAHEED'S
THE BOOK OF GOLD LEAVES AND FERROZ
RATHER'S *THE NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS***

BY

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THESIS AND DEFENCE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of English Studies for acceptance.

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ABSTRACT

Title: Interrogating the Colonial Violence: A Study of Mirza Waheed's *The Book of Gold Leaves* and Feroz Rather's *The Night of Broken Glass*

This research study has been conducted to discover the dynamics of colonial violence inflicted by the Indian colonizers on the Kashmiris in the novels *The Book of Gold Leaves* by Mirza Waheed and *The Night of Broken Glass* by Feroz Rather. I have applied Fanon's concept of anti-colonialism and his ideas on revolutionary violence to comprehend the psyche of colonizers and that of the agents of colonialism. This project examines different dimensions of colonial violence presented in the novels and the impacts of colonial violence on the natives as well as on the military responsible for the colonial aggression. It examines the hostile relationship between the Kashmiri colonized subjects and the Indian colonizer portrayed in the selected narratives and the metamorphosis of the weak colonial subject into a hero of its people. Moreover, the study holds the causal nexus of the perpetration of colonial violence responsible for the generation of young boys into militants in Kashmir. Furthermore, it illustrates if decolonization has been accomplished through revolutionary violence by the characters of the novels or not. Alan Mckee's method of textual analysis has been employed to analyze the two novels comprehensively. The novelists have given voice to the colonized Kashmiri people that have been victim to decades of oppression and have illustrated the colonial performance of Indian soldiers and their harsh methods of colonial aggression. They have succeeded in writing back against the colonial mentalities. I have attempted to highlight that both revolutionary violence and colonial violence produce anguish and distress with the aid of Fanon's psychiatric study of the victims of war and their victimizers. The study is an attempt to hold the Indian government and the Indian soldiers accountable for colonial violence in Kashmir and concludes that revolutionary violence is an aftermath of Indian colonial aggression and it will not come to an end unless colonial violence itself stops. This research will provide researchers with a unique lens to study the works of Waheed and Rather with a better understanding and stress upon the issue of Kashmir with zeal and urgency.

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DEDICATION

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Last, I dedicate this thesis to my Kashmiri brothers and sisters: may you all live to see the day you are free and to the Muslims of Palestine, Uyghur, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan and Afghanistan.

FROM A GIRL FROM THE OTHER SIDE

*I saw a peculiar flag on your land,
I felt its pole rammed through my soul.
We are the same person but there's a river in between,
I walk free in my Azad Kashmir while you lived barred
In Jammu Kashmir.
I want to cross the Neelum river and sit with you,
But I am told even though we speak the same, look the same,
Wear the same and eat the same.
You and I can never be close enough to look each other in the eye.
With you so far, we too have lost the unique culture we once had.
I wear my pheran from time to time to remember you.
Our flag is losing all its yellow and fading into green too.
I will live forever in the hopes that you and I will cross Neelum
And you will see the side I grew on,
And I will see where you bled on.*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Jammu and Kashmir has constantly remained subject to violence since the partition of the Indo-Pak subcontinent in 1947. The armed conflict in Kashmir has claimed the lives of thousands and the Indian government has done everything in its power to subvert the claims of human rights violations, of Muslim genocide and has discredited the voice of the Kashmiri people. Kashmiris have run out of patience and in response to the long-drawn armed violence of seven decades the Muslims residing in Indian-occupied Kashmir have also demonstrated resistance through insurgency.

1.1 Background of the Study

The valley of Kashmir has become a “Territory of desire” for India (Kabir 2). A virulent desire that has crushed everything in its path to make the Valley of Kashmir its own by any means necessary. The violence of India against the people of Indian-occupied Kashmir is considered to be one of the most terrifying holocausts in the history of South Asia. Even in this current age, when the member countries of the peace-keeping organization the United Nations propagate world peace, Kashmiri people are withstanding the worst forms of colonial violence imposed by the Indian military. But the abrogation of Article 370 and Article 35A on 5th August 2019 came as a shock to the people of Kashmir. Article 370 only had symbolic significance that allowed Kashmir its semi-autonomous status but Article 35A preserved the exclusive identity of the people of Kashmir and gave them the authority that only Kashmiris could be “permanent residents” of Kashmir (Amnesty I. “India”). The issue of Kashmir has been studied under colonial lens for decades but the abrogation of its autonomous status marks its shift to settler colonialism. The goal of settler colonialism is to dilute the indigenous Kashmiri population and the agents of Indian colonialism are using force to wipe out the natives that come in their way.

The purpose of this project is to use Frantz Fanon’s thoughts on colonial violence and examine how it brews revolutionary violence in natives and gives them the strength

to fight back the colonial forces. It further analyzes that rebellion is the by-product of violence and that violence whether it is inflicted upon the colonizer or by the colonized is a destructive force. But revolutionary violence is much fiercer as it is for the sake of independence and the people of Kashmir will never stop fighting until they have gained freedom from their colonizers. India should give Kashmiris their right to self-determination and give back the Kashmiris what is rightfully theirs to stop the vicious cycle of violence. Otherwise, it is hard to say when this violence will ever come to an end. The voice of Kashmiris that the Indian government has silenced for decades has “massed into a deafening roar” (Roy 436). Despite a rigid lockdown the Indian occupied Kashmir saw almost 20 protests a day which resulted in numerous depravities and resulted in the captivity of almost 170 political leaders. The ordinary civilians of Kashmir armed with nothing but their fury rose up against the Indian security forces and took to the streets. From the United Nations to Pakistan, everyone showed deep concern regarding the communications and internet blackout implemented on Kashmir but all in vain. During this period, Indian security forces detained almost 3,800 Kashmiri people because of the intensity of the massive protests against the revocation erupted like wildfire that India could not curtail without the use of violence. India not only revoked Article 370 but it started a new phase of colonial violence against the Kashmiri people by intensifying its dictatorial grasp over them. In order to prevent the world from getting informed regarding the colonial violence suffered by the people of Kashmir, India implemented a complete communication blackout and strict curfew in Kashmir (Osuri 5). India’s imposition of repressive policies over Kashmir and the inhumane torture implemented by the Indian military over the Kashmiri Muslims is an unspeakable example of colonial violence that needs to be exposed at a global level.

According to Al Jazeera’s *The Listening Post*, journalists outside of India have uncovered that several movements for the Hindu supremacy called “Hindutva” are in motion in India and the Indian media has done well to cover it all up (AlJazeera 0:35-1:45). According to Gregory H. Stanton the current situation of Kashmir is that there are early “signs and processes” of a genocide of Muslims living in India and the Kashmiris in the Indian occupied Kashmir (Sridhar). Since Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came into power in 2014 hate crimes

against the Muslim minorities in India have escalated dramatically. Indian government has done all in its might to seal the lips of activists and writers writing against their atrocities, take Arundhati Roy for example who has been called an anti-nationalist and an enemy of state for simply putting facts to paper. India has spent loads of money to ensure violence, to distribute “disinformation, propaganda, torture, elaborate networks of collaborators and informers, terror, imprisonment, blackmail and rigged elections to subdue what democrats would call the will of the people” (Roy 434). India has been misusing its powers with the assistance of its draconian laws of Public Safety Act (PSA) enacted in 1978 and Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) enacted in 1990 and detains certain Kashmiris for years at large. According to Amnesty International, with the decrease in armed insurgencies the local civilian protestors fight against the Indian military forces with stones and the forces have retaliated with firing rounds at them and use pellet guns to take down a mere stone-thrower (Amnesty I. “India”).

It is not possible to separate Islam from the discourse of Kashmiri struggle so the question that bears to mind is that a state that preaches Islamophobia and has illegally occupied a Muslim majority state, then what will be the future of Muslims in Kashmir and the Muslims in India? Hate speeches against Muslims are on the rise which makes one question the future of the people of Kashmir (Al Jazeera 02:00-26:00). This study is an investigation of exposing the colonial violence suffered by the people of Kashmir through the narratives of Feroz Rather and Mirza Waheed. Feroz Rather’s *The Night of Broken Glass* is a book based on the collection of thirteen short stories that present the violence suffered by people of Kashmir. The stories mostly focus on the same characters, but the status of these characters change with each story. The most distinctive aspect of Feroz Rather’s book is that stories authored by him provide a rare insight into the world of common Kashmiris and the violence they suffer in their daily lives. In the very first story, while remembering his violent encounter with an Indian Major, the protagonist states “Major S had suspended me by my feet in the prison cell where I had been incarcerated. I was stripped naked and my hands were tied behind my back with coarse rope” (Rather 13). These words penned by Rather leave a terrifying impact on his readers especially considering the fact that these stories have been derived from real-life encounters of the Kashmiri people.

On the other hand, *The Book of Gold* by Mirza Waheed is a love story that takes place between a Sunni Kashmiri man Faiz and a young Shia woman, Roohi. Faiz resides in Srinagar, where he paints pencil boxes in order to fulfill the financial requirements of his family. He sees Roohi in the courtyard of a shrine and instantly falls in love with her. However, when both of the lovers are on the verge of uniting, the political and social instability of Kashmir puts a pause to their romance and pushes them towards a hell of violence and death. Faiz, who is presented as a young man with a responsible and strong personality, starts losing his sanity when he witnesses his Godmother and school children becoming victims to crossfire (Waheed 109). The story of Faiz is similar to the story of the many young Kashmiri boys that grow up to see nothing but war and joining freedom fighters is the only way out for them. Their hearts ignite with the desire to take control of their land back from the colonizers and liberate their people and it becomes the sole purpose of their lives.

1.2 Thesis Statement

The main argument of my research project may be summarized in this thesis statement:

The Indian occupation of Kashmir seems to be a repeated colonial performance of the Indian military. The colonial violence has led to settler colonialism and it stands responsible for the transition of the victims of colonial aggression into offenders.

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To investigate how the texts under study have addressed the adverse effects of Indian colonial violence in Kashmir.
2. To explore how the works of the selected indigenous Kashmiri writers build an appropriate framework for the rise of Revolutionary Violence in Kashmir.
3. To analyze how the chosen novels depict that the Indian government has made Kashmir its colony and how the Kashmiri natives feel about colonialism.

1.4 Research Questions

1. In what way does the colonial performance of the Indian military affect the daily lived reality of the Kashmiri people and what are the cultural, social, political and geographical implications of this violence?
2. How have Rather and Waheed's texts built a befitting framework for Revolutionary Violence in Kashmir?
3. How does the Indian Government reinstate their colonial past by making Kashmir their political playground and how do the Kashmiri natives react to this colonial experience?

1.5 Research Methodology

The research method adopted to contrive the research objectives of the study is qualitative research method which comprises of Alan McKee's method of Textual analysis. Textual analysis requires evidence from other texts surrounding a text and investigates the symbols presented in the text for that purpose I have presented research conducted by other researchers, interviews and news reports to support my argument. The research is also based upon the facts regarding the current situation of Indian occupied Kashmir. The theoretical foundation of this dissertation is built upon Frantz Fanon's concept of violence.

1.6 Significance and Rationale of the Study

Due to its emphasis on a controversial issue, this study is highly significant not only for the domain of English literature but also for the domain of South Asian Studies. The colonial violence in Kashmir has proved to be an unresolvable issue for almost 70 years. Despite the functioning of human rights organizations at global level, none of the organizations and countries have succeeded in resolving the issue of the Kashmiri people becoming subject to inhumane torture by the Indian military. This study will also point out how these Kashmiri authors succeeded in their efforts to decolonize the minds of their fellow natives with the help of literature. According to Maurice Blanchot the act of writing is a rebellious act and he remarks upon Franz Kafka who vigorously practiced

writing a journal and it was only literature that satisfied him (Blanchot et al 48). Similarly, Edward Said points out “A text is a very particular sort of geographical memory” (Said 209). Grounding on these notions, this study will prove to be a humble effort in raising a voice against the colonial violence suffered by the Kashmiri people. This study will analyze how the colonizer justifies his acts of violence and uses men as his shield to carry out the colonial agenda. Furthermore, it will examine the effect of violence on the Indian soldiers and also present a hypothesis of the future of Kashmir by applying Fanon’s anticolonial thoughts on the selected studies. My research will also give an in-depth analysis of the selected books in a new light that will guide future researchers and it is a humble effort in raising a voice against the colonial violence suffered by the Kashmiri people.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

This study has been delimited to two novels by Kashmiri writers, including Mirza Waheed’s novel *The Book of Gold Leaves* and Feroz Rather’s collection of short stories *The Night of Broken Glass*. Mirza Waheed, a prolific Kashmiri writer, journalist and author of *The Collaborator*, a book that received the Guardian First Book Award. He also wrote another novel named *Tell Her Everything* which touches the subject of our moral values and their fragility. Feroz Rather, a political commentator, a doctoral student of Creative Writing at Florida State University and a Kashmiri writer who has contributed his first novel to the subject of Kashmir. Both the novels have been chosen as the writers have experienced and seen the condition of Kashmir from their own eyes and their narratives describe events that are closely related to the reality of Kashmir. Both the texts selected deal with the subject of extreme violence and depict the lives of war-torn people and engage fully with the theoretical framework chosen for this study. The current research deals with effects of violence on the people of Kashmir and how violence can make subjects aggressive and violent, as they see no other option against their aggressors but to retaliate in return. The study includes news articles of Al Jazeera, BBC and other newspaper accounts to analyze the Kashmiri narrative and what are their true feelings about the illegal occupation of India in Jammu and Kashmir.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The thesis has been organized into six chapters with the intention to unearth the research objectives of the study in an elaborate and precise fashion. The first chapter introduces the novels that will be studied and discusses the background of the study, its significance, and the research questions that will be answered further in the study. It also uncovers the delimitations of the study and how it is organized. The second chapter deals with the recent literature that is available on the Kashmir issue, the selected narratives under study and literature available of the thoughts of Frantz Fanon that is essential to the analysis. The concluding paragraphs of this chapter highlight the research gap of this study. The third chapter reviews the research methodology applied on the analysis of the selected texts and the theoretical framework of Frantz Fanon adopted to achieve the research objectives. The fourth and the fifth chapter unmask the evidence of colonial violence and its repercussions present in the selected novels. The final chapter brings it all together and concludes the research objectives of the study in coherence with the findings of the analysis provided in the previous two chapters.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review has been divided into six different parts. The first part will discuss the existing literature that will give an insight into the year of 1947 when Subcontinent was at the apex of decolonization from its former occupiers, the British and the events that led to the conflict of Kashmir and what is the political situation of Kashmir in the 21st Century. It will scrutinize the previous researches conducted on the issue of Kashmir in order to discover a unique research gap. The second section cites fictional and non-fictional work that is dedicated to the Kashmir cause. The third section introduces the first author of the novel and the different angles of work available on it. The fourth section engages with the second author and the analysis done on his work. The fifth portion is designated to the biography of Fanon to recognize how and why he perceived colonialism as a plague and the final section deals with the work inspired by Frantz Fanon to further solidify my research's purpose and the research gap of my study. Due to plethora of studies available on Kashmir, the researches discussed in this part of the thesis have been thematically selected on the basis of their relevance with violence in Kashmir and the chosen theoretical framework.

2.1 The Kashmir Dispute

Before engaging with the texts under study, it is important to draw a timeline of the major events that led to today's situation of Kashmir. This section of the study maps out the historical background till the present situation of Kashmir. For that purpose, the first piece of literature I have opted is Bill K. Koul's *The Exiled Pandits of Kashmir* which dates back a detailed history of Kashmir. According to Koul, Neolithic period in Kashmir can be traced back to 2920 BC and Buddhism seeped its way into the valley around 250 BCE when Ashoka the Great ruled Kashmir. He was from the *Mauryan* Dynasty Buddhism reached China and Tibet through a Kashmiri scholar, *Kumārajivā* (c. 343 to 413 AD). Hinduism and Buddhism were the two main religions in Kashmir by the 4th Century and Kashmir was considered the center of knowledge of both religions (Koul 203). Then came the "Karkota Empire (from Kashmir) ruled Kashmir for 230 years (c.

625 to 855 AD)” (Koul 204). Foreign invasions and instability arose in Kashmir after the reign of the *Lohara* dynasty began. They ruled for 317 years (c. 1003 to 1320 AD). Islam arrived in Kashmir with the invasion of the Mongol Empire, they brought with them Sufism and many Kashmiris began converting to Islam (Koul 205).

The first Muslim ruler of Kashmir was *Rinchan Shah* 1320 to 1323 who converted into Islam after meeting the Turkistani mystic Sufi, *Bulbul Shah* (Koul 206). After Rinchan Shah was killed his wife ruled Kashmir who was then defeated by Shams-ud-din Shah Mir. With him began the rule of the Shah Mir Dynasty from 1339 to 1561. Then came the Chak Dynasty and after them the Mughals ruled Kashmir for 161 years from 1589 to 1750. After Aurangzeb’s death the Mughal Empire became weak in Kashmir and with Nadir Shah’s invasion in 1738 began the rule of Afghan Durrani in Kashmir that lasted for 70 years (1751 to 1820). The Mughal dynasty repressed the Kashmiri Pandits while Kashmiris of “all faiths were repressed” during the reign of the Durrani. Maharaja Ranjit Singh defeated Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1820 and Kashmir fell into the hands of the Sikh empire (Koul 210). The Sikhs ruled over Kashmir from 1820 to 1846 and the Sikhs fought their first war with the East India Company from 1845 to 1846. A peace treaty was signed between the British and the Sikh known as the “Treaty of Lahore” to end the Anglo-Sikh war. The Dogra Rule in Kashmir initiated with the “Treaty of Amritsar”, executed on 16 March 1846. According to the treaty, East India Company sold Kashmir for a payment of “7.5 million rupees to the Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh” (Koul 211). The Dogras ruled till 1947 with the last Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh. Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession to India and the Indian forces poured into Kashmir on 26th October 1947.

Christopher Snedden’s book *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir* written in 2011 describes the aftermath of the Accession of Kashmir to India. Since the partition of India in 1947, the people of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) have been caught up between the wars of India and Pakistan. When the decision of accession of J&K came to either accede to India or Pakistan fell on the ruler of that time, Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, he could not give an immediate answer due to the divide between the Muslim and Hindu population of J&K. Even though due to economic and geographical closeness with

Pakistan it was much more ‘desirable’ to access to Pakistan and many Pakistanis were hopeful that might be the case but they were delusional (Snedden 9). Maharaja Hari Singh’s Hindu identity made him incline towards India more than Pakistan. He along with his Hindu and Sikh subjects felt ‘politically and physically overwhelmed’ by the mere thought of accession to Pakistan even though Jammu, Kashmir and the Frontier Districts had an evident Muslim majority. According to the 1941 census, Muslims constituted 70% of the population whereas Hindus were about 20% but despite evident majority Maharaja Hari Singh did not want to access to Pakistan (Snedden 10). The project explores the historical narratives and maps out a timeline of some of the events that took place before the Indian settlers occupied J&K to better analyze the current situation of Kashmir. Christopher Snedden in his book *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir* paints a detailed picture of the partition and he is of the idea that “the core problem in J&K was its people. They were ethically, religiously and culturally diverse, diffuse and different” which led to countless uprisings all around the state (36). Snedden unravels the pre-partition scenario in Jammu and Kashmir that the Dogra ruler Hari Singh and his army began expelling Muslim subjects from the Jammu province before the partition which gave rise to uprisings against him before the partition. In contrast of the belief Indians have and have fed to the world that Pakistan was responsible for the origin of Kashmir dispute, the truth is the anti-Muslim activities were well underway before partition which gave birth to anti-Maharaja uprisings in the Poonch.

Hari Singh’s government started scheming against the Muslims and one of their successful schemes was that in July 1947 they ‘encouraged military-capable Poonchis and Mirpuris to disarm’ and their ammunition and arms were handed over to the non-Muslims to defend themselves against the Muslims (Snedden 41). Maharaja Hari Singh had issued a shoot-on-sight order against Muslims on 2 September 1947. Another factor that gave rise to the Azad army was the inter-religious violence committed by Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus against each other. Things got worse for the people of Jammu and Kashmir after Maharaja Hari Singh’s accession to India on 26 October 1947. The Azad army and the Pukhtoos that had entered from Pakistan to aid became active to fight against anti-Muslim Maharaja. According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* based on an unnamed ‘Englishmen’s Account of Kashmir Muslims’ Plight’ an estimated 140,000

Muslims were exterminated within four weeks starting from 20 October 1947 (Snedden 53). Whereas, a report published in *The Times*, London on August 1948 quotes an even larger number of killings. Maharaja Hari Singh and his forces carried out a massive Muslim massacre of 237,000 Muslims and turned the Muslim majority into a minority in the Jammu province (Naqvi 2). Snedden gives an unbiased account of all of the events that led to the Kashmir dispute he is of the idea that despite what India claims to believe the Kashmir dispute arose from within Kashmir by its own people. Muslims were responsible for killing Hindus and Sikhs and the ‘state-sponsored’ genocide of Muslims was carried out by Dogra army, the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Maharaja Hari Singh himself. Women were abducted, killed and raped in large numbers and no one knows where these women disappeared to. Muslim life was lost to unimaginable scales in 1947 (Snedden 54). Snedden blames both India and Pakistan for pulling Kashmir from both sides and completely marginalizing the people of Jammu and Kashmir, never asking them their opinion on the matter and gave them no active role or “involvement in resolving the dispute over their homelands” (78). After Hari Singh’s accession to India on 26 October 1947, the Indian military forces took no time to enter Jammu and Kashmir and remained there till date. The rivalry between Pakistan and India led to not one but three major wars and constant skirmishes ever since 1947. The first Indo-Pak war commenced after Indian military forces stepped into Kashmir and it stopped on 1 January 1949 with the help of a “United Nations-negotiated ceasefire” (Snedden 85). The book gives an unbiased and detailed account of the seeds that sprouted the Kashmir issue and the plight of the people of Azad Kashmir and their struggle to freedom.

The Kashmir problem could have been resolved seven decades ago if the United Nations would have put pressure on India and implemented its resolutions regarding illegally occupied Kashmir. In another paper written by Idrees, Imran and Jamil in 2021, the scholars have conducted a legal investigation of the scope of the United Nations resolutions with respect to Kashmir. According to Idrees et al, the problem of Kashmir began in 1846 when the British, through the Amritsar Treaty sold Kashmir to Hindu Maharaja Gulab; he later on passed his empire to Maharaja Hari Singh who did not ask for the opinion of the people of Kashmir and entered India. The reason that Pakistan and India separated was due to their religious differences but the British ignored them by their

unfair demarcation of handing over Muslim majority states to India through the Redcliff Award (Idrees et al 109). The fate of a Muslim majority Kashmir Valley was put in the hands of an anti-Muslim regime.

The rise of freedom movements, protests and insurgency began in the Valley after the people of Kashmir were neglected their democratic rights. They were not allowed to vote and the elections that did take place in 1987 were rigged and voting booths were destroyed. It became evident that the government of India did not want the elections to be held in a peaceful manner and they manipulated the results of the elections in every possible way. Muslim United Front was the main political party that had the majority support of the people of Kashmir but it hardly won four seats in the local assembly. The “failure of democracy” is the reason why young men joined militant groups and took up arms against the Indian government. It was not until 1990 that innocent Kashmiris were killed by the Indian military and more troops were sent in the name of protecting the Kashmir Valley but in reality they sent in security forces and implemented brutal armed forces acts due to the rise of Islamization and liberation movements in Kashmir that clashed with the colonial intentions of India (Idrees et al 109-110). International organizations such as Amnesty International, Humans Right Watch Asia, Genocide watch and many more have been reporting since 1990 the human rights crimes and violations of the Indian security forces against Kashmiris but the world has not held them accountable still (Idrees et al 112).

After repealing Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution, the independent constitution of Jammu and Kashmir was abolished, this means that all the articles of the Indian constitution are applied to Jammu and Kashmir. If that is the case, then according to Article 4, 21 and 22 of the Indian Constitution, torture is prohibited, yet the Indian government practices all form of torture on the people of Kashmir. Similarly, the constitution states that all are equal under the rule of law, but in practice, any Kashmiri that raises his or her voice against the crimes committed by the Indian forces is detained without warrant. They are controlled by taking away their right to information and are kept in the dark by implementing lockdowns on them. Rape has become the norm to silent people and to young Kashmiris are being poisoned or kept in custody until they die

(Idrees et al 113). The authors of this study are of the view that abrogating the special status that Kashmiris had from the constitution only reaps more hatred in the hearts of the Kashmiris and this leads to young boys joining the band of freedom fighters. UN should take strict actions against the human rights violations practiced by the Indian government and give the people of Kashmir their right to choose their future for themselves.

The study by Wonjune Hwang published in 2019, focuses on the Kashmir dispute from a different lens and describes why is the occupation of India in Kashmir a sensitive subject for Pakistan and India and why it is brings about violence even after decades? He is of the idea that that the Kashmir issue is a major cause of Pakistan's chosen trauma that has been "transgenerationally-transmitted" from their ancestors to the people of Pakistan today (Hwang 33). He uses Volkan's theory of chosen trauma defined as "the collective memory" of a certain group of people whose ancestors went through a "calamity" and the successive generations carry the burden of the grief, anger and the humiliation their ancestors went through. This is an unconscious process and not all memories that have been passed down from one generation to the other are meaningful (Hwang 31). Meaningful memories can be classified as the ones that are painful because they were caused by "another group of people" such as genocides, massacres, rapes and wars and when the pain inflicted by these disastrous events is not "resolved or reversed" it gives rise to "those griefs and helplessness" that is passed on to later generations (Hwang 33). This is the reason why Pakistan has such an attachment with Kashmir because for Pakistanis the dispute of Kashmir is an "an unfinished psychological task", they never had closure when it comes to Kashmir, they have been humiliated, they feel helpless till this day when India exercises all sorts of military aggression on the people of Kashmir. Hwang also uses the concept of "myth-symbol complex" given by Kaufman where history, emotions, relations and values "converge into the symbol" shapes the identity of a group of people (Hwang 33). Pakistanis mourn the loss of their Muslim Kashmiri brothers on 5th of February and have commemorated it as Kashmir Day or Kashmir Solidarity Day which elucidates Hwang point even further that even after 71 years since the partition, both Kashmiris and Pakistanis share memories of violence and emotions of loss and these shared memories have become a part of their identity.

The last part of Hwang's research covers the question of why the violence in Kashmir is never ending. Pakistan has lost three major wars from India, the first one was in response to Jammu massacre but Pakistanis were defeated which left them helpless and hopeless. The second war came as a blow to their broken spirits and the third left them miserable to the point that Pakistanis are stuck in the "vicious circle" of revenge. Pakistan felt this helpless when their minority status was threatened by the Indian majority in the subcontinent. The discrimination Kashmiri Muslims face today is similar to what the Pakistanis felt before the partition. It is this very helplessness over the death of their Muslim Kashmiri brothers that reignites the fuel of hatred and violence of in the hearts of Pakistanis today (Hwang 42). Indians have faced countless terrorist attacks violence as the outcome of Pakistan's chosen trauma and have been the victims of the atrocities of the partition of subcontinent as well but their continuous discrimination and oppression against Kashmiris is what "reactivates" Pakistan's anger towards them (Hwang 43). Hwang gives deep insight into the causes of the ongoing tussle between the two countries and the need for both of them to put an end to the spiraling circle of abuse. His work analyzes psychoanalytical causes of violence and depicts the long term consequences of trauma that shapes the identity of a group. Chosen trauma produces a chain reaction of victims turning into enemies and vice versa. He helps us understand the psychology behind Pakistan's intervention in the Kashmir matter and why it has become a personal matter for them. This research attempts to create understanding of the how disruption in one territory affects majority of the regions surrounding that locality and that effect is not only geographical but psychological.

Research conducted by Shweta Chaudhary in 2013 is crucial to our discussion because it gives a detailed analysis of the brutality ensued on the people of Jammu and Kashmir under the name of their armed forces act. The Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) was enacted in 1990 and according to the United Nations AFSPA violates a large number of human rights. This act has been implemented since two decades and has seen an array of human rights violations that include torture, custodial killings, rapes and forced disappearances. AFSPA gives the Indian soldiers the free pass to use force or to fire or even kill anyone they find suspicious. They can break into anyone's house without a warrant; stop and search any vehicle or a person under the name of public peace. The

act protects them to the extent that the soldiers will have to face no prosecution except those who might act against the power given by this act (Chaudhary 5). Chaudhary presents an account of how such laws have been enacted before in countries like Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Egypt and bore the same results that AFSPA has. In 2005, the security forces in Sri Lanka initiated a military operation to tackle insurgency and were permitted by the government to “commit extra-judicial killings” which resulted into “30,000 disappearances in the South regions alone.” In Malaysia, under the Internal Security Act (ISA) of 1960 people were detained without trial only because their officials said so. This included people from all walks of life such as, “thousands of civilians, including trade unionists, student leaders, labour activists, politicians, academicians, non – government organizations (‘NGO’) activists and members of religious groups”. Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) in Egypt regulated an act that restricted people their basic rights in a similar fashion (Chaudhary 12). She uses these examples from history to shed light on the consequences of military operations that tend to do more harm than the intended good.

Chaudhary deconstructs AFSPA and lays emphasis on what has the definition of a “disturbed area” been presented as in the act. According to Section 3 the Act, if the governor of state or the Central Government (India) considers an area to be dangerous “the use of armed forces in aid of the civil power is necessary” (14). In practice, all the power lies with the Central Government because the chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir has sent multiple requests to partially revoke the Act, if not completely but his requests and the call against human rights violations from the international community have never been answered. She further points out that due to the Act’s austerity, it allows Indian soldiers to shoot first and ask questions later. This Act leaves no space for the subjects under suspicion to be taken into custody and to be proven innocent when it states “shoot to the extent of causing death” (Chaudhary 17). This act veils the crimes committed by the Indian soldiers in the Indian-occupied Kashmir and provides them legal immunity for all of their discriminatory actions.

In addition to this, Chaudhary aspires for India to implement the judicial reviews taken against it by its courts and execute them and believes that Gandhi’s model of peace

is the *modus operandi* to gain peace in the land of Jammu and Kashmir. Gandhi's perspective illuminates that the "Right to Equality, Expression, Speech, Movement and Choice of Occupation" is essential for harmony. He is one of the pioneers of negotiating peace through *non-violence* for Indian subcontinent from its rulers (Chaudhary 58). Chaudhary's dissertation concludes by advises India and Pakistan to put their personal intentions after the demands of the Kashmiris' right to self-determination are met through Gandhi's political strategies. The study debates about the humans rights violation extensively and hopes for India to acknowledge that granting their soldiers the liberty to kill, powers to arrest, freedom to seize and arrest and judicial freedom is morally and politically incorrect.

A study conducted by Fitri Adi Setyorini and Takdir Ali Mukti in 2020 examines the reasons behind India's need to remove the special status of Kashmir by revoking Article 370 and 35A on 6th August 2019 after its enactment of 73 years. Using the Marxist perspective, the authors attempt to infer the rationale behind the withdrawal of Kashmir's special status. Marxism argues politics, power and matter are intertwined and the capitalist agenda gravitates towards globalization (Setyorini et al 133). The interest of the bourgeois shapes the national interest and politics is a tool that facilitates the authority of the dominant class while it exploits the lower class (Setyorini et al 134). Following the Marxist framework researchers deduce that India will be able to gain economic benefits by the annulment of Article 370. Under article 35A Kashmiris have ownership over their land and only permanent Kashmiri residents can buy the property and utilize it. This creates an *imbalance* between both the states and does not benefit India (Setyorini et al 143). Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, soon after he took office has been devising methods to increase the economy of India.

The infamous security lockdown and communications blackout in 2019 that followed soon after Kashmir was ripped off of its special status was imposed by the Indian government to counter separatist movements and reactionary disruption from within Kashmir. The plan of the revocation of the special status of Kashmir was set in motion ahead of time and active measures were taken to prevent anti-national movements and violent uprisings. India sent thousands of Army troops to Kashmir before announcing

the revocation, banned tourism and public gatherings (Setyorini et al 146). According to the Narendra Modi, the resources available in Kashmir are highly beneficial for economic growth in the region and create several opportunities for Indian investors and businessmen. The research places emphasis on Taipan (an Indian businessmen group) and how their expansionist schemes have laid focus on developing the national market by removing all kinds of restrictions and barriers between the central and local governments (Setyorini et al 150). Ultimately, this thesis aims to build upon the unique lens presented by Setyorin and Mukti to understand one of the reasons why India took drastic and quick measures to renounce Kashmir's autonomy. They analyzed it through the Marxist lens and realized that it is evident that the occupation of Kashmiri land will prove to be an economical asset and the Indian government has set its mind on exploring it. While the focus of this study is to analyze how the annulment of Kashmir's special status brought about an influx of investments and economic advantages it also describes the India's hostility towards Kashmiri people to gain access to their land.

2.2 Other Narratives of the Kashmiri Plight

Compelling, honest and daunting fiction and non-fictional narratives have emerged from the Valley of Kashmir that are written by Kashmiri writers, journalists, bloggers, researchers and columnists. Basharat Peer's *Curfewed Night* is one such work of art that has paved the way for Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits to write their story as it is without the filtration of the Indian regime. *Curfewed Night* is the first memoir composed in English by a Muslim Kashmiri writer published in 2008. The memoir is a firsthand account of a young Kashmiri journalist living at a time when insurgency and freedom movements were on the rise in the Valley of Jammu and Kashmir in 1990. Peer is sent to Aligarh University to complete his higher education and to overcome the collective fate of young Kashmiri boys joining militants. After achieving his lifelong dream of becoming a journalist and a writer, he takes it upon himself to collect the stories and narrations of the people that are subject to Indian military violence (Rizwan 55). While Peer's memoir presents an image of the state of Kashmiri Muslims in 1990, Rahul Pandita's memoir *Our Moon Has Blood Clots: A Memoir of a Lost Home in Kashmir* published in 2013 depicts the story of the Kashmiri Pandits and their mass exodus to

India and Kashmiri refugee camps due to the rise of insurgency in Kashmir (Rizwan 56). It bears witness to the massacre of Pandits in Kashmir and the struggles they had to face due to the anger that had taken refuge in the hearts of their Muslim neighbors. The anger turned into hatred and forced the Pandits to leave their ancestral homes and live in poverty in India.

No Guns at My Son's Funeral by Paro Anand published in 2005, is a tale of a young Kashmiri boy Aftab who lives two lives. One is the tranquil life he has at home with his family and the other is of a young man training to be a militant. Aftab sneaks out at night to train under his hero Akram, a man he highly idolizes and is the leader of the freedom fighters. He is drawn by promises his secret life has to offer of “money, martial arts training and weapon” (Anand 2). Aftab was missing that adrenaline rush and excitement in his life and being with Akram made his life exciting and worthwhile. He was given money whenever he asked for it, was given a false purpose that he was doing something for the better. Akram knows the influence he has on the young boys and tells his companions to “use them while their dreams are bigger than their knowledge” (Anand 9). Aftab’s family warns him against Akram but unfortunately even his own sister Shazia gets swayed by Akram. Akram meets a predictable fate of death and to avenge him Aftab bombs the marketplace, killing him and taking the lives of many other innocent people. Shazia loses her brother and her lover and it is at Aftab’s funeral when the fighters, those that were along Aftab draw out their guns as a sign of respect, Aftab’s mother shouts “No! There will be no Guns. There will be no Guns at my Son’s Funeral” (Anand 169). Anand’s novel is an eye opening reality of many Kashmiri young boys that follow the path of violence because they see no other way out of the violence that the Indian soldiers put them and their families through.

Shahnaz Bashir’s novel *Half Mother* addresses another grim reality of women living under occupation. This is the story of not just one woman but the story of many wives, mothers and sisters in Kashmir as their husbands, sons and brothers are captured overnight over mere suspicion by the Indian Army and are never to be seen again. The enforced disappearances are that ugly truth that the Indian government keeps sweeping under the rug. Haleema, the main character of the novel loses her father to the attack of

the Indian military forces. After the death of her father she can barely hold on to life and becomes frantic at the loss of her father (Bashir 49). But life is cruel for Kashmiri women and soon afterwards her son, Imran is captured as the Indian Army associates him with a militant group. Haleema, who embodies the struggles of Kashmiri women, begins her quest to search for her son. She goes from one place to another and comes across the family of Abdus Salam whose daughter had lost her husband in a fake encounter by the Indian Army. She was labeled as a “half widow”, all the women that lost their counterparts are assigned the “prefix” half. It is as if they have lost half of their identity (Bashir 142).

Haleema goes to police stations, detention centers, courts and postmortem houses in search of her son but does not find him. She does not give up the search of her son and even becomes the leader of “The Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Persons” and fights for justice for other wives, mothers and sisters that have lost the men of their house (Bashir 141). Haleema dies without ever seeing her son Imran, again. Shahnaz Bashir has done justice to the narration of the plight of Kashmiri half mothers and half widows and laid it all bare for the world to take notice of the trauma that these women are going through that only death brings peace to the Kashmiri women because they can never stop looking for their sons and husbands and the Indian Army does not seem to hear their cries.

Shabir Ahmad Mir’s debut novel *The Plague upon Us* published in 2020 is a story of four friends Oubaid, Sabia, Tufail and Muzaffar as they lose their innocence because they live in a land under siege. Muzaffar being a son of a journalist who is murdered by the Indian forces is forced to be a militant as he sees no other way out. Similarly, the other male protagonists grow up watching violence all around them and are traumatized beyond repair. They gradually change throughout the novel from the position of the victim to the victimizer. As the title suggests, the author depicts through his novel how Kashmiris grow up and die in a land of pain and suffering, as if they are plagued. Plagued to either pick up a gun for the government or against it, plagued to wait for their loved ones till death takes them, plagued to be silent or be killed otherwise. The novel begins with the horror of violence in Kashmir and ends the same way. Mir describes how a

newborn Kashmiri is “born of anger” and “nurtured on anger”, it is that inevitable fate that no Kashmiri can escape (Mir 1). Mir mirrors the moods of Kashmiris with red and black, red for the priceless blood that is being shed by the Indian soldiers on the daily basis and black for the hopelessness that Kashmiris live in as they see no end to their suffering.

Hilal Bhatt shares his experience of a train journey in 1987 in the book *Kashmir: The Case of Freedom* written in 2011. It is a collection of essays that includes other writers such as Angana P. Chatterji, Arundhati Roy, Pankaj Mishra, Tariq Ali and Hilal Bhatt. Our focus will be on Bhatti’s chapter in the book under the title “Fayazabad 31223”, his story gives a real life account of what it meant to be a Kashmiri back in 1987. His story is relevant even today as the situation of Kashmir for the Kashmiri Muslims is still the same as it was three decades ago. He starts of his story by setting the scene in a Kashmir of 1987 when everyone was excited that the elections might set route for a plebiscite, as described in the 1948 UN resolution. (Ali et al 50) But the elections were rigged and all hope was lost for the Kashmiris yet again. Young boys of the age of fourteen crossed the Line of Control to enter Pakistan and learn how to use guns especially Kalashnikovs but he was forced to stay in school by his family and sent to Minto Circle School in the fear that he might follow suit and become a militant like the rest of the Kashmiri boys.

Fast forward to 1992, Babri Masjid that was built in 1527 was demolished by Hindus because they claimed it was the birthplace of their Lord Rama. This led to tension in Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh, Mumbai and Delhi which led to Hilal Bhatt and his fellow classmates to decide to leave for home (52). They boarded a train the next morning and little did they know the train was filled with the very Hindus, *Kar Sevaks* to be exact who had brought down the Babri Masjid. When a man approached him with a knife with the intention to kill him, he was saved by the lie that he told about his father’s identity when he was asked, “What is your name? Hilal Bhatt. I put the stress on the end of Bhatt, attempting to give it a Hinduized pronunciation. ‘What is your father’s name?’ he said. ‘Badri Bhatt,’ I replied” (Ali et al. 54). Even though his father’s name was Bashir he had

to lie because the Kashmiris were being butchered and slaughtered by Hindus as if they were cattle.

Unfortunately for his friends that could not conceal their identities, they were slaughtered like sheep, the leader of the gang told his partners “I’ve cut them into pieces and thrown them away.” The entire train ride become a murder scene when Bhatt finally managed to get off early on a station he met another friend that was thrown off the train he was in before for being a Kashmiri and the two rode off on a train “in the company of Sikhs” (Ali et al. 56). The story is a true depiction of the hatred Kashmiri Muslims are facing till date and their murderers are not held accountable for their brutality. My project takes inspiration from Bhatt’s story to build upon the idea of the insufferable pain and trauma Kashmiris are being put through.

2.3 In Context with Mirza Waheed & *The Book Of Gold Leaves*

Mirza Waheed was born and raised in Srinagar, Kashmir and moved to Delhi at the age of eighteen to study literature. His first novel *The Collaborator* was written in 2011 which was shortlisted for a Guardian First Book Award. His second novel, *The Book of Gold Leaves* was written in 2014 and it was shortlisted for the DSC Prize for South Asian Literature. His third novel *Tell Her Everything* was published in 2019. Waheed lives in London with his family these days. Waheed describes in *The Guardian* the reason he wrote his first novel that was inspired by an incident that occurred to him when he was a child and was forced to see dead militants by the Indian forces in Kashmir (Waheed). Another article published in *The Guardian* on the review of Mirza Waheed’s *The Book of Gold Leaves* states that as far as the love story of Faiz and Roohi is concerned, the story was quite slow-paced. However, the novel suddenly picks up the pace once the story transforms from romance to war (Ramaswamy 5). The Guardian claims that Waheed talks about the issue of Kashmir that has been forgotten by many and draws his attention to the cruelty of war depicted in the novel. When asked in an interview with The Indian Express why he only writes about Kashmir his reply was why not? Kashmir is his birthplace and he spent a good eighteen years in Srinagar and it will always stay a source of inspiration for him (Chakravarty 4). His first and second novel, both delineate the lives of Kashmiris under occupation.

Research conducted on the novel *The Book of Gold Leaves* by Inam ul Haque and Azhar Iftikhar in 2019 facilitates the analysis presented in this thesis. The authors have carried out a forensic analysis of the novel to unveil India's *fetishization* of the pristine land of Kashmir. The book is seen as a protest against India and Pakistan's *manic* obsession with the scenic Kashmir. According to the researchers, the Indian occupation renders the land to be a forbidden territory even for the Kashmiris. Art and culture cannot prosper in this forbidden land and the continuous loss of lives forced Mirza Waheed to write this novel that depicts a realistic picture of Kashmir under the cover of fiction. The research is an attempt to answer the questions of how the mania of the Indian army has flipped the once peaceful lives of the people of the city of Srinagar and how India's fetishization has toppled it into a forbidden land of loss. (Haque and Iftikhar 5). The novel does not discriminate amongst Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs as they are all Kashmiris and they are equally being targeted by the Indian forces.

The study further highlights Waheed's notion that both Pakistan and India are responsible for disrupting the peace of Kashmir and blames media for focusing more on the disputes between India and Pakistan and neglecting the issue of Kashmir. For Waheed, it was the lack of truth the media presented regarding the land of Kashmir that pushed him to write about Kashmir (Haque and Iftikhar 6). The novel illustrates the *fetishistic attachment* of the Indian soldiers, whose only concern is to occupy the land with any means necessary. Roads, streets, shrines, temples and even schools become forbidden territories for the Kashmiris and are overrun by Indian soldiers. Their obsession with this land makes the soldiers apathetic towards the people of Kashmir, Major Sumit Kumar encapsulates the nature of the occupiers of Kashmir. This manic obsession with the territory of desire is etched in the minds of the soldiers and they carry out these orders with their "masochistic and jingoistic spirit to commit transgressions" (Haque and Iftikhar 9). Young girls, women, old and young people are hunted down due to their obsessive fetishization.

The forensic examination of the novel connects the mania of the occupiers with the violence they ensue upon the occupied. Waheed does not blame the soldiers for the violence they commit but holds the Indian state responsible for it. The soldiers are mere

pawns to their puppeteering masters that have to fulfill their duties as ordered by the scheming politicians and statesmen of the Indian state (Haque and Iftikhar 11). The scholars of the study reveal that India's fetishization has taken a monstrous form. Art and culture is lost in the land of desire as its occupation means depriving it of freedom. This study depicts colonialism through the lens of fetishism and presents how it can drive people to the point of madness, just as it has driven the Indian soldiers and the Indian state insane, where they have lost all empathy for human loss due to their obsession for a territory they are longing for.

Another distinctive research by Sadique and Asif in 2021 depicts the depth of Waheed's novel by analyzing the relation between the traumatic memory of the one who survives violence and its remembrance. The study examines chronotropic symbols that leave the survivors of violence in Kashmir with a crippling trauma. The people who have survived war are left with lifelong scars that they wear with pride as the price they paid for living. Chronotopes are defined in the study as metaphors and words that have a symbolic meaning in a narration. Chronotopes have the ability to make "landscape thus becomes not only *geographically visible* in space but also narratively visible in time through dialogue" (Sadique and Asif 224). Thus, according to this study, war related chronotopes in Waheed's novel make the readers that have gone through the trauma of war and violence relive those moments and make the trauma of survival timeless.

Bakhtin was the first one to come up with the term Chronotope to describe the timeless symbols and metaphors present in narrations that depict socio-political realities. Using Caruth's thoughts on trauma and interconnecting it with Bakhtin's study of chronotropic symbols, the authors are of the idea that trauma lives on for years in the minds of the survivors and can be triggered through chronotopes. They also explore the struggle of characters that are reminded of their past trauma through chronotropic motifs (Sadique and Asif 227). The chronotopes of a river, school building, truck and telefunken are analyzed thoroughly and the horror they stimulate in the Kashmiris. Trauma makes it hard for the Kashmiris to move on and a land once known for its beauty is now one of the most militarized lands in the world. Trauma is closely connected to violence that will be the center of our analysis and the chronotopes under discussion elucidate that endless

violence has a rippling effect and it has traumatized Kashmiris, most of who have grown up knowing no other reality than cruelty and torture.

In an article written by Javed Ahmad Raina in 2018, the researcher analyzed the themes of trauma and suffering present in Mirza Waheed's novel *The Book of Gold Leaves*. The researcher further analyzed the narrative of Waheed's novel from three different perspectives including: the militant uprising, the counteraction of the army, and the secret executions of Hindus and Muslims. The researcher also brings to the fore the internal conflict prevalent in Kashmir among the people belonging to different political groups. He further emphasizes on the sufferings these people experience as a result of their conflict with each other and the impact such conflict holds on their routine lives (Raina 167). No matter what political ideology these groups fighting against each other believe in, all parties included get hurt in the process. Three decades long war has does not have winners but only losers, all the life that has been lost shows us that the slogans of nationhood in the never ending Kashmir conflict are simply a tool used by the powerful elite (Raina 168). Raina advises us to deconstruct each text and media coverage before fully believing it and to use Edward Said's ideology of reading a text "contrapuntally" to uncover unapparent racialized themes in any discourse (169). Raina's analysis of Waheed's text supports our argument that wars create havoc and that violence can become a vicious and unstoppable cycle.

In a dissertation written by Saba Pirzadeh in 2016, the researcher also studied Mirza Waheed's work in order to develop an understanding regarding violence and militarism within the South Asian literature of the contemporary age. Apart from studying Mirza Waheed's work, the researcher also analyzed the "ecocritical dimensions of violence" within the works of Uzma Khan, Kamala Markandya, Nadeem Aslam, and Kiran Desai (Pirzadeh 1). Pirzadeh conducts an in-depth study of the environmental effects of war on South Asia by studying the novels of the above-mentioned writers. Mirza Waheed's novel *The Collaborator* is analyzed in the context of the Indian-Pakistan conflict because the *geographical proximity* of Kashmir has proved to be a major bone of contention between India and Pakistan since both of the countries gained independence in 1947 (115). The author is of the idea that the conflict between the two countries has

altered the geography of the land and militarization pays no attention to the landscapes it is destroying thereby Othering it. She posits the process of Othering as a way of justifying warfare and the deterioration of environment and land as seen in Waheed's novel (109). The thesis offers a different perspective to ecological effects of battles and clash between nations by drawing examples from South Asian literature. She emphasizes the importance of environment and how one cannot stay indifferent from nature and has to establish a sense of belonging to the environment.

2.4 In Context with Feroz Rather & *The Night Of Broken Glass*

Similar to Mirza Waheed, Feroz Rather has also witnessed the wrath of militancy in his hometown in Kashmir. Rather lives in America now and is a doctoral student in the Florida State University. *The Night of Broken Glass* is his debut novel written in 2018. Rather is also well-known for his poetry. He has made a space for himself in the canon of Kashmiri writers writing in English and dedicating their work to the ongoing struggle of the Kashmiri people. His work has been praised by Waheed as being an extraordinary piece of literature and by the author of *Curfewed Nights*, Basharat Peer as being hypnotic (Khurshid 11). In an interview with *The Common* he tells Neha Kirpal that as a Kashmiri writer he wants to be a mouthpiece for his people and demands the Indian oppressors to hold themselves accountable for ensuing decade's long oppression on the people of Kashmir (Kirpal 23). In another interview with *Chicago Review of Books*, Feroz Rather revealed that while writing *The Night of Broken Glass*, he not only dealt with the history of Kashmir but also with the loss of land, love, culture and the loss of human life. He has addressed the brutality his people face in his novel of 13 short stories. He has talked about the various forms of violence a society suffers in his book (Mrjoian). Enough cannot be said about the callousness of the Indian oppressors and the fear Kashmiris live in. Rather's collection of short stories is a part of my project due to its melancholic nature and ruthless depiction of bloodshed.

Seema Bashir in 2018 analyzes the themes of loss and pain present in Rather's novel *The Night of Broken Glass*. The researcher gives a detailed summary of all the chapters in the novel and describes the hopelessness of the characters and readers alike. The core of her analysis is a comprehensive examination of people, things and emotions

lost in Kashmir due to the Indian tyranny. All the characters have lost either a friend, a family member, some have lost innocence and others have lost their lives. The motive behind my study has also been described by Bashir that even though Feroz's novel is fiction it is in accord with reality. Furthermore, focus has been laid upon the caste discrimination within the Kashmiri society and its transformation into Kashmiris as a whole facing discrimination at the hands of the Indian soldiers (Bashir 785). She further analyzes how war breaks people apart and describes the social issues Kashmiris are facing due to the on-going war and concludes her article in admiration of the author, "The guilt, the helplessness and the loneliness is very well translated by the author into words in his book. It is a dirge mourning the magnanimous losses this battered valley has incurred, a song extolling the courage of a people, who continue to live and persevere. With *The Night of Broken Glass*, Feroz emerges as a storyteller-poet who weaves a tale of the essential human condition, coloring it with the hues of red in a conflict ridden land" (Bashir 786). Her study focuses more on the conflicts of caste and gender within the Kashmiri society but also describes that these conflicts submerge under oppression and also paints a devastating picture of loss the Kashmiris have been facing for almost 70 years.

A study conducted by Aroosa Kanwal in 2021, looks at the spectre of war in Kashmir in a noteworthy way as she uses Adriana Cavarero's concept of *horrorism* and François Debrix's idea of *pulverization of the human* to study India's thanatopolitical strategies to annihilate the Muslim majority in Kashmir by targeting their flesh and bodies. The author has applied this theoretical framework on Mirza Waheed's novel *The Collaborator* and Feroz Rather's *The Night of Broken Glass* to "challenge the politics of invisibility surrounding Kashmiri bodies" (Kanwal 4). The essay makes a clear distinction between horror and terror, according to Cavarero horror is what paralyzes you after seeing something unimaginable to the point that it leaves you stuck in that moment. Unlike terror, the horror of seeing mutilated and disfigured Kashmiri bodies is what immobilizes us and the international community with a *paralyzing force* (Kanwal 5). But what is shocking is the silence of the international community that negates the existence of this horrorism. The horrorism of Kashmiri bodies has been laid out bare in both the novels to jolt the international community and the readers but the death toll has been

reduced to mere numbers as Debrix defines this form of violence as “destroying the uniqueness of the body, signaling not merely the end of life, but the human condition itself” (Kanwal 4). In *The Collaborator*, Waheed uses words such as *dead meat* or *hideous heap* by the head of the Indian Army which serves the point of the author that the Kashmiris are considered something that is not even human and have been reduced to being seen as nothing more than discarded meat (Kanwal 6). Similarly, Rather’s novel is replete with massacres, disfigurements, defacements and mass murder of Kashmiri Muslims.

Kanwal attempts to lay emphasis on the brutality of the Indian forces for stripping the Kashmiri Muslims of their identities even in death. Both novels have characters that have been mutilated and as a result are seen as monsters. The narrator in Rather’s novel is horrified at the sight of a mutilated boatman. The author uses Noel Carroll’s explanation on how others react to such horror to make us understand the narrator’s reaction as he shies away from having eye contact with the mutilated boatman. “We, like the characters in horror fictions, would feel distressingly helpless; for such creatures, insofar as they defy our conceptual scheme, would leave us at a loss to think of how to deal with them – they would baffle our practical response, paralyzing us in terror” (Kanwal 10). Both Waheed and Rather remise their novels around the frozenness of the international community that renders the images of dead bodies, flesh and mutilated Kashmiris they see every now and then, to nothingness. It is this silence that denies them identity and makes Kashmir a “no-longer-operational human community”. India has used horror inflicting methods to portray Kashmir as an uninhabitable land for the Kashmiris (Kanwal 12). Kanwal also addresses the subject of “agonal sovereignty” in Jammu and Kashmir which is loosely defined as gaining superiority by the erasure of a community that is considered threatening (14). Since Narendra Modi’s takeover ultimate sovereignty of Hindus has been the utmost desire of the Indian community and has been well-depicted in the dreadful tales of Kashmir. The author challenges the readers to give identity and visibility to the forgotten plight of the Kashmiris. The study focuses on the horrorist pulverization of the Kashmiri bodies that is yet another tool in the arsenal of the Indian forces to erase them of their uniqueness and identity.

2.5 Background of Fanon

It is pertinent to my discussion to dedicate this section to the biography of Fanon in order to understand his impression of violence and what made him criticize colonialism. Frantz Omar Fanon was born on 20th July 1925 in a French colony Martinique. Born in an upper-middle class family, he was a fighter, a writer, a psychiatrist and much more. Frantz Fanon and his family were of West Indian descent. When the French navy took over his beloved island Fanon was only fifteen years old and was still studying along with his brothers in Lycee, Fort-de-France and they “lived through three years of occupation” (Geismar 20). During that time period they survived many incidents of racial discrimination, which inspired Fanon to do something about it and at the mere age of seventeen he decided to join the Caribbean Free French Movement. Later on, to fight against the French enemies in the Second World War he joined the French Army. During his long voyage for war he learned that black people were seen as the lowest of human beings and but when he went to Algeria, an incident with Muslim children changed his mind about the discrimination he faced himself. Some of the French soldiers were throwing bread crumbs to those children and getting pleasure by watching them act like animals for a mere morsel of food. In another incident Fanon could not fathom the reality of watching children “fighting over garbage” in search of food. It shook him to his core and he saw how war turned human beings atrocious and the victims miserable. “Fanon’s confused feelings about racial subtleties disappeared before the hard realities of the wretched of Algeria. It was far worse than anything he had seen in the Caribbean” (Geismar 23, 36). After the end of the Second World War, Frantz Fanon wanted to study further in Paris and in 1951 he successfully defended his medical thesis and became a medical doctor.

By 1952, his writing had improved immensely and after the publication of *Black Skins, White Masks* he had gained the respect of the city’s academics. For the next two years he worked in Hospital de Saint-Alban, a psychiatric hospital in France under the guidance of Professor Francois Tosquelles and studied his patients with keen interest. It is upon arriving in Blida, a city in Algeria did Fanon became the revolutionary thinker that he is known for all around the world today. He revolutionized the psychiatric ward of

Blida-Joinville Hospital where he was the head of the psychiatry department as soon as he stepped into it. The patients that were chained to the beds and put into strait jackets were all released from their grasp immediately upon Fanon's instructions. It was during his time here that he was presented with an entirely different lens to colonialism (Macey 493). The oppressors and their victims were both going through a physical and mental ordeal in Fanon's hospital. Many Muslims and Europeans would arrive in his hospital and it was during his time when he was providing therapy to his patients did he truly become a revolutionist and by 1956 he realized that it was time to become a part of the 'Front de Liberation Nationale'. After fighting wars for the French, Fanon was now going to fight against them. He had to leave for Tunisia with his family to escape being killed by the French officials in Algeria. He was writing for *El Mondjahid* for the sake of the revolution and most of the articles published by Fanon in this paper are in his book *Pour la révolution africaine* translated by Haakon Chevalier under the title *For the African Revolution*. Fanon along with many other writers recorded the history of the revolution in their paper and were the propagandists of the revolution to fight the French with the power of the written word.

2.6 Development of Fanonian Thought

To understand the impact of Fanonist thought, one must analyze a few of the works influenced by the philosophy of Frantz Fanon to understand the inspiration behind my project as well. First study taken into account is Denise Lizet Gomez's thesis written in 2020 on *Arab Perspectives on Fanonist Thought, 1960s - 1970s*. She examines how Fanon's work has had a political, social and cultural impact in revolutionizing Arabs and united them towards Palestinian liberation. It was the consolidated effort of certain Arab writers, translators, publishers and intellectuals who took it upon themselves to translate, summarize, analyze and write on the works of Frantz Fanon (Gomez 10). The main objective of her analysis is on highlighting the Arab writers who are the pioneers of introducing the revolutionist thoughts of Fanon to the Arab world and how they represented those ideas. Through her thesis she sheds light on the Arab literary figures that deserve praise for emphasizing on the issues of racism and colonialism with the help of Fanon's own experiences with racial discrimination and oppression by the French.

Fanon's position as a "Black man, a French colonial subject, and Algerian revolutionary" resonated with the Arab writers such as Mammeri and pushed them to talk and write about resistance (Gomez 37). Fanon's concept of violence for the sake of freedom was heard and used at far off corners of the world, Palestine being one of them.

The philosopher's Arab readership could relate with the "shared experience of colonization and racial or ethnic subjugation (suffered) at the hands of Europe" (Gomez 46). In the final chapter she further examines that Fanon's disgust towards colonialism came from his experiences as a black man. He was a victim of ethnic and racial discrimination that fueled him to write his theories of violence that are also the subject matter of our analysis that violence is necessary as a means to liberation (Gomez 63). The author gave a wide range of Arab literature from the years 1967 onwards and maps a connection between the Palestinian Liberation Movement and Fanonist ideologies with an emphasis to study this particular area further. Her thesis assists my study and aspires to broaden the lens to the South Asian region specifically Kashmir to study Fanonist thought being implemented to obtain liberation.

Fanon's work has been seen in the light of his vigorous pursuit of liberation for the colonized people. However, this pursuit has been painted in the colors of propaganda and violence. Chuan-Rong Yeh investigates the complete theoretical context of Fanon's work from its sources of influence namely humanism, psychoanalytic theory and existentialism. "Existential thoughts in Fanon's Post-colonialism Discourse" investigates the debate around the relevancy of Fanon's work even after the end of colonization. The article points out the gross injustices done to Fanonism through unfair criticism and misinterpretation. Fanon's multiple identities and contradictory viewpoints were often looked at it as weaknesses of his claim when eventually they are his strengths. Due to his background in psychology, coupled with his understanding of existentialist and humanist inspirations, Fanon understood that the process of complete separation from the effects of the Western colonists required a combination of multiple variables (202). The colonized people are not only required to build strong nations but have to elevate their self-consciousness in order to achieve a distinct way of life, a way of life that is not related to the western code of conduct.

Fanon's work has been portrayed as synonymous with literature that incites violence. Robert Fulford describes him "as a poisonous thinker who refuses to die" (Fulford 2002). Yet academics such as Caroline D. Renko argue that Franz Fanon work has been misunderstood and has maligned his work for postcolonial literature. In the article "A New Way of Thinking: Franz Fanon's True Opinion on Violence" by Caroline D. Renko. Renko tries to clear the misconception of Fanon as a "proponent for inciting violence" by bringing into focus two fundamental chapters from Fanon's last book - *The Wretched of the Earth*. Secondly, the author has suggested the need for a new way of thinking to fully understand the work of Franz Fanon and use it for the benefit of both the colonizers and the colonized (6).

The article sheds light on how much of the criticism on Fanon's work is solely based on the first chapter of his book i.e. "On violence". Fanon labeled violence as a 'cleansing force' but the author is of the view that this idea has not been an extension of his narrative but because of the way the oppressors rule the natives (Renko 3). This shows that the critics also fail to bring into consideration the lived experience of Fanon's life as well that have shaped his views on violence. Fanon believed violence to be a prerequisite for the process of decolonization for as long as the colonized remained silent, they would never be able to get their freedom and identity. Fanon experienced racism at the expense of French soldiers when he was fighting against the Nazis and later on saw how the colonial French powers ruled Algeria mercilessly. His observations on how violence is conducted by the colonizers coupled with his experiences developed his concept of violence. So violence shown by the colonized is actually "a point of no return." that has come to be after long term sufferings and hardships extended by the colonizers (Renko 3).

Even though Fanon has raised the slogan for use of force to take back the colonized freedom and self-confidence, the message he provides in the last chapter of *Wretched* i.e. "Colonial War and Mental Disorders" shows how violence, from either the colonized or the colonizer, is not the solution to the problem. The author believes that it is this contradictory nature of fanon's work that his critics fail to understand. Due to the intense focus on the first chapter, they fail to acknowledge the horrific mental health

issues suffered by both French soldiers and the colonized Algerians. The detailed instances show that if individuals are not stable psychologically, then the nation is bound to be engulfed in mental sickness. The horrific instances of this last chapter show that Fanon is not supportive of violence and how his critics seem to have missed the point. Fanon has written his book as a warning for leaders who view violence as the only resort for making ends meet (Renko 5). Violence does no good to either the colonizer or the colonized and this is reflected by the psychological damages of war reflected in the last chapter. Thus it is essential to look for a new way of thinking that is unique from the western narratives in order to achieve what's best for one's people.

Critics such as Hannah Arendt, Robert Fulford and Henry Louis Gates Jr. blame Fanon for glorifying violence but Renko argues that Fanon has talked about violence being damaging for both the colonizer and the colonized. His case studies of the victim and the victimizer at the end of his book are evidence that what Fanon is trying to show us is the damage done by colonialism and warns us that the violence of the colonized can be deadly because they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by inflicting pain on their oppressors (Renko 6). Fanon's thought on colonialism, violence, decolonization and mental disorders are relevant to my research as Indian army has seen to it that they use force to colonize the people of Kashmir and with the abrogation of Article 370 and 35A Indian settlers have made their way to Kashmir.

Achille Mbembe in *Frantz Fanon's Oeuvres: A Metamorphic Thought* studied Fanon's application of psychology on anticolonial narrative. Mbembe defends Fanon's work and was of the idea that there is a difference between the violence of the colonizer and the emancipatory violence of the colonized are entirely different. For Fanon, violence was as much as a political agenda as it was clinical. He gave the politics of violence a separate space and the mental disorders their own space and "oscillates perpetually between the two poles" (Mbembe 11). Mbembe says that colonial violence does simply affect the colonized land but also affects the mind of the colonized. It is aimed not only on their present but halts their future. He claims that colonial violence has the ability of "turning loss into something more hemorrhaging abyss" (12). Mbembe mentions that the contemporary world has advanced in their methods of torture and of war but his ideas on

the united nature of the oppressed still stand true. His voice gives hope to the people suffering from colonialism even today.

This situation can turn out to be the same as Israeli settlers taking over Palestine or Afghani Taliban taking over Afghanistan. Both are two sides of the same issue of occupation, if force will be used to wipe out Kashmiris, there is no telling when the circle of violence will be broken. By applying Fanon's framework on the works of Feroz Rather and Mirza Waheed this project aims to highlight the two different sides of violence and to conclude violence is a cleansing force which damages everything that comes in its way. Fanon does not glorify violence his work is a warning for colonial forces. I hope to warn the Indian government that using force can prove fatal for their settlers and the violence inflicted by their colonial agents is damaging for both the colonized and colonizer as shown through the narratives written for Kashmir. My research is unique as it uses the lens of Fanon to prove the recklessness of colonial aggression and the destructive nature of revolutionary violence as it will keep on creating militants and rebels in Kashmir.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The current study will be conducted in accordance to the qualitative research paradigm whereas Alan Mckee's method of Textual Analysis will be adopted for the purpose of analyzing the selected literature. It is used to describe the content, structure and functions contained within the text. The analysis will be used to decipher the sense making practices that show how people make sense of the world. It is a forensic study of the text, by taking the signs given in the text and relating them to real life experiences. By using this method I have applied a Fanonian lens to investigate the politics of colonial violence and the violence of decolonization in Kashmir. Fanon's anticolonial ideas play a vital role to comprehend the various dimensions of violence and the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The research has been designed to first extract the ways Kashmiris have been tortured in both the novels, secondly it examines the impact this violence has on the subjects. Third, I investigate the revolutionary violence exercised by the colonial subjects on their abusers and finally how that affected the colonizers. This investigation has been conducted through Fanon's theories on colonial violence and his study of mental disorders resulted due to colonial violence. Mckee's method has provided me with a wide canvas of options to study the texts using symbols and focusing on the context of the text.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework will discuss various dimensions of Fanon's thoughts on colonialism, decolonization, violence and mental disorders. The first portion will discuss Fanon's life and the part he played in once being a French colonizer but after facing unbearable racism he joined a psychiatric hospital and was able to see the ugly picture of colonialism and how it affected both the colonizer and the colonized. The first portion discusses his definition of colonial violence, the second portion focuses on the way colonizers see the colonized, the third section interrogates revolutionary violence, the fourth helps one understand how decolonization is chaotic and the final section reviews the relationship between violence and mental disorders. These Fanonian thoughts

are applied on the texts under study and their relevance to the issue of Kashmir is analyzed further in the thesis.

Colonialism takes plenty of pages of history but did we learn to not repeat the mistake of our ancestors? One would think that the colonial legacy would die out in this age of information and freedom but that is far from the case. Countries such as India have enough land but have not stopped expanding their borders. In the process of this geographical expansion, what comes in their way, be it man, woman, child, infrastructure or Mother Nature, all becomes rubble. Kashmir, a land known as the paradise on Earth has its soil soaked with blood at the hands of its Indian colonialists. The anti-colonial thoughts of Frantz Fanon are central to my discussion and it is vital to know about his life to understand why he was against colonial aggression and everything colonialism represented.

Fanon lived the short life of 36 years and was defeated by the life taking illness of Leukemia on 6th December, 1961. He was one of the pioneers of the postcolonial thought, one of the few philosophers of his time who were daring enough to write about the follies of colonialism. He wrote his last and one of his most famous works, *Les Damnés de la terre* translated as *The Wretched of the Earth*, in a desperate attempt to concise the harsh realities of violence, colonization and decolonization (Memmi 5). Unfortunately, he did not live to see Algeria free from the rule of French but that did not stop him for fighting against colonialism and racism.

3.2.1 Harshness of Violence

Frantz Fanon in detail describes the colonial world in the following words:

The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression. (29)

Fanon lays out the black and white image of the colonial world, a world that is not democratic but barbaric. The colonized of his time and even today Kashmiris, do not

have leaders that have been appointed of their choice but have a brutal force that keeps them in check to never take a step against the oppressive forces of the colonizer. Police and soldiers are the harbingers of peace but become the symbol of tyranny and violence in the colonized world. An excerpt from one of the novels of our study *The Book of Gold Leaves* by Waheed portrays a clear picture of the effects of colonialism in Kashmir as described by Fanon. The army covers every street and alley whereas artillery and army machinery is a common sight in occupied Kashmir (Waheed 59). Fanon builds a contrast between a capitalist and a colonist society that people are rewarded for good conduct which makes them want to be better citizens in a capitalist society whereas in the latter the police and the military make their dominion known and treat everyone equally with their rifle-butts and bombs (29).

There is a clear distinction between the two parts of lands demarcated by soldiers and the barrels of their guns pointed towards the natives. To paint a clear picture of the colonial world, let us divide it into two. One enters a town of industrialization and prosperity, which has its streets clean and its trash cans swallowing every unseen and seen impurity. The roads are clean even the soles of the shoes of the settler have not seen a day of dust. This town has it all and never has a hungry settler inside its walls. A town of ‘foreigners’ and a town promising a great future. For Fanon, the colonizer’s town is a mighty town that is a “strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage-cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about” (Fanon 30). These garbage cans that Fanon refers to can be taken as the Indian military, that devours all that tries to venture into the land of the Indian occupiers. They swoop away every living and non-living being that tries to enter into their new territory.

Whereas, the town of the Kashmiris and the banished, reeks of death and despair. It is a town that is filled with natives that are hungry all the time. They are “hungry” for not just food but everything that they do not have. The Indian colonizer sees them as greedy and “envious” beings and is in a constant fear that the natives want to take their place in their clean town and their town of dreams. Fanon shows how the colonizer wants us to feel empathic towards him that these natives want to take over the fortresses that we

have built. “They want to take our place” and are burning with desire to pounce at us and have what we have. In the eyes of the Indian colonizer, this side of the town where the Kashmiri presides is nothing more than a junkyard.

Fanon creates a link between colonialism and Marxism, that the dominating class will always have the upper hand. They are the ones with the advance weapons, the money, being constantly backed by the government of country they belong to. Inequality is synonymous to colonies in Fanon’s eyes (30-31). Fanon is of the idea that just as Marx had talked about the bourgeoisie exploiting the proletariat, similarly, in colonialism the ruling class in this the Indians have complete control over the economy and once you have the reins of the economy in your hands, you run the country. There is a clear distinction between the settler’s world and the world of the colonizer when such evident discrimination emerges. Even though Fanon was talking about the Algerians being exploited at the hands of the French but this inequality is still applicable in the context of the Indians walking all over the Kashmiris because they are ones with the bombs and the rifles and a never-ending influx of cash.

Another analogy Fanon uses to portray the colonial world is he calls it a ‘Manichaeic world’, a world that sees everything in black or white, good or evil. As uncanny as it sounds, the settler comes into foreign land and has the audacity to merit the native as a ‘quintessence of evil’. He declares that the native walks on a land with no ethics and morals, he is the destroyer of all things good. Like poison, everything that comes in contact with the native turns to dust (Fanon 33). These are all the reasons the colonizer gives himself to justify his own brutality and the venom that he spits on every step that he takes on someone else’s land.

3.2.2 The Colonized through the Eyes of the Colonizer

Fanon was a psychiatrist who had firsthand experiences with dealing the victims of the Algerian war. Edward Said took an interview of Egbal Ahmad who was once an acquaintance of Fanon and Ahmad narrated his conversations with Fanon and said that his patients were French colonizers and Algerian colonized and he was able to examine the “psyche of both the torturer and the tortured” and he was able to describe “how

injurious domination can be” (BBC 1:58-3:21). In Fanon’s words, the colonizer sees the colonized as an embodiment of evil and rebukes their customs and traditions as one of the reasons that needed saving, that too at the forceful hands of the colonizer.

Fanon was once with the forces which legitimized violence and is well aware of how the colonial enforcer speaks when he speaks of the colonizers. He says, “In fact, the terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms (...) when the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary” (Fanon 32, 33). To learn that the comprador thinks of the native as a beast is no surprise. Take Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, a book once hailed as a masterpiece was marked as being a racist narrative by Chinua Achebe and Edward Said (Nast 1). It gives you a clear account of how the outsider sees the native as nothing more than an animal. ‘Dehumanizes the native’, sees his color as his identity and describes his gait and movement as that of a savage or a cannibal. Fanon’s work is not constricted to only the Algerian cause, his ideas crossed cultures and when he uses the term ‘yellow-man’, a racist slur for the Asians, it is evident that he talked about the colonies all across the world (32, 33). In the South Asian context, religion is what plays an important role in separating Kashmiris and Pakistanis from Indians. Instead of racial slurs of being called black or brown, Islamophobia is what fuels the Indians to treat Kashmiris as animals.

The sufferers of colonial takeover are scuffled to the sidelines of the country and become herds of sheep and cattle for the Indian power. They have no significance in the eyes of the one that walk on the same streets Kashmiris grew up on and have known their entire life. To these foreigners, they are a never-ending mob. The children that are seen everywhere, “belong to nobody” and everyone else along with them have been thrown to the outskirts of the occupied settler’s territory (Fanon 33). The Indian colonizers are seen as outsiders by the Kashmiri natives and will always be seen as such because the Kashmiri community has their own culture, language and land that separate them from the Indians. But to justify the process of colonialism Indian soldiers see the Kashmiri natives as evil.

3.2.3 Violence to Create a Non-Violent World

Fanon describes the state of the neocolonial world, where the Indian colonizer uses violence to scare its subjects 'by means of guns and machines'. No matter for how long he stays and how much he owns, he will always be an outsider. This is where the reader sees a shift in the consciousness of the colonized Kashmiri. He no longer watches from the outskirts but wants to take up arms himself to fight the colonizer who is living lavishly on his land (Fanon 31). Fanon has been criticized for glorifying violence but Aime Cesaire defends Fanon that he presented the notion of violence as an integral part of decolonization to establish a non-violent world (Makuru 25). Not only did Cesaire defend Fanon but as his teacher he teaches him to recognize himself and stand against the colonizer.

Fanon did not praise violence; he states the psyche of the victim and the victimizer. When the tortured is seen as an animal and is being treated like one he laughs at the torturer and it is in this moment he starts to discover that the one inflicting pain on him, is the same as him. As soon as he realizes that the one standing above me breathes the same air as I do and has the same 'beating heart' as mine, fear leaves him. He starts looking at the colonizer in a completely different light. There is a shift in the psyche of the colonized and it is this exact moment that he starts sharpening his weapons and a revolution begins within (Fanon 33, 35).

After realizing that my oppressor is no different than me and can be damaged, there is a shift in the consciousness of the oppressed. The violence that the settler used against the natives to break their society, their culture, their norms and everything that was once dear to them, the 'same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native' to take what was rightly their own. The native looks for any big or small window of opportunity to attack the colonizer in some way (Fanon 31). The seed that the settler has sown of cruelty has reaped inside the hearts of the colonized and taken a dark life of its own.

Sensing the difference in the attitude of the natives, the settler becomes anxious. He tries to calm things down a bit by engaging himself in a dialogue with the native and

talks to him about ethics, morals and values. The native sees through the hypocrisy of the settler when he talks of peace and morality and cannot help but “laughs in mockery”, because how can you talk of peace with a gun pointed at me? The narrative that the settlers give is of morality and prosperity. They tell the colonized that they have brought with them establishment and will uplift their country as a whole. But the colonized cannot relate with these idealistic values because all they have seen ever since the colonizers came, is violence and no preacher, no priest, no teacher and no morals were ever there for the rescue (Fanon 33-34). The Kashmiris that have been colonized for over decades start to rebel and gather against their Indian oppressors.

These religious militants that have formed an alliance against the oppression of India are what we call Mujahedeen. The colonial violence attracted young men to fight for the cause of Kashmir and the colonized Kashmiri has now taken up arms himself to decolonize its land (Shah 13). Frantz Fanon’s concern regarding colonial violence played out exactly the way he said it would in the case of Indian-administered Kashmir. Kashmir, a valley once rich in culture and tourism, under the Indian rule has lost its tourist economy along with being culturally and socially repressed. Today Kashmir is nothing more than “a body in pain, a body that bears scars of multiple registers of violence—physical, epistemic, psychosomatic, nostalgic” (Kabir 21). The story of Kashmir, as of yet, continues to be a story of suffering and repression. Kashmiri rebels and militants use violence for the sake of freedom. Fanon’s concept of revolutionary violence is being used by the rebels and militants that are the by-products of the Indian colonial aggression. Foregrounding Fanon’s ideas on this type of violence this project will analyze its use by the Kashmiri people for liberty.

3.2.4 Chaos during Decolonization

The term ‘decolonization’ was coined by the German economist Moritz Julius Bonn and he defined it as a counter response to colonization (Jansen et al 3). Frantz Fanon talks about decolonization in the first chapter of his book *The Wretched of the Earth*. There are some colonies and countries that live to see freedom and some die trying. Fanon defines decolonization as ‘species’ of people being replaced by another set of people. He calls it a process that is least concerned what the colonized needs and

wants. Simply put, it is a ‘substitution.’ He mocks the nature of decolonization that it begins as a process that claims to bring order but is nothing more than absolute chaos. It is the encounter of ‘forces’ that have nothing in common with each other. They are from the very start two different types of species that cannot coexist in any manner. It cannot be termed as a just or necessary affair, a process that overlooks the demands of its inhabitants and is selfish in its nature from the very beginning. Fanon elucidates this as; “Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder” (27). To achieve freedom in a land that is taken by force an even greater force is required to rid that land of its violators. The concept of decolonization as riveting as it sounds is nothing short of chaos because force is used against force and it destroys an already damaged land and its people.

History bears witness to all tales of colonialism and their struggle to freedom, a freedom that is earned by a hefty price but becomes a necessity. The human rights violation in Kashmir demands decolonization. Indian rule continuously strengthens in the occupied region of Kashmir while the people of Jammu and Kashmir are being treated as ‘pawns in a political crisis’, says Secretary General of Amnesty International, Kumi Naidoo (“UN Security” 1). Majority of the states that decolonized themselves saw a great change. The subjects who undergo the cruelty of colonialism are changed to their cores. The future is uncertain for every living man and woman but the uncertainty of living in a under colonial rule is to live in a dreamless world. Fanon calls the decolonized as ‘new men’. “The naked truth of decolonization evokes for us the searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it” (Fanon 28).

Decolonization has an abundance of meanings subsumed within it and to define it in simple terms would be that it is a process to annihilate all forms of colonist rule, the right to self-determination and to dismantle all direct and indirect forms of colonialism (Mambrol 1). Fanon was of the idea that autonomy achieved through violence will always be catastrophic. The Indian soldiers are not safe from the Kashmiri militants as the militants are not safe from the Indian soldiers. To achieve decolonization, a plethora of events occur to reach political independence, it is also an attempt for restoration of culture and language through literature and other forms of media. Not that Kashmir has

lived to see itself being decolonized yet, but it is important to mention the nature of decolonization to understand the mindset of Kashmiri colonized people and the Indian colonizers. Chaotic as it may be, every state deserves the right to freedom and the people of Kashmir were never given the chance to choose for themselves and are being oppressed for over two decades now.

3.2.5 Colonialism and Mental Disorders

The last chapter of Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* is usually not taken into account while reading his book and is of relevance to my analysis as it highlights the effects of colonialism on the victim and the victimizer. Fanon was also a part of the Algerian liberation but he was a psychiatrist first. He studied his patients who were both the European colonizers and the Algerian colonized, he studied men, women and children who had been affected by violence. He studied several cases of people with mental disorders. His first case was of a man who could not perform sexually with his wife due to the guilt that his wife was "dishonored" by French soldiers "because they were looking for" him. His crime was not grand he used to give propaganda leaflets and his wife had to suffer because of him (Fanon 207). Furthermore, he gives a detailed account of a thirteen year old that killed his neighbor just because he was French. He also narrates the accounts of policemen who were mentally disturbed and had nightmares of people screaming because of the torture they had inflicted on the Algerians to dig out information from them. One of his patients was violent because he was a survivor of a mass murder and he could not differentiate between the doctors and his enemies.

Everyone wants to kill me. But I'll defend myself. I'll kill them all, every single one of them. I'll cut their throats one after the other, and yours with them. You all want to kill me but you should set about it differently. I'd kill you all as soon as look at you, big ones and little ones, women, children, dogs, birds, donkeys . . . everyone will be dead. And afterward I'll be able to sleep in peace (Fanon 209-210).

At another occasion, Fanon refers to a policeman who was violent towards his wife and children and his superiors were not letting him have a sick leave. He wanted Fanon to cure him so he was not abusive towards his wife and children. One of the children that he hit was only “twenty months” old with “unaccustomed savagery”. He also had nightmares that he termed as his “fits of madness” (Fanon 215). He says that after his wife and children all vouched against him and his wife suggested that he should visit a doctor and expected Fanon to give him a cure because he cannot stop being aggressive towards his captives whom he tortures for continuous ten hours at times as well. But he requests Fanon to treat him so he can continue with “complete equanimity” and undisturbed family life (Fanon 217). When Fanon asked him what happened to him when he was torturing people, he replied that it was quite tiring and the policeman and his partners took turns to torture the captive and every one of the police officers believe the more they inflict pain on the prisoner the greater are the chances of squealing information out of the “bird”, so one should not let it go (Fanon 216). It was a rarity that they let a prisoner go according to the policeman.

All these accounts of Fanon’s patients are relevant to my discussion because they let you see that both sides of colonial violence are ugly. Kashmiri captives and their captors are suffering and Fanon’s analysis is proof that it is impossible to not be affected by pain when you are the one causing it on someone. Both the novels under study have accounts of such characters that have lost their sanity due to war and the soldiers that are driven mad by it.

3.3 Research Method

To analyze the novel I have also included news articles and reports that contain interviews of Kashmiri people, the militants and accounts of Indian army to strengthen my argument that my novels even though are works of fiction but they were inspired by true events and real life stories. According to Mckee, textual analysis is a method that “involves understanding language, symbols, and/or pictures present in texts to gain information regarding how people make sense of and communicate life and life experiences. Visual, written, or spoken messages provide cues to ways through which communication may be understood. Often the messages are understood as influenced by

and reflective of larger social structures. For example, messages reflect and/or may challenge historical, cultural, political, ethical contexts for which they exist” (Mckee 60). This method allows for a wide range of interpretation of the text that helped me to analyze prose through symbols as well and to be able to understand the state of the characters through the symbols provided in the text. It provided me with a wider canvas to study the description of nature and landscape, the characters and to study the elements of misery and distress present in the novel.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF *THE BOOK OF GOLD LEAVES*

The method used to analyze the selected novels will be textual analysis that allows for a critical reading of the texts and the interpretation of the symbols presented within the text. In their novels Waheed and Rather allow me to analyze Fanon's definition of colonial violence and its aftermath. Against this backdrop, first I will examine the acts of violence perpetrated on the Kashmiri characters by their Indian oppressors in the novel. Secondly, I will investigate the effects of desecration of Kashmiri land on its people and the cultural, social and political implications of violence and sufferings presented in the novels. Finally, the thesis will discuss Fanonian decolonization exhibited in the two narratives.

To encapsulate Mirza Waheed's second novel *The Book of Gold Leaves*, it is a love story between two characters Faiz and Roohi. It is a tale of love and romance amidst war set in the 1990s in the city of Kashmir. At the very beginning of the novel, we are introduced to the 20 year old Faiz who lives in Khanqah with his large family of three brothers, three sisters, their mother and the family of his eldest brother. Faiz is a papier-mâché artist that supports his family by making painting pencil boxes that are imported to Canada. His dream is to paint the biggest painting he has ever made, *Falaknuma* (like the sky) which is a work in progress project of his. Roohi, the female protagonist is a twenty-one years old university graduate who is a Sunni Muslim who daydreams of falling in love and her prayers are answered when Faiz catches a glimpse of her while she was brushing her hair. Soon afterwards they meet in a shrine at Khanqah-e-moula and instantly fall for each other. The novel describes the initial stages of a blooming romance till 9 chapters and then dives into scenarios of Indian occupational forces spreading all over Kashmir.

Furthermore, the military forces set camp in a girls' school and start pouring in from all directions. The author introduces us to other major characters such as Miss Shanta Koul, the principal of the occupied girls' school and its occupier Major Sumit Kumar. More and more army troops start taking hold of the region and violence, torture and brutality becomes the norm. The first defining moment that changes the life of the

male protagonist is when he loses his grandmother Fatima and witnesses her death along with other innocent school children. Faiz's nights become sleepless and he decides to take up arms to fight back. In the meanwhile, his eldest brother barely makes it out alive from an attack by the army that further strengthens Faiz's decision to leave for Pakistan and make himself useful. Faiz completes his military training and returns back to Kashmir. In an extremely intimate gathering at Roohi's home, Faiz and Roohi get married in the presence of her parents and his eldest brother and mother. Roohi's father is killed by an Indian spy that gives rise to tension which leads to the sad ending of the death of both the protagonists.

4.1 The Impacts of Violence on the Native

To answer the first research question of the thesis, I will dive into the social, cultural, political and geographical effects of violence that have been described through certain symbols by Mirza Waheed. The psychological impacts of violence will encompass the colonizer and colonized relationship that I will discuss momentarily. The novel introduces us to an occupied land by describing how shopkeepers and "hawkers" have to close their shops before curfew time as "these days, the city goes dark early". Same goes for the fishermen who cannot stay out till late and have to rush to their homes; a profession that has to maneuver according to the untamed tides of the river also has to act according to the unwavering tides of the wrath of the Indian occupiers. Waheed gives an imagery of the oars lying on the fishermen's boats as "outstretched arms" to depict the poor economic condition of Kashmiri people (Waheed 22). Curfew is implemented on the people of Kashmir by the Indian occupiers to dictate the power they have over them. Curfew is a tool used by the Indian administration to control the Kashmiri masses.

In real time, the lockdown was imposed on Kashmir after it was stripped of its semi-autonomous status on 5th August 2019 and went on for a year and 7 months. To stop protestors from any gatherings and activity another curfew was imposed on them during lockdown so they could not observe "black day" on 5th August 2020 to commemorate the revocation of Article 370 ("Article 370"). Kashmir was once a culturally strong society with a booming economy but all that changed under militarization. The geographical landscape of Kashmir took a turn, "the river is witnessing a decay of the city" as it carries

with it tales of broken dreams and nightmares. In 2009, Kashmiris protested against the death of two women that were raped and then drowned in a mountain stream but the evidence was tampered with and till this day the two women and their families have not received justice (Jameel and Polgreen 3). So the river in Waheed's novel carries such secrets because as "of late, it has also started carrying the dead, many tales of cruelty drowning in its onward rush, [...] the dark deeds of the oppressor, too" (Waheed 23). Waheed describes that the land stinks with the stench of soldiers being scurried in on trucks and the insides of the MP school is filled with soldiers assembling their shiny guns and playing with grenades. In another incident, Principal Koul cannot believe his ears when a machine-gun is heard during the day and he asks to himself, "Since when did machine-gun fire become a part of the city's ambience?" (Waheed 85) The talk of the town changes under the control of its oppressors, the old try to remember the natives that have been killed or captured while the young "believe that it is better to vanish in a struggle against the enemy than to disappear in some shady rumour-like interrogation cell" (Waheed 120). In the preface of *The Wretched of The Earth*, Satre says that colonial aggression terrifies the natives and it is this fear that turns into "hidden anger" and this anger takes the form of an "impulse to murder" (Fanon 16). An attack on Faiz's eldest brother Mir Zafar Ali traumatizes him to the point where he suffers that he starts sleep talking and in his sleep asks for everyone to flee (Waheed 113). Mir Zafar Ali's trauma is what enraged Faiz and gives rise to his spirit to fight against the colonial powers.

One of the impacts of colonialism is the discriminatory way the colonizer sees the colonized and justifies his cruelty, the native is "always presumed guilty" by the colonizer (Fanon 41). The research further evaluates the settler through the eyes of the native. Waheed describes the colonizers as a looming "evil jinn" that looks at the colonized through the watchful eyes of machine guns and he is the one who is constantly repeating incantations of words such as "action and encounter" to justify its terror on the natives. Fanon draws our attention to an important concept that in Kashmir, "the (Indian) colonial regime owes its legitimacy to force and the Indian soldiers are the true agents and spokesperson of the colonial rule (67, 68). The native is of the idea that the settler is of "alien origin" but seems to have forgotten all about it (Fanon 43). Shanta Koul (The Girls School principal) reminds the antagonist of his place when he takes over her school,

“Go back, Sumit. No one wants you here. I definitely don’t and I hope you understand why”. “But I have a job to do, ma’am”. “You are sitting in my chair, major” (Waheed 153).

The settler will always be perceived as an outsider but the present condition of Kashmiris resonates with Waheed’s lament exhibited in his novel through his characters that even though it is the Indian settlers that are alien to the land of Kashmir it is the Kashmiris that are alienated (Veer 5). At another instance a dialogue between Shanta Koul and Kumar illustrates the dichotomy between the settler and the native. Miss Koul asks Kumar that it has been over a year and he still has not left her school and he shouts back at her that “it’s my area. It’s my grid, ma’am.” To that Shanta Koul reminds him this is not his home and these are not his people that he claims are his. She says, “I have a home and it is here. All we have ever had is this land of ours. All I ever belonged to was this school” (Waheed 299). The school was Koul’s identity and all she had ever known her entire life. She loses her innocent father of seventy years to the brutality of the Indian forces and had also lost the school. The school becomes a torture cell for the Kashmiri captives. Fanon was of the idea that colonial rule and the exploitation of the oppressed pushes them into an “inferiority (complex)” that not only takes over the minds and identities of the natives but also “mutilates” them (Fanon 237). Miss Koul faces a similar dilemma like many other Kashmiris where their neighbors have fled, many are killed and even more so have disappeared and she wonders what remains of her when all had has knew is taken away from her.

The native goes through pain, suffering which according to Fanon turns into rage and aggression. To strip the native of their identity and take away their right to walk freely on their own land brews the kind of anger in them that turns into poison. This very poison and hate takes the shape of violence in response to colonial violence that is discussed in the next parts of the analysis.

4.2 Dimensions of Colonial Violence

Waheed’s novel quintessentially captures the colonial world as described by Fanon. Fanon has divided violence into three types: violence is “inaugural, empirical and

absurd.” Inaugural violence is the violence used by the colonizers to expand their control over the native’s land and build their empire. Empirical form of violence is when the settler makes clear demarcations between the land of occupiers and the land of the colonized by shifting them to the periphery, it includes all murder, assassinations, rape, raids, humiliation, racism, aggression, expulsion and control the very air the natives breathe. The third type of violence is absurd that cripples the colonized psychologically (Mbembe 12). This part of the discussion will analyze the three types of violence as defined by Fanon to inspect the various forms of colonial violence breeding mental illnesses and socio-cultural issues in Kashmir. As the Indian forces spread out within the city they take over the local girl’s school, Farhat (Faiz’s youngest sister) narrates that it started off with men in uniforms and black guns standing behind her teachers as they were instructing them of new rules and regulations. The girls had to sit in combined sections because the soldiers required space for their artillery, men and a place to sleep. The students were told that the soldiers will stay only for a while (Waheed 45). It becomes a normal routine for the students to be stopped by a “military-walla at the gate, a huge demon in the door, behind another sandbag castle and he has a gun” (Waheed 53). In my opinion, the “demon at the door” is a metaphor used by Waheed to emphasize the dramatic change of a school that is seen as place of enlightenment and nurturing being turned into hell that is being guarded by watchful demons now that ask for identification and check their bags. Sumit Kumar, the antagonist of the novel chose the school as his station because it was exactly in the middle of the area he was soon planning on overtaking.

Inaugural violence is in full swing in the chapter title “The Officer” which gives a detailed account of Kumar’s plans of spreading his reign by placing bunkers at every street. “At the mouth of each street and lane, there is or will be a bunker. At the other end of each street and lane, there is or will be a bunker. [...] Fifty-two main bunkers and twenty-six small checkpoints in all. It’s doable.” Kumar’s ideas of installing surveillance on the natural defenses around his grid are appreciated by his superiors and his strategy is followed and surveillance is applied in all the other grids. On every bunker machine guns have also been installed and the colonial agent is seen deploying its men and weapons to dig its colonial roots in the natives’ land (Waheed 59). The sight of sandbags and rifles in

an educational facility as portrayed by Waheed is similar to the picture Fanon drew of a colonial world for us when he says that policemen and soldiers who in any country are “upholder of peace” are exactly the opposite in a colonial world. They give orders and advice the colonized through their “rifle-butts” and their mode of communication with the natives of that land is “pure force” (Fanon 29). The pure force Fanon talks about is further exhibited in the novel, as one moves passed a few more chapters the stories of killings and the violence ensued by the colonizers becomes a common sight.

The first death described in the novel is of Sir Syed who coming home after his visit from the local bakery with bread and is killed just outside his house by the border security force which is an example of empirical violence that comes under the second dimension of violence as described by Fanon (Waheed 56). As the novel advances further, it is replete with such violent acts against Kashmiris. In another account when a rocket fired by the rebellions barely grazes the roof a bunker and the soldier shoots back heavily in response which leads to the deaths of a van filled with schoolchildren and Faiz’s godmother at Fateh Kadal. It is this very moment that changes the course of the narrative.

The machine-gunner knows what he has to do. He is always ready. He lets the tripod go into a free swing and pulls the trigger. First into the lane from where the rocket came, or seemed to have come, then right and left, then everywhere. He doesn’t stop on seeing the school minibus. He doesn’t even spare the sky (85).

The impactful thing about this description is the last line that the colonizer shoots in all directions and does not care for the life lost or the damage he is doing. Faiz is the one who bears the burden of opening the door of the minibus and tries not to look at the bleeding and dead children but he cannot look past his godmother as she is losing her breath and the blood makes a “red bloom” on her pheran (traditional dress of Kashmir). The red bloom is significant of all the flowers that bloom on Kashmiri soil from the blood of the Kashmiri people. Further modes of violence follow this incident as, “the whole city, is under a round-the-clock curfew now. All movement proscribed. All meetings

banned. All life besieged. A deathly calm has spread everywhere, as soldiers circle the area from all sides” (Waheed 87, 88).

Curfews are further implemented to force obedience and according to Fanon this empirical form of violence leads to a kind of humiliation and suffering that breaks the spirit of the native. He becomes hopeless and “reaches a point of no return” that is evident in the character transformation of Faiz (Renko 3). Faiz is traumatized by the deaths of the people in the minibus and can no longer sleep. He cries when no one is watching and his helplessness is visible when the narrator says that he simply wants to disappear and wishes he had never come across such an incident (Waheed 88). The second incident that changes him forever is when a grey hound shaped vehicle entraps people and Mir Zafar Ali (Faiz’s eldest brother) barely makes it out alive as many others are incarcerated by this piece of machinery. They cannot make sense of what this truck is, “It is a Zaal. A dangerous perfect trap” (Waheed 103). The Zaal is also symbolic of the enforced disappearances Kashmiris have been suffering since 1989. According to the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) almost 8,000 to 10,000 people have disappeared in Kashmir and till this day they have not been found (Saxena 3). The Zaal is described by Waheed as a swift and fast truck that captures people in a swoop it “roams so freely, pounce(s) upon us as if we were cattle in its path” (120). The people that are captured are taken to the school that has become a detention centre and Mahraaze, a native, is able to record in his recorder what is happening in the torture cell. “They hear whacks, thuds, slaps, thuds, cracks, the sounds all rolling into one another, each flurry followed by the same stern voice” followed by sounds of men whimpering in pain and crying out for help (Waheed 117). Fanon states that the colonizer uses different types of torture on the colonized to silence him, with “the native’s back to the wall (and) the knife at his throat” so they can kill the tiniest flicker of hope in the colonized and set an example for the rest of the Kashmiris to keep their heads low and dare not speak up against the actions of the Indian soldiers (Fanon 45).

The forgetfulness and silence of the native Kashmiris is what drives Faiz insane. Mir Zafar Ali’s right hand is paralyzed from the Zaal’s incident and seeing his pain disturbs Faiz even more. The natives listen to the tortures of their people on a daily but

cannot do anything about it. Fanon describes this inability to do anything against the colonial violence a driving force behind the colonized taking up arms against the colonizer. He calls the native “modern slaves” and says that the native has run out of patience to cope with the cruelty of the settlers (58). Fanon analyzed all kinds of torture inflicted by the French colonizers on their Algerian subjects and how torture made them suicidal and drove them to the edge of madness. Similarly, the prisoners captured by the Zaal are held at the girl’s school and are fearful if they will live to see another day. Captives look at the nails of their fellow captive “which are only now showing signs of growing back.” While studying his patients that were tortured Fanon says that the continuous torture that went on for days and nights seems to have “broken something in these men” (Fanon 227). Roohi in a letter to Faiz demonstrates other acts of empirical violence as she says that “scores of boys are martyred every day, some without even fighting” (Waheed 174). Major Sumit Kumar’s character depicts the inevitability of using violence to uphold colonialism. “Although unfortunately, he sighs, he has yet to make a big arrest, or kill, since the Zaal swoop last year. What happened to those boys after they were moved? he wonders. I couldn’t have kept them with me for ever, could I? They couldn’t have been innocent, could they?” (Waheed 257) The native is “treated as an inferior” and he is “overpowered” (Fanon 41). This monologue depicts the mind of a colonizer and the grounds on which he truly believes that his actions are just.

Following Fanon, I argue that the settler paints the innocent Kashmiri he has in captivity as “quintessence of evil” and justifies his own agenda based on an intuition that every native is planning and plotting against the settler. What is even more bothersome is his sadness of not getting enough action to report back to his superiors for a while. It is the colonizer who is the “bringer of violence” in to the native’s land and is responsible for the violence used by the native in response to his atrocities (Fanon 29). It is this hatred and anger that is built up inside Faiz from the death of his godmother to the feeble condition of his brother that pushes him to the edge. It is at this very moment Faiz echoes the thoughts of Fanon that colonialism has one form and one form only and that is violence which leads us to the third dimension of my study.

The next section of my project deals with the last research question that is how the narratives under study have presented decolonization achieved through emancipatory violence.

4.3 The Violence of Decolonization

To comprehend this part of the project it is vital to engage with Fanon's discussion on the motif of violence for the sake of a non-violent world. He outlines a shift in the mentality of a native under oppression that he can no longer be tamed and "he is patiently waiting until the settler is off his guard to fly at him. The native's muscles are always tensed" with the brewing eagerness to fight back (Fanon 41). This impulse is felt collectively by the native as they feel helpless against the atrocities of the colonizer. In Fanon's words to bring order to the disorderly world of the colonized he decides to take up arms to fight against his colonizers. The same violence that the Indian soldiers use to govern Kashmir, changes its social structure, breaks its economic system and bends the will of life of the Kashmiri people. The Kashmiri native gathers in "forbidden quarters" and desires of wrecking the colonial world and those who brought this change (31). Once the amount of torture excels it becomes second nature for the native to think of ways to take down the enemy. It is the thought that consumes not just one individual but the community as a whole.

A colonial world is controlled by fear and the fear is instilled in the colonial subjects by the use of force and violence. But soon the colonizer discovers that he is no different than his oppressor "his breath, and his heartbeat are the same as the colonizer's" and decides to take the club from the hand of the colonizer and hit him with the same force he has been enduring because "the colonizer's flesh is worth no more than the native's" (Fanon 35). Fanon took notice of the change in the Algerian natives under the French colonizers that had been tortured with all three dimensions of violence. He describes that the rage and hatred of colonial subjects forces them to see the world through animal instincts (Mbembe 12). A similar shift takes place in Faiz which "shakes his world" when he decides to leave Kanqah Muhalla and join other Kashmiris to receive military training in Pakistan. It shows how war can force young men into taking up arms and turns them into militants and rebels. After reaching Pakistan he desires of nothing

more than to go back home but is in a constant dilemma with himself that if he does not do something to defend his land then “who will he be?” (Waheed 124) Faiz is of the impression that if he does not fight for his land that will put his Kashmiriyat into question.

Before Faiz decides to become a militant to fight against the Indian forces Waheed introduces us to Rumi (Roohi’s younger brother) who is also training with a rifle and learning how to take aim. Rumi aspires to become a part of the New Salvation Front (NSF0,) a militant group that provides support to the “Pakistan-trained men” and carry out smaller missions (Waheed 73). It is at this moment the author introduces us to the reality of Kashmir how young boys are thrust into a war that is not their own and see no other option but to fight against the empire. This definitive moment is when the native believes in the “obligation of violence” for liberty (Mbembe 11). Young boys turning into Mujahideen is the aftermath of the blood their people have shed, the lives they have lost and cries they have heard. In Fanon’s opinion emancipatory violence for the sake of freedom is justified and the characters in Waheed’s novel second his ideology as they are forced to take up arms as their only option.

The second incident that I mentioned in passing before is of a Pakistani-trained militant Zahid Shah, along with two young men who fired a rocket at the bunker that led to the incident of the soldier in the bunker firing in all directions and ultimately the death of Faiz’s godmother and children in a minibus. The transition of the native into a revenge-driven person who wants nothing more than to change his position from being a victim to a “persecutor” is evident in the happiness Zahid Shah feels when he maneuvers the thrust of the rocket perfectly as he was trained (Waheed 84). This depicts that the “symbols of order” such as the police, the barracks, the bunkers and the soldiers no longer frighten the native rather ignite his spirit to fight back. (Mbembe 14). Faiz is tired of being “hunted like cattle. Snarred like chickens. Caged as if they were mad dogs” (Waheed 156). The events that occurred after Faiz’s metamorphosis from a victim to a persecutor are crucial to our discussion as they depict the reasons why Faiz chose violence.

Waheed's narration captures Faiz's emotions and his changed ideology about life under oppression and the struggle for emancipation. His training included a fitness regime, learning how to assemble weapons such as AK47, reloading guns and pistols with efficiency and speed. He also learns how to make a bomb if the need ever be. Faiz feels "uneasy about the gruesome intimacy he shares with the explosive materials" (Waheed 131). It is evident this atmosphere is alien for Faiz but he acts and "invest(s), all at once, every hidden resource and reserve" for the fight of freedom of his people (Mbembe 14). For "freedom from all fear" Faiz returns home, a "hero" to his family but they know they have to part soon due to his new lifestyle and he becomes a "temporary guest in his own home" (Waheed 204, 237). Faiz returns a changed man who is not "frightened anymore" to an even changed land where the "fresh blood is in the air" and a school "turned into barracks" (Waheed 248). The change in his demeanor and thoughts is the aftermath of choosing violence to end the circle of colonial violence.

Fanon's philosophy of revolutionary decolonization and his discourse on violence comes from his experience as a being part of the French army and then being a part of the Algerian Liberation movement. He has gained the attention of many critics who argue that Fanon is a preacher of violence such as Hannah Arendt but what he fails to understand is the violence of the colonized is simply a by-product of colonialism (Gordon 80). In his last testament, *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon proclaims that colonialism is a destructive and violent process whereas the violence against colonialism is what brings the native together and is necessary for decolonization. For him violence serves a threefold function, the first that it brings a community that is divided by its oppressors to a single platform. "The native's violence unifies the people. By its very structure, colonialism is separatist and regionalist. Colonialism does not simply state the existence of tribes; it also reinforces it and separates them." It unifies them and no ethnic, cultural, religious divisions matter when the natives stand under the flag of nationality and their hearts beat as one (Fanon 94). The Kashmiri hearts beat in rage and hatred for against the Indian government and their foot soldiers.

For people like Faiz it is the only way out and to do something about the violence brought about the Indian colonizers. He and the other boys that have left for Pakistan to

be trained are hailed as heroes and the ones that have lost their lives, bring them all together as they suffer from the loss unanimously. They share the same fears of being either killed abducted or mutilated and the courage to fight back unifies them as one unit (Waheed 236). Faiz's story is a story based on reality and an outcome of the oppression Kashmir has been under for over seven decades.

In an interview with Al Jazeera, the leader of Hizbul Mujahidin Riyaz Naikoo describes his experiences in a telephonic conversation and what made him raise arms against the Indian empire. The 31 year old former mathematics teacher tells Al Jazeera that when he was in the eleventh grade his cousin's mother was killed and that drove his passion to rise up against the Indian rule. He tells the interviewer that the illegal occupation in Kashmir is one of the most longest and vicious occupation today and is of the similar large scale as is the occupation of Palestine but because the world does not know the reality of it, it is spoken about. Further, he points out that the Indian government has refused to take notice of the United Nations resolutions repeatedly, so the only option left for the people of Kashmir is to stand for their own right to self-determination. Naikoo adds on that the "Kashmiri people did not pick up arms for more than 40 years since occupation began in 1947". But due to the non-stop repression and human rights violations by the Indian state, the freedom fighters are forced to revolt against them (Al Jazeera). Naikoo's account brings the plight of the Kashmiri fighters to the forefront and his viewpoint gives justification to steps Faiz undertakes to decolonize Kashmir. Faiz has emerged as the central figure in the novel to lead the colonized Kashmiri people to a decolonized world by implementing revolutionary violence.

Back in the city, on the streets of his childhood, people seem to know more about Faiz than he does himself. Perhaps they see him as someone else. Someone out of the ordinary, a saviour returned home to herald a new dawn. Someone capable of great deeds, a man who can work miracles, who can turn dust into a weapon (Waheed 254).

Faiz understands the cruel reality of Kashmiris deprived of freedom in their own lands and this helplessness serves as a catalyst for Faiz and many others like him. Before

being assigned with any mission, Faiz displays the anger he cannot contain as he suffers in silence. “The murders, the rapes, the mutilations, the sieges, the murders, the abductions, the starvations, the insults” (Waheed 253). Keeping in mind that this novel is set in 1990, not much has changed since then. Even till today Kashmir bleeds as its land and its people are being raped. Faiz is tempted to fight back even with bear hands if he has to. The same hands he once used to paint now carry weapons of destruction to fight back and take what is rightfully his.

Just as Rayaz Naikoo is a teacher turned into a Mujahid, Faiz was an artist who turned into a militant but he always thought about his Falaknuma and his dream was to return to artistry once his land was freed from its illegal occupiers. He tells Roohi, “I want to remain a fighter, and when this is over, I’ll go back to my art.” His craft could never leave his mind even when he was in action (282, 288). Waheed unmasks the inescapable violence the colonizer uses to silence the colonized by describing the scenes after the merciless death of Roohi’s father unified the community and they started protesting against the evil regime led by Major Sumit Kumar but after receiving orders from his superiors to rush to the shrine where the protestors were gathered to speak up against the death of yet another innocent man. He was asked to “comply with immediate effect” and that he did. He took the Zaal and machine guns with him and his force but when the protestors were not complying with his orders and to make them obey he resorted to the only weapon a colonizer has in his arsenal: violence. He saw two shadows standing together on a rooftop and he took aim at them. Roohi and Faiz died a tragic death but even as they saw death staring right at them their “shadows shift, shake for a moment, but do not separate” (317, 329, 330). The ambiguous ending of the novel leaves the decolonization at an inceptive stage but constructs a clear demarcation between colonial violence and the violence of the colonized. While the violence of Faiz was to end colonial violence, Kumar’s violence is to continue colonialism.

Waheed’s novel desanitizes the war crimes committed by India against Kashmiris and shows us that despite their constant rejection of giving Kashmiris the right to plebiscite and calling the matter of Kashmir their personal matter it is the Kashmiri people that are being wiped out. They are being wiped out as a people, as a culture and

are being stripped of their identity. The violence that they inflict upon them on a daily has crossed beyond the graphs of human rights violation and the new generation of Kashmiris knows nothing of peace because all they have ever seen is war. Kashmiris might have never heard of Fanon but the will to fight against continuous oppression is something human. It is human nature to react against violence as it rises from within them and takes over them to the point where they do not fear death itself. Majority of the interviews and live tapings of a Mujahid, a freedom fighter, a Jihadist or a militant show that they had their fill with repression and colonial aggression and saw peace in violence. Waheed in his book has attempted to caution the Indian state that this violence will have no end if they do not make an effort to bring actual harmony in the valley of Kashmir and put an end to decade's long massacres.

4.4 Impact of Violence on the Colonizer

An alien in the land of the natives, Major Sumit Kumar finds himself stuck and Waheed shows the human in him and that violence can also have an impact on the one inflicting that pain on another soul. After torturing the people captured by the Zaal, Kumar is shown by Waheed as someone the reader might pity. He goes to the sink to wash off the blood of his captives and when he sees himself in the mirror he breaks down because he cannot believe what he has become. He cries and keeps on washing his face in an attempt to take off the mask he has to put up in front of his soldiers and in front of the Kashmiri prisoners that he has it all together (Waheed 168). It is at this very moment that one can see a crack in Kumar's personality that being a perpetuator of violence is not easy either. All the washing cannot change the evil that has taken over him and the evil that he has to commit.

In a conversation with Madam Shanta Koul, he declares that he does not want to be in Kashmir either. It is evident that he misses his home and wishes this was over soon but he is also bound by the Indian government and the soldiers are simply the instruments used by the state to keep colonialism in check. "And you think I enjoy living in this hole? I'll tell you what you think. You think the school not running for a few months is tragic and you're suffering because of it" (Waheed 298). This exchange between Madam Koul and Kumar limns a contrast between the laments of the colonizer and the colonized.

Waheed has criticized on the shallowness of the Indian state-sponsored terrorism. Kumar has the power to say no to the job that he does but rather complains about issues that are no longer of any importance to the Kashmiris. The takeover of a school building does not hold much importance in Kumar's eyes yet he protests that he cannot go sightseeing because it is him whose life is in danger.

Much like the French colonizer who was a patient of Fanon's in his psychiatric hospital, Kumar deems it necessary to deploy all his forces at hand to discipline, silence and eradicate the native. In order to exist, Kumar must kill and punish Kashmiris because that makes his job easier. It makes his commanding officers and his mother nation proud of him. The feeling of triumph over killing innocent people is what is problematic, why do these soldiers feel like they have done right by their own country and people by murdering weaponless Kashmiris? Fanon answers this question when he says that the agents of colonial violence can no longer think rationally. They are not a people with sound minds because their natural state is only violence. Every man, woman, child, building, plant or animal that is a part of Kashmir is inferior in the eyes of the Indian soldier; his only concern is with the land. Kumar firmly believes that the land he has occupied is rightfully his, he is the one that can assign curfews, he is the one that can shove people inside their homes if he deems fit and it is he who can decide who gets to live and who gets to die.

Sumit Kumar is visibly irritated by the work he has to do but his character gradually changes from a person who despises his job to someone that enjoys torturing the native and wants to make the torture quick and exemplary. He murders Faiz and Roohi in cold blood and to set an example for the rest of the natives living in his grid. Through his dialogue with Miss Shanta Koul one can deduce that the colonizer himself is not free, he is free to kill at sight but he is not free to return home or to abort the mission. The freedom to kill is what restricts his own freedom and then bars him of mental freedom. He is a prison of his thoughts and has a desire to return home but cannot do so.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF *THE NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS*

The title of this novel has been inspired by the coup of 1938 which led to the death of 91 Jews in a single night known as “Kristallnacht” which means “The Night of Broken Glass”. The title is of significance as it reveals a sad yet true reality that even after all these years war is a continuum of the contemporary world and shards of glass and bones are still being broken (Saaliq +1). Feroz Rather’s novel is pregnant with the raging barbarities of the Indian occupiers in Kashmir and the novel demonstrates the bloody conflict of Kashmir through 13 interconnected stories that are gut-wrenching and appalling. Rather’s debut novel is a poetic description of a society tormented by the tyranny of colonizers and the issues of gender and caste. The novel begins with the story of a man transfixed on taking revenge from his oppressor. The stories shift between past and present and take place on the soils of Srinagar and Rather’s hometown, Bijbyor.

The main antagonists of the novel are Major S and his collaborator Inspector Masoodi. Not all the characters have been given names and the narrators of all thirteen stories oscillate between omniscient or limited narrators. Lives of innocents, martyrs, rebels, tormentors, bullies, colonized and colonizers have been woven together in a tapestry by Rather that will further facilitate in unveiling the complexities of the vicious war in Kashmir and how it is affecting the everyday lives of its inhabitants. The rest of the novel is summarized as I move along in my analysis. This section will also explore the various dimensions of colonial violence and its impacts on the native Kashmiris. Additionally, it unearths the evolution of certain characters and the circumstances that led them to resort to violence against their oppressors using Fanon’s framework of revolutionary violence. Finally, I address the ramifications of violence on the colonizer as well.

5.1 Colonial Violence Exercised by the Agents of the Colonizer

According to Fanon, violence is the natural state of the colonial rule and to keep its colonial empire standing colonizer has to use violence as its only weapon. “Without

violence colonial rule” collapses (Fanon 11). The police and soldiers are the agents of this violence and in this section we will discover several forms of violent acts committed against the Kashmiri people as represented in Feroz Rather’s novel. The first story titled as “The Old Man in the Cottage” refers to a man that was abused by Inspector Masoodi and had lived in hiding and “had spent every waking moment planning (his) revenge while adopting such a subservient and resigned manner that (he) blended into any background” (Rather 13). To ensure obedience and to make an example of any defying colonized subjects, the colonizer makes its subjects go through unthinkable and innovative ways of torture. The colonized man remembers the violence inflicted upon him by his colonizers, Major S and Inspector Masoodi suspended him naked from the ceiling of a prison cell and Major S whipped him with his belt all over his skin. Both his victimizers took turns to torture him, one with a belt and the other with a baton. After beating him bare Major S took a burning cigarette and burnt his behind with a lit cigarette and to that he said, “There goes the smoke of Revolution” (Rather 12). The sheer humiliation and degradation of was not enough and his colonizers dump him into a lake. “Twenty-five years ago, in the dead of night, Inspector Masoodi and his friend, Major S, had tossed my half-dead body, tied to a huge rock, into the lake. (...) I was dead like the innumerable prisoners whom I had met and befriended in the prison and whose bodies, pale in the moonlight, I saw at the bottom of the lake” (Rather 7).

Rather’s novel is not far from the reality as in an interview with BBC the villagers in the Southern district of Kashmir describe the unannounced raids and tortures of the Indian military troops that came raining down on Kashmir on 5th August 2019. The media showed pictures of men whipped and assaulted as their bodies were blue from torture but Indian army as always denied the claims. The victims said, “They beat every part of my body. They kicked us, beat us with sticks, gave us electric shocks, beat us with cables. They hit us on the back of the legs. When we fainted they gave us electric shocks to bring us back. When they hit us with sticks and we screamed, they sealed our mouth with mud. We told them we are innocent. We asked why they were doing this? But they did not listen to us. I told them don't beat us, just shoot us. I was asking God to take me, because the torture was unbearable” (Hashmi).

In another story from Rather's novel, the vengeful man is asked to take care of his perpetrator by his son and that makes him laugh from joy. To be seen as a human and to be given identity by the colonizer shakes the colonized "because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity" (Fanon 200). But after years of planning and plotting he came face to face to an old, feeble Inspector Masoodi who was at the cusp of death not the crude man who inflicted traumatizing pain on him. He goes into a dilemma whether he should take an axe and smash it into his skull or let him succumb to cancer. But after a day of being at Inspector Masoodi's property, he wakes up to a dead Masoodi. "I knew he was dead. I was tempted to look at his face, but I did not. It was I who was in power now; I was almost sure that if I looked at him, I would mutilate him" (Rather 14). He calls the Inspector's son to tell him about his father's death but on hearing no remorse from his son he goes in a frenzy as he yanks the telephone wire and breaks it altogether because he is not content with the way his violator died.

As Fanon describes the feelings of this vengeful man rightfully by saying that "colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: In reality, who am I?" (Fanon 200) All he ever knew was to take the life of the one who had wronged him and scarred him for life and now that the Inspector was dead he had lost his purpose. The story is a depiction of the psychological impact violence has upon the victim. He felt in power when the Inspector was alive as his life had a resolve and his determination is evident in the lines "I had looked death in the eye, so I stared back unflinchingly" (Rather 8, 9). Fanon in an attempt to understand the mind of a colonized man, states that the "violent upbringing" of the colonized brings about in them a "defensive attitude" which can be visibly seen in the man who wanted nothing more in life than to be the one who kills his colonizer (Fanon 200).

At first he avoids looking at the face of the dead Inspector but once he catches a glimpse of his dead face he walks "out of the cottage" (Rather 15). Rather leaves it up to the reader to imagine if the man was content or not but in my view the Inspector's death was horrible and it must have shown on his face hence, he gave the man the peace he was searching for. I have reviewed the very first story of the novel here because it

encompasses all three spheres of my analysis. It displays an example of empirical violence and the psychological impact that violence has on the character which leads him to pursue his revolutionary violence. Even though, he is unable to take his revenge but the story is a befitting example of the consequences of colonial violence.

Another symbol of colonial rule that is recurring throughout the novel is The Wall, it has been built by the Indian settlers to compartmentalize the land he has occupied and the land he spared for the native. The wall has “halved the city” and is built so high that it “cheated them of half the day by hiding the sun” (Rather 47). “Over Zero Bridge to the Cantonment with a bunker at the beginning of the front fence of corrugated tin sheets. Over the fence, she saw the sprawling concrete multi-storeyed building where the soldiers camped, and behind the building was the Wall soaring into the sky” (Rather 19-20). As it happens, this illustration is quite similar to Fanon’s description of the settler’s town built that is “strongly-built, all made of stone and steel” (30) the town of the Indian settlers is also multilayered and the “Wall is fortified with iron pillars’ and solidified with “concrete cemented blocks, which could make one’s fingers bleed if one brushed against them” (Rather 47).

In one other case of violence Kamran is captured with Ishfaq in a dingy cell and Inspector Masoodi tries to make out an example out of the two young boys by handing them a pair of tweezers and demands Kamran to pluck his inmate’s hair. Then he slaps Ishfaq and stabs him in the shoulder and says’ “This is the fucking fate of a stone-thrower” (Rather 63). This incident directs our attention to yet another crude reality of Kashmir where stone throwers are no longer given amnesty and are dealt with under the brutal Indian military law. Due to this law many children are rotting in jails and are exposed to a wide range of tortures (Correspondent). Kamran is killed and so is his brother shot in an attempt to meet his brother in captivity. Rather shows in the novel how Mohiddin keeps the blood ridden pheran of his son Shahid who went to look for his brother Kamran but instead it was Shahid’s corpse that got home. Their mother leaves the house and losses her sanity due to her “deranged grief” and the father ritually goes into the rooms of his sons and tells the narrator the tales of his son being shot in the head (Rather 55). Their story mirrors the account of the twenty-one year old Kashmiri militant

commander Burhan Wani who was killed in 2016 and his brother was shot by the Indian soldiers as well even though he was not a militant.

When I say this novel is overflowing with violence I mean that Rather did not shy away from writing the gory scenes of violence and telling the tales of the brutality of the Indian soldiers.

The soldier fired, the bullet ripped through Ishfaq's forehead. He fell face forward onto the bonnet. The soldier fired on, screaming. The blood gurgled out of the holes in Ishfaq's stomach. The semi-digested chicken and spinach spurting out. Bullets shattered the windshield and shards of glass flew over the wooden railing of the bridge and fell into the river (36).

The excerpt above describes the fear of the soldiers as they are cooped up inside their ivory fortress of protection from the colonized that they have deemed evil and animalistic. Ishfaq's car breaks down in front of a bunker the soldiers ask him to move once but what does a poor machine know of the inner workings of colonial rule and the "consequences of breaking down in a city like Srinagar", Ishfaq gets off the car to open its bonnet and figure out why it stopped but his entire body was riddled with not one but seventeen bullets (132). Fanon describes the state of the colonizer as always being afraid that the colonized might pounce on him and believe that colonized "men (are) of evil repute" and the Indian army due to its draconian laws has the right to kill anything and anyone it deems evil even hence Ishfaq loses his life (Fanon 30).

Moving on, Rather illustrates the absurd form of violence when a teenager named Tariq heads out to the shrine to feed the pigeons because the curfew had been implemented and his father was worried sick that pigeons will die of hunger. On his way, he is stopped by a soldier and asked for identification. After giving his ID card and having fed the pigeons he asked for permission to leave but the soldier orders him that he cannot leave yet. He thrusts his gun in Tariq's hands asks him to squat and grasps a handful of Tariq's hair and commands him to shoot at the pigeons. He yells at Tariq to

shoot and out of fear he complies (Rather 73). The killing of those two pigeons leaves Tariq scarred for life and his innocence is taken away from him which connotes that Fanon was right in saying that the agent of the colonizer desires to incapacitate the minds of the colonized. Tariq grows up to be found in a rotting prison cell further as we move in the novel. He still laments about the pigeons and says that he was infuriated by what that soldier forced him to do, to the point that “I longed for death and I wanted to kill someone. I was so frustrated... I wanted to throw a stone at the Wall” (Rather 73). Powerless and defeated, Tariq displays the mentality of a colonized that has been dehumanized and has stomached immense violence.

We are introduced to the character named Showkat in the fifth chapter titled “Rosy”. Showkat was a grocer turned militant and the mayhem that leads to his transformation is a scene of brute force and a display of the barbarity of Major S. Showkat was encircled by six soldiers while his head was moving up and down. The soldiers forced him to lick the wall of his shop with his tongue that has the graffiti of the words JKLF (Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front). The soldiers turned his fruit shop upside down and left no shelf or fruit on the shelves (Rather 81-82). They made sure that all the letters were removed by his tongue until it bled. This is a type of torture that is simply unheard of. Indian soldiers use Kashmiris as guinea pigs to experiment new and unexplored forms of abuse.

In yet another development, with reference to the real-life story of Tufail Mattoo, a young student whose skull cracked open while he was on playground by a tear gas shell. Feroz Rather pays tribute to the poor Kashmiri soul by recording all the gruesome details of his death through the character of a young boy named Amir.

A boy, whose name turned out to be Amir, had fallen on the grass verge by the road, his face turned skyward. He wore a white school shirt and grey trousers. His skull was split. Blood and brain matter had trickled out on to his face. His satchel was flung on the tarmac, in the middle of the road. The smoke shell was by his feet amidst the notebooks

and pencils that had spilled out of the satchel. A plume of acrid smoke rose from it (126).

After seeing this incident up close Mohsin also joins the band of young boys that were Amir's class mates to become the "miscreant" stone-throwers. Throughout the novel Rather has highlighted that the ones that are weaponless against machine guns and bullets fight with a stone as their ultimate defense. Nearly 700 young men were charged of pelleting the Indian forces after the death of Burhan Wani when protests broke out all over Kashmir back in 2016 (Saaliq). Rather displays the helplessness of the colonized Kashmiris and the ill treatment of Kashmiri youth as it is being incarcerated, abused in prisons and killed on sight for holding a stone. This inhumane violence pushes youth over the edge and motivates them to take up a fight even with their "bare hands" (Fanon 187). The Indian army is of the idea that 83% of the Kashmiri youth that turns into militants starts with throwing stones at the soldiers but the question that comes to mind is what weapon should an oppressed people carry to defend their soil?

Rather's display of settler-colonialism did not would stop there, in the ending chapters of the novel he illustrates the freedom Indian soldiers have to raid any house through major S's character when in search of Jamshid (a militant) he raids his home and questions his father (Gulam) about Jamshid's whereabouts. Gulam pleads that he does not know where his son is but is met with humiliation and ridicule of the worst kind. Major S orders his men to grab Gulam while he dips his fingers into shoe polish and smears it all over Gulam's face. When that does not satisfy him he puts fingertips laced with shoe polish inside Gulam's mouth. "It was an act of pure misanthropy and sadism that defied comprehension and nearly drove Gulam insane" (Rather 213). No man should be allowed such great lengths of freedom to prosecute and abuse. Old men are punished in Kashmir for the path their sons choose, which not only ignites their passion to fight the Indian Army more but pushes other young boys to follow into their footsteps.

Last but not least, Rather mentions a single incident that shakes the reader to its core, the incident of rape which brings me to ask the same question Muna Khan asked that "Why are women used as trophies in war?" Almost 11,000 women have been sexually harassed, assaulted and raped in the last thirty years in Kashmir by the Indian

occupiers (Desk). To break the colonizer's spirit to an unbreakable point and to a point of no return women are assaulted by the occupiers and seen as a tool to weaken the colonizer ("International"). The chapters of history are filled with the atrocious stories of the monstrosities of men against women and Kashmir as a battleground is no different. Reports of rapes of minors flood across the media but the Indian government either denies all claims or lets the culprits go. The families of the victims seek justice and none has been received till date. The rape culture has been on the rise since 1989 and along with massacres, torture and killings women are treated as a means to further colonize the Kashmiri men. In the novel, Rosy (the victim) is raped in her own home in front of the eyes of her mother by Major S just because she was associated with Jamshid and she later commits suicide because it was something so horrible "that only jumping into the river could drown" (Rather 207). Women are used as trophies of wars and are raped by the Indian men to crush the spirits of the Kashmiri men.

5.2 Revolutionary Violence Inflicted by the Colonized

To create his self-identity that has been shattered by the brutality and inhumane violence of the colonizer, the colonized resorts to violence. The type of violence that is cathartic for the native because he finally feels like he can stand up for himself and can do something for his people and his land. As discussed in the analysis of Waheed's novel, Fanon believed that revolutionary violence served three purposes. One, it unified the colonized as they were all going through the same pain and what seem to be the reason young Kashmiri boys join forces and attack Indian military soldiers. Second, if a nation is to be decolonized it must not fall into the pitfalls of neocolonialism and for that purpose an "unceasing battle must be waged" (Fanon 178). Third, violence frees the native from the inferiority complex that has been imposed on him by the colonizer and it frees him from being a victim as soon as he realizes that he too can inflict pain. "When the people have taken violent part in the national liberation they will allow no one to set themselves up as "liberators" (Fanon 74). My argument is premised around this concept given by Fanon that the victim becomes the victimizer and it gives him a sense of liberation. They become their own liberators and no government and colonial regime can be their liberators anymore once they have chosen the path of violence. Feroz Rather portrays the

rebelliousness of such militants in his novel to reveal this dark reality of the Indian colonial rule that is giving birth to such rebels.

Rather demonstrates how the liberators feel at ease when they watch Indian forces such as Major S being in misery. As one of the many liberators in the novel throws a grenade at the jeep of Major S and he is slightly injured by glass shards he says that I am well aware of the desire to be violent that has taken root in my heart but it has also “kindled the desire for justice in my heart”. The adrenaline rush that he gets from watching Major S suffer is far more superior to him than being abused himself. “My path was a long dark tunnel where the rocks exploded and tore open the walls to splatter blood onto my feet. At the end of the tunnel, as I marched forth, I saw the light of freedom, *aazadi*” (Rather 11). Fanon draws our attention to the fact that the colonial violence that once made them feel inferior and question their self-esteem strengthens them and makes them fearless.

The account above is of the man who was tortured by Major S and Inspector Masoodi and thrown in the depths of a lake. The torment that his oppressors wreaked on him made him pursue revenge for the remainder of his life and personally I believe he was not just influenced by the anger he felt for his colonizers but he was blinded by that rage. When he sees Inspector Masoodi in his death bed, coughing up blood he keeps thinking out loud and asking how close you are to death Inspector. He wanted him to feel the pain and distress that he felt twenty five years ago. It is upon seeing his dead face he feels somewhat of a satisfaction but he would have liked it even more to chop him up to pieces and mutilate him to gain catharsis and peace.

The author deployed several instances throughout the novel to showcase the hatred and anger the colonized have for the Indian soldiers. The very moment that a soldier might step out of his bunker a Kashmiri liberator will take his life. Rather through the mouthpiece of Safir snubs the “moral landscape of such a soul – a scorching scrubland? a fatal forest? – which vacillated between the fear of getting exterminated and the terrible duty of exterminating” (Rather 46). It is this very “unbounded freedom” that seems to be the root cause of boys turning into rebels and being labeled as terrorists. When humans undergo decade’s long abuse and are reduced to subhuman level

something is bound to burst out of proportion. In an interview to BBC News a Kashmiri citizen says that the Indians have taken the semi-autonomous status of Kashmir by force and now have forced us to live under siege, soon a volcano will erupt within Kashmir that even they will not be able to control (Peerzada 01:35). Rather delineated the plight of the Kashmiris in these words that “we are tied to the rebellion with blood. Murseh’s wish-knot, and seven million wish-knots on the trellised windows of Lal Ded’s shrine, is one single wish for freedom woven in knots of blood” (Rather 52).

The third chapter in the novel under the title *A Rebel’s Return* narrates a story of a ghost named Ilham who describes his revolutionary violence which led to his death. He led a group of young boys but within a few seconds his men were killed and he was surrounded by Indian soldiers and his Kalashnikov had no bullets left in it. A dagger was shoved in his back and he discloses that he could have been saved if his half-dead corpse was taken to the hospital but Inspector Masoodi decided otherwise (57-58). Ilham still wandered as a ghost and lived in the house of Inspector Masoodi’s son which symbolizes that the deaths and the disappearances of all the Kashmiris haunt the land of Kashmir as restless souls waiting for justice that they may never receive. Ilham’s revolutionary violence leads to his death and he is unable to cure oppression.

Mohsin, a captive thrown in jail by Force 10 of the Indian military is dragged out of jail on the request of his mother and as she is pleading to Inspector Masoodi to let her son go he tells his mother that he is not innocent and he will keep on fighting against the Indian occupiers as long as I live. “Mother, I’m anything but innocent. I throw stones at the soldiers and police. I’m a criminal and my crime is that I am besotted with the spectre of freedom. I won’t stop pelting policemen like him until all of them have been driven out of Kashmir” (Rather 122). When Mohsin is thrown back into the jail he sees that a soldier of Force 10 is not paying attention towards him and seeing that as an opportunity that he should not miss, “Mohsin grabbed the washbasin with both hands and moved it. With one swift motion, he tore it off the wall and turned, holding the ceramic basin aloft. Force 10 fell to the floor, unconscious. His eyes were open, the blood gushing out of the wide wound in his head” (Rather 124). Mohsin exhibited a character of colonized mentioned by Fanon that the colonizer is looking for a chance the colonizer is off guard

so he can “fly at him” (Fanon 41) and that is exactly what Mohsin did. The fate of a stone-thrower is death in the novel so without Rather saying anything more I can surely assume that Mohsin did not meet a jolly fate. He was able to achieve the contentment of taking the life of his colonizer but is an example of another life lost in the cause of Kashmir.

In a similar fashion, Showkat seeks revenge against the Indian army especially Major S who made him lick a wall to wipe off graffiti, he makes it his sole mission to lead the Kashmiri rebels and to “cut Major S’s hand” (Rather 81) Showkat gets his cathartic revenge when he hangs himself upside down from a ceiling and awaits Major S, he grabs his arm and cuts off the arm of his oppressor. The emancipatory violence displayed by Showkat costs the colonizer his arm (197-198). Jamshid is the face of the revolution in Rather’s novel and Showkat was his right hand man. Jamshid belonged from the lowest of castes according to the Kashmiri culture which elucidates another key feature addressed by Fanon that it is the peasants that usually take up the cause of revolution. “It is clear that in colonial countries the peasants alone are revolutionary, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain” (Fanon 47). Jamshid proved to be such a revolutionary but all of the rebels and rays of hopes represented in Rather’s novels reached the inceptive stage of violence and perished because of it. Jamshid met an end that even his body could not be discovered that leaves the reader thinking that what did they really do with his body and maybe he was tortured to the point of no recovery as his body was singled out from all the dead bodies.

Rather’s novel depicts the initial stages of the Fanonian decolonization but shows that the colonial roots of the Indian forces are much stronger than stone-throwers and militants. It does not mean that the defeat of these characters will stop the will of the colonized to surrender. After the revocation of Article 370 the people of Kashmir have lost complete faith in the Indian government that they would show any sympathy or any humanity towards them. They unanimously believe that things are bound to get much worse because the Indian forces brutally enforced yet another lockdown on them and if the Kashmiris had a chance they too would pick up a gun and fight the Indian forces back (“Inside”). The only way to stop the vicious cycle is when the colonizer’s violence will

end and now that the Indian settlers are moving into the valley of Kashmir the future of Kashmir looks even more so bleak. Rather in his novel has shown several characters that fight till their last breath for the decolonization of their land. By lying bare the crude realities of the Indian occupation Rather has attempted to serve in the *Azaadi* of his people through literature.

5.3 Impacts of Violence on the Native and his Land

Rather is a poet first and in his debut novel he has used a similar poetic way through symbolism to convey the decay, murder and grief of the valley of Kashmir and its people. Colonialism is not simply a political issue it affects the society socially, economically, geographically, culturally, politically, physically and psychologically. Of the several impacts of colonialism, the dying of culture, traditions and customs is also one of them. According to Fanon, “when a people undertakes an armed struggle or even a political struggle against a relentless colonialism, the significance of tradition changes” (Fanon 180). The second story of the novel describes such a man of Turkish heritage that is the last man preserving a dying tradition named as the Kozghar. This story is a proof of Rather’s accurate portrayal of Kashmir because in the heart of old Srinagar a shop still stands owned by a man named Abdul Aziz Kozghar who is the sole owner of the ancient art of rosewater distillation in Kashmir and in the novel his character speaks to Maryam (a journalist) that “I am a master of a dying trade” (Rather 24). War has brought about decline in the cultural prosperity of Kashmir and the place once termed “the Paradise on Earth” by Emperor Jahangir has now turned into a barren valley of blood (Jeelani 67). In an interview, the Kozghar of Srinagar laments that there is no money and future in his 200 years old family business and the ancient tradition will die with him (Pal).

Jean Paul Satre in the preface to *The Wretched of the Earth* traces the generational properties of colonialism and is of the opinion that “hardly has the second generation opened their eyes than from then on they've seen their fathers being flogged. In psychiatric terms, they are ‘traumatized’ for life” (Fanon 15). The trauma the natives suffer from after seeing their land turned into a blood bath is due to the third dimension of violence addressed by Fanon as absurd violence. The purpose of discussing trauma in this section of the study is because it is another inevitable consequence of colonial

violence. This debilitating trauma is visible in several characters in the novel, the first account of trauma is narrated through the character named “the boss” of the news agency *The Informer* who was once passionate about journalism when he was young, going from towns to villages in Kashmir, covering stories of the unheard but the traumatizing stories and events of his nation had changed him. He remembered it like it was yesterday when fifty-one people were gunned down outside a mosque and killed in no time. After the Friday prayer when the Indians were well aware that Muslims will leave the mosque in a congregation, hundreds of men as they left the mosque started chanting slogans. But as soon as the air caught on to their voices Indian soldiers killed every man in sight until all their screams were filled with the silence of rain. Even the rain could not wash away the smell of blood that day (38). It seems quite convenient for Indian soldiers to gun down Muslims in mosques. To not let the opportunity of a mass of Kashmiri Muslims on sight go. The schools are taken over by the Indian forces and so are the mosques for the fear that Kashmiris might come together and plan something against them. The colonizer always remains in constant fear that he will be killed so he does not allow natives to form groups.

He had kept the horrific memory of genocide inside him for seventeen years and it haunted him when he was alone in the confines of the four walls of his home. His mind also took him to 1993 when he went to Bijbyor where he met a boatman whose ears had been cut by Major S and he heard the wails and cries of people from almost every house. Major S took a knife and sliced off the boatman’s ears for giving a ride to certain people he deemed criminals (Rather 203). This incident declares that the situation of war in Kashmir has been the same since the time it began. Even after seventy years we hear the cries and wails of the ones that have seen nothing but suffering. Generations have come and gone but the only reality of Kashmir is pain and agony. The Indian troops have turned Kashmir into one of the “most militarized zone in the world”. It has a ratio of one soldier for every ten civilians that make up almost half a million (Jeelani 67). This militarization has affected the lives of all the Kashmiris one way or another and they believe that they live in an “open air prison”. Fanon claims that the colonized will become violent and will turn to violence because he has seen “his own social forms disintegrating before his own eyes” (Fanon 111). Another dimension of the impacts of

colonial violence that I will partake in my discussion is what this violence can do to the mental stability if the agents of the colonial rule that are the soldiers and the police.

5.4 Impacts of Violence on the Colonizer

The colonizer here includes the Indian military soldiers and the police. These are the actors of violence in the occupied land and see to it that colonial rule is upheld by hook or by crook. Major S, Inspector Masoodi Senior (Sr) and his son whom I will call Inspector Masoodi Junior (Jr) are the provocateurs of violence in this novel. The impact that violence has had on these characters is that Inspector Masoodi Sr grows old and has a son who did not care much about him and he died alone. In the first chapter of the book, readers are introduced to both the father and the son. The son has taken on the demeanor of his father “like his father in his youth, he gave an impression of toughness and brutal control. When he spoke, the words fell from his lips like hard slabs of granite” (Rather 8). Without even trying the colonizer passes own his vendetta to his future generation and makes his father’s enemies his own. But the chapter “A Rebel’s Return” shows that a ghost is haunting Inspector Masoodi Jr who was killed and tortured by his father. The ghost even in is death is vengeful and desires to torment Inspector Masoodi Jr for the crimes of his father. Moreover, Ilham (the ghost) wanted to hurt Masoodi Jr’s son and even tried to “strangle him like his grandfather had strangled me” but what stopped him was the laughter of the baby (Rather 65). Rather through this story illustrates that even in death violence will come back to you one way or another. It is an endless cycle and this chain needs to be broken before the ghosts of the past may ruin one’s present.

Rather dedicated an entire chapter to Major S and his trauma, titled “The Nightmares of Major S” and brings to the fore the mental disorders Fanon studied at the end of his book *The Wretched of the Earth*. Fanon talked about a policeman who would hear the screams of the people he had tortured and had to put cotton buds in his ears. “His trouble was that at night he heard screams which prevented him from sleeping... Moreover, he stuffed his ears with cotton wool in order to make the screams seem less piercing. He sometimes even in the middle of the night turned on the wireless or put on some music in order not to hear this nocturnal uproar” (Fanon 213). This account of a French policeman who exercised all sorts of torture on his Algerians subject is quite

similar to Major S, who found it difficult to sleep. At times Major S would wake up angry at the swooshing of a tree in the wind, the next day he would order it to be chopped down. Many a night he would empty the barrel of his gun aiming it at the dark night outside his room. In the following lines, he dreams of being dragged on the cold grass outside his compound by his enemies and to overcome his dreams he orders red sandstones and gets the courtyard covered inch by inch so his nightmares might stop. “Beneath a dark, overcast sky, he was dragged naked and cold along the ground covered with sharp blades of grass. He woke up to the sound of his own terrified howls. He was covered in sweat and his heart and hands were shaking with a dark sense of foreboding.” To fight his nightmares Major S shouted for Arvind and asked him to bring a shovel and began turning the soil upside down so that a single strand of grass did not remain. He telephoned his superiors in New Delhi to send red sandstone on urgent basis so that the nightmares did not come haunting him back (Rather 159). But to his disbelief the nightmares did not stop and he had another sleepless night. The recurring dream that Major S is him being dragged through a meadow of razor sharp grass, and the invisible hand that drags him takes him towards a ghost of a Mughal who is getting off a “young, wailing concubine” while sparrows fly past him and they moan with sorrow and grief (160).

It comes as no surprise that a perpetrator such as Major S has sleepless nights. To be the one that drowns, rapes, mutilates, shoots and kills human beings must have its impacts on the human mind. The violence Major S inflicts on others for a considerable period of time seeped into him psychologically. Jean-Paul Satre in the preface to Fanon’s final testament says that “it is not right for a police official to be obliged to torture for ten hours a day; at that rate, his nerves will fall to bits” and Rather declares this statement true (Fanon 25). Major S had his recurring nightmares, Inspector Masoodi Jr has his stern nature that received from his father and a wandering ghost that would not find peace until he afflicted damage on the inspector’s family. The unbounded freedom to kill has snatched the colonizer of his sanity.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

I have mapped out the violent crimes committed against the people of Kashmir presented in the novel. The degree of violence committed against the Kashmiri people is far worse than the violence committed by them against the Indian oppressors. The goal of this thesis is not to advocate Fanon's concept of revolutionary violence neither speak against it but to emphasize on the destructive nature of violence. Violence is indeed a cleansing force, it does not matter whose hand holds the baton but if the colonizer does not stop mistreating the colonized then there is no telling how much worse matters can get. Kashmir has been under the batons of the Indian colonizers for far too long for the international community to simply watch from the sidelines. India has to end the use of force and innovative methods of violence. The references given in the analysis of militants such as Riyaz Naikoo and Burhan Wani foreground my hypothesis that if colonial violence will not come to an end every young child will grow up to follow the same path as these militants that they hail as heroes. The main reason that I have used Fanon's theory of revolutionary violence is to draw India's attention to the frightful issue that the violence that the Kashmiri people will exercise upon them might become much more powerful and of an unimaginable scale.

Enforcing a two-year long lockdown upon them, stripping the Kashmiris of their semi-autonomous status and hunting them down like cattle can only result in rebellion. Fanon writes that "each individual represents a violent link in a great chain of a great violent organism" and warns us that once the colonized realizes that the only way to put an end to colonial violence is to fight back with violence then it will become difficult for the colonizer to survive not only in the occupied land but he will face repercussions of it back in his homeland as well. This is where Fanon draws distinction between the colonial violence and revolutionary violence that the former is to ensure colonial rule but the latter is to gain freedom. The latter is much more powerful because the only thing standing between the liberties of the native is the colonizer and the natives can do anything in their power to gain back their land and their independence. Violence is the natural state of the

Indian occupation and the government of India owes its existence to the violence and force of the Indian military in the Valley of Kashmir. Undoubtedly, the inherent nature of the Indian settlers will also be of violence and force. The characters in the novel transform from being timid citizens to rebels who take up arms against their oppressors and fight back. They shift from being a colonized native who is suffering from an inferiority complex due to the ongoing use of force against him to a hero that is protected by the entire community. It is because the use of force is a cathartic process for the colonized as they realize that their oppressors only understand the language of force. Fanon's thoughts on colonial violence help us understand settler colonialism that the purpose of Indian government's abrogation of Kashmir's special status is to eliminate the Kashmiri indigenous population.

Another question that comes to mind is why are Guerilla fighters, militants and rebels are hailed as heroes by the Kashmiri people? It is because they represent the collective consciousness of the Kashmiri people. When Burhan Wani was killed in 2016, and his death was felt by the entirety of the Kashmiri people they protested for days at large because he gave hope to the natives and was an embodiment of their collective demand of liberty. The colonizer has no humanity for the colonized and it is visible through the two novels that the extent of the colonizer's brutality knows no bounds. The Indian military soldiers are protected by the laws of the Indian state whereas the Kashmiris do not even have the amnesty on stone-throwing. There is no law that protects their freedom and they are hit with pellet guns and machine-guns. Pellet guns that are used to hunt wild beasts are used against them. So one dares to ask the question, how can they not become violent towards their aggressors? They have been bearing the burden of violence for over seventy years how much longer do they have to suffer?

The character of Faiz in Mirza Waheed's novel represents a ray of hope for the Kashmiri people, one that will bring about revolution and end the colonial rule. The birth of this revolutionary is attributed to none other than the violence he sees around his community. Educational institutes being shut down, his friends being hunted down and captured, his brother being paralyzed for life, the death of his godmother and seeing the dead bodies of the innocent children in their uniforms would drive any sane man to the

verge of madness. He is the product of the colonial aggression. The Indians are to blame for the young boys that are taking up arms. These boys know nothing of the beauty of their land and the innocence of childhood because all they grow up seeing is violence. The men in their society being captured, their women being raped, their homes being raided and yet India calls this a personal and internal matter of their state? The Indian illegal occupation is not a personal matter; it is a political, economic, social, cultural, geographical and psychological matter. It is a matter of the entire humanity; it is not an issue that we commemorate only once a year because with each passing day Indian forces are unapologetically forcing Kashmiri people out of their homes and using all means necessary to commit Kashmiri genocide and ethnocide.

Similarly, Feroz Rather's novel is overflowing with the acts of violence the people of Kashmir have been bearing since 1990s and till today. Showkat, Jamshid, Ilham, Mohsin, Tariq and many other characters in the novel grow up seeing nothing but a violent world of occupation. Indian forces are pushing the Kashmir natives to the verge and what brews out of such violent acts is hard to imagine. The purpose to extract the impact colonial violence has on the soldiers is to elucidate Fanon's concept that torturing another human being cannot not have damaging effects on the abuser. His analysis on mental disorders shows a policeman who is violent towards his children and wife and Rather in his novel presents a mirroring case of Major S, who apart from having repetitive nightmares was divorced from his wife whom he hit. His wife said to him that she could no longer recognize him because occupation does change the native and the soldier. It is a well-known fact that Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was discovered after studying the soldiers of World War I and the soldiers in both the novels suffer from PTSD as well.

The first research objective of my study was to inspect the social, political, cultural and geographical effects of colonial violence in Waheed's and Rather's novels. It is analyzed and discussed comprehensively in the 4th and 5th Chapter of the thesis. To be more specific, Section 4.1 and 5.3 evaluate the aftereffects of colonial violence on the native and on his land depicted in *The Book of Gold Leaves* and *The Night of Broken Glass* respectively. The first impact displayed in Waheed's novel is the implications of

curfew on the Kashmiris. The curfew enforces them to close their businesses early and bounds them to return home. The fishermen in Kashmir cannot stay out late to catch fish and the author points out that business in Kashmir are collapsing due to Indian colonialism. Rather in his novel also directs our attention towards a similar trend of what happens to business under siege. An account of Kozghar and his dying legacy of rosewater distillation is documented in Rather's novel. Rather attempts to pay tribute to the centuries old trade and encapsulates the despair of every Kashmiri that their history is being wiped out due to India's occupation. Both novels are satiated with the geographical implications of violence on the land of Kashmir as both writers use the analogy of river to portray the decay of the land of Kashmir and the blood that has been shed on it. The river overflows with dead bodies and with decades of stories of torture and torment.

The writers show the change in the fresh waters of the river into a muddy one. Another social impact of violence is the transformation of a school into a torture facility by the Indian militants in Waheed's novel. This implies that education has also been affected due to war. The indications of deterioration of the land of Kashmir in these novels prove Fanon's concept of the compartmentalization of the colonized land. His notion that the colonizer demarcates his metal fortress from the land of the colonized people is the reality Waheed and Rather have outlined throughout their narratives. The Indian colonizers have built walls to protect themselves; they have placed bunkers and machineguns at every corner to keep the Kashmiris at the periphery. The gradual collapse of the Kashmiri culture is visible through the character of Faiz, a talented young man that wanted nothing more in life but to paint. His journey is vital to understand the life of many young Kashmiri boys who become militants without realizing their true potential and meet an unfortunate end as demonstrated strikingly in both the novels.

The second research objective of my thesis is to analyze the recreation of colonial rule by the Indians on Kashmiri soil and to represent the experience of the Kashmiri people portrayed in the novels under study and their stories presented by the media. The dispute of Kashmir is one of the discarded matters of British colonialism. As soon as the British realized that they can no longer rule over subcontinent they wanted nothing more to do with the matters of Indians and without any foresightedness demarcated boundaries

and went their own way. Indians are well aware of the disruption of colonialism yet they prove to be far worse than their own colonizers. They have carried out the legacy of colonialism in the deadliest of forms and it is sponsored enthusiastically by the Indian state. Indians were under the British occupation for almost 90 years but the victims of yesterday are the victimizers of today. To analyze the narrative of Kashmiris evidence from the novels and first accounts of Kashmiris presented by media are included to dig out the true picture of Indian colonialism in Kashmir. To reach the following conclusive ideas, in-depth analysis on the sightings of colonial violence is undertaken in Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 regarding Waheed's novel whereas Section 5.1, 5.2 and 5.4 scrutinize Rather's novel meticulously. Furthermore, to probe the Kashmiri side of the narrative interview of Riyaz Naikoo by Al Jazeera, Amnesty International reports and accounts of Kashmiris living under siege by Indian and Pakistani media channels have been used as references to make connections between the two novels and the reality. Rather's novel was jam-packed with acts of violence as compared to Waheed's book. The digging out of violent acts in both the books was paramount to my discussion as it showed how several characters chose revolutionary violence because they had been subject to violence. The dilemma that Faiz in Waheed's novel and in Rather's novel Mohsin, Jamshid and many others faced was who they would be if they did not fight against their oppressors even though they knew they would be captured by the Indian forces. Still, they chose violence for the sake of freedom. Fanon talked about this dilemma and says that if the colonizer did not do anything for the sake of the liberty of his land, this guilt and shame would break him apart. Faiz from *The Book of Gold Leaves* is seen degrading himself as Fanon suggested and Mohsin from *The Night of Broken Glass* joins the group of boys that throw stones on Indian soldiers because his blood was boiling from witnessing colonial oppression and not doing anything about it. If the colonized does not revolt against the colonizer "he is no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self fall to pieces" (Fanon 14). Revolutionary violence is illustrated by several characters of the novels because it unified them as a nation and it becomes clear to the characters that the colonizer can only decipher the language of violence. Faiz, Jamshid, Mohsin and Showkat are a few names from the two novels that take the road of violence as Kashmiri rebels are taking even today to put an end to India's colonial

hostility. Young boys die trying to save militants and that too has become a stark reality of life in Kashmir. They applaud them as heroes and put their own lives on the line for their heroes (Yasir 1). To these characters the blood of the Indian soldiers was much more than their own. It is this very shift in the mentality of the colonized when he realizes that the colonized is not a grand entity but a human just like himself that can be damaged and destroyed hence, he wages war against his oppressors (Fanon 35). Both novels deliberate upon such insurgents and expose the grim realities of Kashmir.

The third and final research objective was to disclose how the characters in the novel attempt to fight back the Indian colonial power. Sections 4.3 and 5.2 of the thesis analyze to what extent the characters in Waheed and Rather's books were able to decolonize themselves from the colonial regime. In both the novels, the characters were able to reach its embryonic stage of Fanonian decolonization but failed as majority of the characters died for the sake of decolonization. But the definition of decolonization is not limited to choosing violence against violence. It also encompasses the unification of the colonized against a unified cause and goal. Both Waheed and Rather have contributed in depicting the unification of the people of Kashmir towards their goal to freedom. Literature serves as a tool to rediscover the roots of a colonized nation and reclaim its traditions, culture and history (Jansen et al. 1-34). Waheed and Rather have succeeded in reaching an international audience through the tool of English language and literature. Fiction has a functional purpose as it depicts something about reality (Iser 7). Through the genre of novel and a collection of stories Mirza Waheed and Feroz Rather used fiction as means of communication to communicate to the world the savagery of the Indian colonial forces. They have also exposed the ramifications of violence on the Indian settlers and Indian soldiers. The Indian government will now govern Kashmir as a "Union Territory" and the Indian settlers will start pouring into the valley of Kashmir (Kamran 1). The Indian settlers might become the victims of the radical violence of the people of Kashmir. The people of Kashmir fight today for their freedom and will fight tomorrow for their freedom too. The struggle for freedom is much more valuable than the occupation. Kashmiris are born into violence and all they can think of is to free themselves from it is by the use of violence and they see no other way out of it.

Rather and Waheed have been successful in giving a voice to the people of the valley of Kashmir and have depicted their efforts to gain independence. Be it at an initial stage, the diasporic literature of Kashmir represents a cannon of literature that has been produced out of the struggle of occupation and influences other Kashmiri writers and diasporas to come forth and bring to the fore the struggles of Kashmir and facilitate the Kashmiris in their struggle for freedom. As Chinua Achebe wrote: "I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings" (349). Waheed and Rather have used the tool of English to narrate the tales of the people of Kashmir and their novels are abundantly teeming with words that display violence, horror and war to make the reader realize the intensity of colonial violence in Kashmir. Decolonization also refers to the act of "writing back" against colonialism and the colonial rule (Aman 7). Feroz Rather and Mirza Waheed have contributed immensely in writing back against the Indian government and have uncovered the bloodbath grounds that Kashmir has become today.

The people of Kashmir and the Indian settlers have nothing in common, they do not speak the same language and they do not have the similar culture. Fanon talks about the natives and settlers and says that they must have a common consciousness, but the Kashmiris want freedom, they want decolonization and the exact opposite of what India desires. If India does not comply with the desires of the natives, Kashmir will be used as hunting grounds and one after the other militants and rebels will rise to fight against oppression. The main focus of my thesis is to stress upon the gravity of this unbreakable chain of violence, the more force India uses the more aggressive the Kashmiri natives will become and their aggressiveness will be far more lethal than that of the Indians because they are fighting towards one thing and one thing only: Freedom. This is what Fanon warned us about that when the native realizes that the death of his oppressor means life for the masses he will choose violence. Kashmiris are armless and yet take up stones to fight against their colonizers because they have come to the conclusion that only through violence and by "decomposing the cadaver of the colonizer" will they be liberated (Fanon 50). The texts are a mouthpiece for the Kashmiri people and the slogans of the Mujahideen leaders "We will never surrender" are proof that they will fight till the

end of time. The Kashmiri militant leader in his words told AlJazeera that, “You must know that this scenario is not unique in history. Such has been the case with all freedom struggles against colonial rule, be it the Indian freedom struggle against the British, or the Algerian movement against the French, or the struggle of the Libyan people against Italian rule. The people of Kashmir are the life-blood of our resistance” (Al Jazeera). These words by the Hizbul Mujahideen leader portray the outcome of perpetual violence. Indian soldiers and the Indian government are not in the right and will never be in the eyes of the Kashmiri people. Kashmiris are living in an open-prison where they have carry around identification to prove they are Kashmiris on their own land. The military forces are disliked by the people of Kashmir and the people of AJK as people from both sides of the borders believe that they are not free until they can decide their fate for themselves. Kashmiris will use all means necessary to liberate themselves from the Indian colonial regime till the end of time.

Recommendations

In my opinion, the only solution for the Kashmir problem is the one presented by The United Nations on April 21, 1948 that sought “Resolution on the India-Pakistan Question” and interceded in territorial disputes over Jammu Kashmir, yet an autonomous Kashmir has still not considered. According to the resolution “the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic of a free and impartial plebiscite” (“Resolution”). Kashmiris have their own language, their own culture, their own religion and their land they are nation without the support of India and it should be their own decision whether they want to be with Pakistan or India or be independent of these two nations. The decision should be solely theirs. The worst fear of Kashmiris has become a reality as they have lost their semi-autonomous status and India is bringing in Indian settlers. The Indian government has issued domiciles to non-Kashmiris so they can freely move into Kashmir and claim the land given by the Indian government. This will allow these non-Kashmiris to also become a part of local government jobs and take up all the other jobs that were reserved for the Kashmiris (Swan et al). The dilution of the indigenous Kashmiri culture with Indian natives is a sign that settler colonialism is in full swing in Kashmir.

Literary texts on the issue of Kashmir can be studied through a variety of other theoretical lenses. For instance, an analysis can be conducted on the future of Indian citizens that have been provided Kashmiri domiciles in relation to settler colonialism. Furthermore, a comparative study can be performed on the Israeli occupation on Palestine and the Indian occupation of Kashmir. Moreover, a psychological study can be conducted on the effects of violence on soldiers and a comparative analysis can be carried out between the texts and movies produced on the Kashmir issue and between fiction and memoir.

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