

**PERPETRATION AND THE QUESTION OF
MORAL RESPONSIBILITY: A READING OF
SELECTED PETITE MEMOIRS FROM
KASHMIR**

**BY
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**Perpetration and the Question of Moral Responsibility: A
Reading of Selected Petite Memoirs From Kashmir**

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ABSTRACT

Title: Perpetration and the Question of Moral Responsibility: A Reading of Selected Petite Memoirs from Kashmir

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been seeking peace since 1947. Multiple attempts have been made to bring settlement in the region but none has been successful so far. In the present study, I analyze selected petite memoirs from the three anthologies: *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings From Kashmir* (2013) by Fahad Shah, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2011) by Sanjay Kak, and *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017) by Suvir Kaul undertaken in this study, from the theoretical lenses of perpetrator studies and civil resistance. The study traces the prominent perpetrators responsible for the devastated state of Jammu and Kashmir. The petite memoirs are mostly lived experiences of people from Kashmir. The petite memoirs are a challenge to the grand narratives of its perpetrators that have been constructed globally. The study aims at discovering the various strategies of violence perpetrated by the perpetrators of Jammu and Kashmir and how it has instilled resistance in the people of Kashmir. The study unravels that the people of Kashmir are in an open prison where all aspects of their lives are under military siege. Torture, curfews, gunshots, forced disappearances, and detention are the order of the day. The protracted violence and heavy militarization have turned people into writers, poets, artists, and stone-throwers. The people of Kashmir employ all possible means to get freedom from their nominal democratic ruler. The research reaches the conclusion that the lives and territory of Jammu and Kashmir are forcibly occupied by its ruler who is perpetrating to gain the territory by terrorizing its inhabitants. The people of Jammu and Kashmir strongly deny their occupiers and yearn for freedom.

Keywords: Perpetration, Perpetrators, Jammu and Kashmir, Petite Memoirs, Violence, Resistance

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	1
1.3 Thesis Statement	8
1.4 Objectives of the Study	8
1.5 Research Questions.....	8
1.6 Significance of the Study	9
1.7 Delimitation of the Study.....	10
1.8 Organization of the Study	10
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
2.1 The Conflict of Kashmir	11
2.2 Understanding the Concept of Perpetration and Perpetrators	16
2.3 The Wave of Civil Resistance in Kashmir.....	18
2.4 Perpetrators of Kashmir.....	20
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	23
3.1 Research Methodology.....	23
3.2 From Perpetrators to Perpetration.....	24
3.2.1 Macro-level Perpetration Process	26
3.2.2 Meso-level Perpetration Process.....	27
3.2.3 Micro-level Perpetration Process	28
3.3 Civil Resistance	29
3.3.1 Role of Music and Art in the Civil Resistance.....	31
3.3.2 Role of Women in Civil Resistance.....	32
4. ANALYSIS	34
4.1 Introduction to Authors and Overview of the Primary Texts	34
4.1.1 Fahad Shah and Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings From Kashmir	34
4.1.2 Suvir Kaul and Of Gardens[and Graves:Kashmir, Poetry, Politics	36
4.1.3 Sanjay Kak and Until My Freedom Has Come:The New Intifada in Kashmir.....	37
4.2 Perpetration and Unbearable Violence	37

4.2.1 Macro-level Perpetration Process.....	38
4.2.2 Meso-level Perpetration Process.....	44
4.2.3 Micro-level Perpetration Process.....	44
4.3 Resistance and the Call for Azadi.....	48
4.3.1 Music and Art as Weapons in the Civil Resistance of Kashmir	49
4.3.2 Role of Women in the Civil Resistance of Kashmir... ..	52
4.3.3 Confrontational Forms of Civil Resistance.....	54
5. CONCLUSION... ..	64
Social Implications... ..	68
Recommendations.....	68
6. WORKS CITED... ..	69

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

OOAR: *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir*

OGAG: *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics*

UMFHC: *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir*

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DEDICATION

Pursuing MPhil in English Literature was a far-fetched dream for me, but it has become a reality because of my father whose trust, support, and appreciation made it possible. I dedicate this thesis to my father who has been a constant support and inspiration in my journey. Secondly, I want to dedicate this work to my mother who possesses a strong vision for education. Her love, encouragement, and concern helped me to stay focused and firm during all those months of pressure and hard work needed to complete this task. Last but not least, this work could not have reached a tinge of what it is today if I had not been supervised by Dr. Rabia Aamir. She has actually taught me the essence of true research. She has been an example of passion and dedication toward her work and this is what I also learned from her.

CHAPTER 1

A DELUSIONAL PARADISE

In this chapter, I have provided a thorough understanding of the background of the research topic. It discusses the major events that led to the Kashmir conflict. This section introduces the theoretical lens and the selected anthologies that will be studied using the specific theoretical lens employed in this study. It also incorporates the thesis statement of the study along with research questions, aims and objectives, delimitations, and the significance of the research.

1.1 Background of the Study

The slicing of the Indian Subcontinent in 1947 resulted in two side effects: one was the outbreak of communal riots which resulted in massive killings in the region, and the other was the beginning of the Kashmir conflict. The conflict in Kashmir has remained unresolved since 1947.

When the Indian Subcontinent was divided into two dominions: India and Pakistan, the partition resulted in brutal and cruel acts on both sides. People were forced to leave their homes, and the trains carrying the refugees were attacked turning the trains into “moving coffins” (Ali 2). The division of the Indian Subcontinent engulfed the lives of over one million people.

Tariq Ali in his essay “The Story of Kashmir” (2011) states that the fragmentation of British India left Kashmir unrecognized and disputed till today. Before partition, Kashmir was a princely state which means that the Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, had the right to decide which state Kashmir would accede with. However, in certain places, where the majority of people were not in favor of the Ruler’s decision, the residents were asked to decide. Kashmir’s decision was still pending when Pakistan and India were created in August 1947. Two separate armies were formed with British personnel at high ranks. After the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah was instructed by the British government not to use any kind of force in the Kashmir region; otherwise, all British officers would be withdrawn from the Pakistan army. At that time, even secular politicians believed that Kashmir, a Muslim-majority area, should accede with Pakistan (31).

In case of Gilgit Baltistan, Alastair Lamb in his book *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948* (1997) states that the British government

freed the Gilgit region from the 1935 lease in 1947, and the region came under the rule of the Maharaja. However, the scouts of Gilgit went against the rule of the Maharaja and declared for Pakistan in November 1947 (154).

Alastair Lamb, in his other book, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy (1846-1990)* published in 1991, states that the prime minister of Kashmir, Janak Singh, sent a Standstill Agreement to both India and Pakistan on 12 August 1947. Pakistan agreed to it on 15 August 1947, however, India put off the decision claiming that an official from the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be sent to India for negotiations. But no official was ever dispatched to New Delhi in this regard (135).

The communal riots that started as a consequence of partition entered the State of Jammu and Kashmir. At that time the most obvious concern of the Maharaja was not the question of accession but to maintain his control in the state. Meanwhile, a great rebellion was brewing in Poonch as the dominant Muslim population of Poonch was never satisfied with Maharaja's government. The Muslims of Poonch had good relations with what was now called Pakistan than it had with any other part of Jammu and Kashmir. Initially, in the month of June 1947, a no-tax campaign began which later turned into a secessionist movement. Two weeks after the Transfer of Power, major riots began between the state forces and the residents of Poonch resulting in the deaths of civilians in great numbers. In the meantime, communal clashes had reached their peak in Jammu which was a non-Muslim majority state. Armed Hindus and Sikhs attacked Muslims displacing over 500,000 Muslims from Jammu, and it is assumed that approximately 200,000 of them disappeared. The survivors of these atrocities moved to Pakistan and there they revealed that the massacre of Jammu was carried out by hooligans and the forces of the Maharaja (Lamb *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* 137).

Contrary to the popularized narrative, the Poonch revolt was an indigenous liberation movement and was aggravated after the 1947 Jammu Massacre. They were joined by Frontier and other unofficial sources in Pakistan towards the west bank of Jhelum. Support from this side of Pakistan is not surprising since both areas possessed good relations with each other for a long time. In September 1947, the Poonch uprising took a formal command under the leadership of Mohammed Ibrahim Khan. He flew to Pakistan towards the end of August to meet M.A. Jinnah who refused to meet him as Jinnah did not want to be involved in the matters of Jammu and Kashmir personally. Mohammed Ibrahim Khan, then, set up a base camp at the hill station of Murree which

was very near to the Poonch border, and it became an unofficial command post. From this post, weapons were supplied to the Poonch and Mirpur Muslim rebels. Many Muslim officers abandoned the Maharaja's army and joined the secessionist group which was further joined by volunteers from Pakistan that included some officers too who had taken part in the war against Japan and were now in a kind of professional uncertainty. By this time, Pakistani officials started to take an unofficial interest in the Poonch uprising. A meeting was called by Colonel Akbar Khan with certain Pakistani officials such as Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister, and a Minister of Punjab, etc., which discussed strategies to assist the Poonch rebel, however, M. A. Jinnah was kept completely out of the whole story (Lamb *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* 138).

The Maharaja was rapidly losing control over large parts of his territory. Khurshid Anwar, a Poonch rebellion commander, had been in contact with the tribal heads from North-West Frontier since September for weapons. The tribal men were also involved in the Poonch resistance. Since the tribal men were not disciplined, their involvement in the rebellion created further trouble resulting in delays, a deteriorated public image, and plunders, thus this inclined the equation towards India (Lamb *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* 147). It is worth investigating why the Indian military operation on the State of Hyderabad was successful while the Poonch revolt only managed to free the strip of Kashmir Valley which is now Azad Kashmir.

Aamir's book *Environmental Ethics: Life Narratives on Kashmir & Palestine* (2023) looks into the reasons for this fiasco in quite detail. She discusses the interpellative strategies that were exercised by the Indian politicals to sabotage any legitimate effort by the Kashmiris that has resulted in the convolution of facts. This confusion created by the Indian narrative about Kashmir seems to have gained currency while the facts about the de jure Indian intervention about acquiring Kashmir at all costs and the questionable source of the (so-called) instrument of accession are things that are contested in all the major historical works of Lamb, Schofield, Bose, and other historians and political scientists. According to Aamir "[t]hese strategies that were meted out by Indian leaders and Hari Singh, led to the extremely holocaustic events of accession to India." Quoting Schofield, she writes, "these patterns caused the armed insurgences in the Poonch sector with unofficial aid from the Northwest Frontier province when the massacred bodies of Muslims from Jammu and Kashmir were paraded in the streets of Peshawar" (94).

The Poonch Muslims threw off the Dogra guard at Domel, Muzaffarabad to clear

their way to Srinagar on October 22, 1947, killing most of the Dogra soldiers. However, we need to remind ourselves that a major cause of this Poonch revolt was the Jammu Massacre in September 1947. Therefore, this episode of the overall story of Jammu and Kashmir was an internal matter of the state between the Muslim subjects and the Hindu Maharaja and was not an act of external influence but it was constantly being maneuvered by the Indian politicians. On October 24, 1947, Deputy Prime Minister R. L. Batra was dispatched to India to seek Indian help to combat the rebellion, and he took an offer of accession to India by the Maharaja with him. However, he did not reveal this to the Indian politicians as the Maharaja still hoped that Indian aid would be provided without acceding to India. On the same day, the rebels of Poonch announced their independence from the Maharaja and declared themselves the residents of Azad Kashmir (Lamb *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy* 148).

Interestingly, we see that Jawaharlal Nehru did not agree to provide any assistance without Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India. Therefore, the popular narrative is that Maharaja signed the accession papers in favor of India, the validity of which is contested by Lamb in his three books as he concludes the document to have been fake even (Aamir 87-88). The following day of the (questionable instrument of accession) which was October 27, 1947, Indian troops flew to Srinagar to give the Kashmir dispute its unresolved shape which it maintains till today. It is believed that the Indian officials had already planned a military intervention in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, for it was just not possible to arrange such an enormous airlift to Srinagar on an emergency basis (Lamb 154).

The accession of Jammu and Kashmir appeared differently to different people. People such as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wanted the accession at any cost. However, with the assistance of Shaikh Abdullah, Nehru wanted the accession to show the failure of the Two Nation theory by making a secular Indian state with a Muslim-majority region. One prospect of the events since October 22 reveals that both Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel intended to create the best possible circumstances for accession to India and the Indian military domination of the situation (Lamb 151).

For more than one hundred years, before the partition of the Indian Subcontinent, Kashmir was under Dogra rule from the year 1846 to 1947. The Dogra regime was also oppressive, especially to the Muslim population of the region. Muslims were forced to pay huge taxes, denied religious gatherings, and the Dogras were Islamophobic. According to a recent article "Kashmir: Facing Multiple Assaults" (2023) by Maleeha

Lodhi published in Dawn News, presently 68 per cent of Kashmir's population is Muslim and 28 per cent Hindu, and just like the Dogras, India has also proved to be an oppressive ruler. Indians are gradually trying to crush the culture, religious identity, and language of the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir.

Kashmir, also "South Asia's Palestine" (Aamir 3), was once famous for its eye-catching beauty, but it is now the hub of bloodshed, violence, and horror. The deadly land of Kashmir has become an area of massive concern. The valley witnesses raids, random arrests, and curfews on a daily basis. The four million Muslim residents of the area are victims of rape, torture, extra-judiciary execution, and such cruel treatments that are beyond human imagination (Mishra 20). The brutal treatment of Kashmiri young people has turned them into fighters who are now armed with stones. The stones pelted by Kashmiris are an expression that the world has put a deaf ear to the painful screams of Kashmiris and they have become "a neglected people" (Mishra 2). The Indian army is strongly silencing the voices of the new generation of Kashmiris as they did with the old generation. Mishra states that over a hundred young protestors were killed in the year 2010.

The consequences of the grim history of Kashmir are visible in the literature written on Kashmir. Tasmiya Bashir, in her study "The Portrayal of Human Predicament in Kashmiri Literature" (2016) states that the modern-day literature produced on Kashmir is a lucid example of the "content of creative expression" in intense conditions of violence "caused by communal schisms, cultural dissolutions, and combative politics" (6). The Kashmiri literature is a "faithful reflection of the human agony and suffering" triggered by the "turbulent political crises" (Bashir 6).

The ongoing violence in Kashmir is visible in its fictional and non-fictional texts. Kashmiri literature once had "traditional clichés, hackneyed love themes, devotional themes, and poetic ornament" (Bashir 8), but it is now embedded with "the thick of reality" (Bashir 8). The depiction of violence in the contemporary writings shows that violence has been adopted as the most important theme in the writings portraying that the literature is "rooted in the soil" (Bashir 8). Most of the writers have chosen violence as a subject in Kashmir and intend to convey the "historical, psychological, and artistic landscape of the Kashmiri society" (Bashir 8). The poets and fiction writers respond to the "ethos of discord" (Bashir 8), destruction, and abhorrence by portraying "convoluted

characters, their psychological drives, and frustrations through unconventional imagery, plot, and setting” (Bashir 8).

The present study aims at identifying the dominant perpetrators of Kashmir, and their motifs and motivations behind the act of perpetration. Perpetrator studies has emerged as an interdisciplinary field over the last few years.

The study uses the key concepts of perpetrators and perpetration proposed by Uğur Ümit Üngör and Kjell Anderson in their essay “From Perpetrators to Perpetration: Definitions, Typologies, and Processes” in the anthology *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (2020) along with the lens of civil resistance proposed by Erica Chenoweth in his book *Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2021) to examine the petite memoirs.

It is very crucial to understand and listen to the experiences of the survivors and victims of genocide and violence along with studying the agents who initiate such atrocious acts. Perpetrator studies give a deep insight into various factors and intentions behind perpetrating violence against a particular social group. When studying the actors who carry out violent acts, one can know about the root causes of the injustice against a specific social group.

Under colossal political oppression, the Kashmiris have started to voice themselves through various genres of literature such as poetry, autobiographies, novels, memoirs, etc. The small or little narratives drafted by the Kashmiris in the anthologies selected for this study are defined as petite memoirs. The concept of petite has been adapted from the “Petits Recits” defined by Jean Francois Lyotard in his classic *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979). According to Lyotard, postmodernism rejects the idea of grand narratives or metanarratives and develops the concept of micro-narratives. The petite recits are a localized opposition to a universal belief or scheme (Lyotard 37).

Lyotard’s concept of “Petits” has been adopted to define the micro-narrative written by Kashmiris as “petite memoirs” that present the lived experiences of Kashmir to subvert the grand narratives constructed by the Indian political regime. The “localized narratives” throw off the metanarratives by “bringing into focus singular event” (Allegranza n.p.). In postmodernism, metanarratives are considered as “totalizing stories about history and the goals of the human race that ground and legitimize knowledge and cultural practices” (Allegranza n.p.). Micro-narratives are much more reliable than grand

narratives since they provide a closer experience of war and trauma. The involvement of individual micro-narrative helps in understanding the individual aspirations of victims and this also provides authentic and genuine experiences.

Memoirs are non-fictional narratives that present real-life events. Rabia Aamir, in her dissertation “Questioning Idées Reçues: A Study of Interpellative Strategies and Environmental Ethics in Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi’s Memoirs” mentions that more non-fictional narratives are emerging from conflict-ridden areas such as Kashmir and Palestine. Among other works, this research discusses two memoirs from the realms of Kashmir and Palestine. One is *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* (2010) and the other is *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (2015) by Ghada Karmi. This research combines “social justice with environmental justice” to “deconstruct political, economic, and environmental myths” that have given rise to “economic Orientalism” (Aamir 16).

Curfewed Night is a portrayal of Peer’s personal experiences in a “chronological order” and it mostly focuses on the struggle of Kashmiris in the 90s. Peer’s narratives can be referred to as “the pioneering prose texts of this millennium” (Aamir 21), and his writings have encouraged many writers out there. On the contrary, Ghada Karmi’s memoir *Return: A Palestinian Memoir* depicts her visit to a land of her ancestors and birth. She visits Palestine “as a consultant to devise a media plan to project the case of the Palestinians’ plight” (Aamir 21). My research is actually an extension of this study conducted by my supervisor, Dr. Rabia Aamir, and it further explores the genre of memoirs bringing into discussion the budding genre of petite memoirs.

Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir is an anthology of articles that displays the public and private painful experiences of Kashmiris since 1988. The year 1988 marks the beginning of military violence in Kashmir. The second anthology *Until*

My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir (2011) by Sanjay Kak from within Kashmir incorporates writings of journalists, academics, and artists. The book shows the pain and hopelessness of the Kashmiri victims. In *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics*, Kaul showcases the everyday life of the residents of Kashmir. Additionally, like the other two anthologies, the book consists of Kaul’s autobiographical and analytic essays which Kaul wrote after personally experiencing the situation in Kashmir.

This study focuses on studying the petite memoirs written by the Kashmiri victims. These petite memoirs give a realistic and thorough insight into the daily life sufferings of the Kashmiris as they have written them on real-life experiences. Selecting some petite memoirs from three anthologies: *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir* (2013) by Fahad Shah, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2011) by Sanjay Kak, and *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017) by Suvir Kaul, this research analyses them from the perspective of perpetration and civil resistance.

1.2 Thesis Statement

Examining some petite memoirs from three selected Kashmiri anthologies, and in the light of the theoretical import of perpetrator studies and civil resistance, it may be seen that Indian political hegemony is responsible for perpetrating the detrimental situation of Kashmir by stripping the residents of Kashmir of their basic rights of homing their homeland. The protracted violence and entrenched subjugation have created a wave of civil resistance that seems to find solace in a struggle for freedom.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The current study aims at accomplishing the following aims and objectives:

1. To trace the various forms of perpetration depicted in the selected Kashmiri anthologies.
2. To examine how can the conflict of Kashmir be defined and illustrated through the selected petite memoirs.
3. To discuss how the diverse perpetrators of Kashmir, due to their nonstop violence in the region, cause ongoing resistance of Kashmiris.

1.4 Research Questions

The present study attempts to answer the following research questions

1. What are the various forms of perpetration depicted in the selected Kashmiri anthologies?
2. How can the conflict of Kashmir be defined and illustrated through the selected petite memoirs?
3. How do the diverse perpetrators of Kashmir, due to their nonstop violence in the region, cause ongoing resistance of Kashmiris?

1.5 Significance of the study

Perpetrator studies is a newly emerging field. There are a number of concepts and key debates that are yet to be discovered in this field. This study would explore the key theories and debates of the perpetrator studies by keeping in mind the case study of Kashmir.

Kashmir has been suffering tremendously for years because of its perpetrators. The region is yearning for peace, but its perpetrators are not ready to set it free. The region has been tormented and fragmented for the personal gain of certain macro-level perpetrators.

The present study gives a different approach to studying the conflict in Kashmir. It gives a voice to the helplessness and hopelessness of the Kashmiri victims. The petite memoirs from the selected anthologies would help in diving into the real-life experiences of the Kashmiri people. The three selected anthologies will aid in knowing the multiple perspectives and varied experiences of the Kashmiri victims with the aid of the theoretical lens of Üngör and Anderson where they discuss the basic terminologies and key debates regarding perpetrator studies.

Moreover, the study defines the life experiences of the Kashmiris written in small narratives in the genre of petite memoirs which is a budding genre. Only a handful of petite memoirs have been published in the market. The petite memoirs challenge the grand narratives set by the perpetrators of Kashmir.

Most importantly, the present study would be an extension of the research “Questioning Idées Reçues: A Study of Interpellative Strategies and Environmental Ethics in Basharat Peer and Ghada Karmi’s Memoirs” (2020), now extended into a book entitled *Environmental Ethics: Life Narratives from Kashmir & Palestine* by Rabia Aamir. This study would further explore the ideologies and motivations behind the suppression of Kashmir.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

The current research would be focusing on three selected books that are *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings From Kashmir* by Fahad Shah, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* by Sanjay Kak, *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* by Suvir Kaul for tracing the Perpetrators and their act of perpetration that has affected the lives of Kashmiri people. There could be various factors responsible for the current tormented situation of Kashmir, but in this study, the main focus will be on Indian perpetrators and their perpetration strategies.

The Perpetrator studies has many aspects to talk about, however, this research will only discuss the Key concepts and levels of perpetrators proposed by Üngör and Anderson in the anthology *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (2020).

1.7 Organization of the Study

The overall structure of this research is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction of the study which gives a detailed history of the conflict of Kashmir. It introduces the three selected non-fiction texts that are undertaken in this study to comprehend the Kashmir conflict along with the theoretical lens adopted for this study. This section also includes the thesis statement, research questions, aim and objectives, delimitation, and the significance of the research.

The second chapter is of literature review. This chapter analyses books, essays, and previous research articles that are carried out to study the Kashmir issue. It further contains the insights of theorists other than Üngör and Anderson regarding perpetrator studies. It also delves into studying the research that has been conducted keeping in view the perpetrators or main factors responsible for the Kashmir dispute. The third chapter is about research methodology. It discusses the research method and primary sources of information along with a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework introduces the levels of perpetration that would be applied to the three selected anthologies in the fourth chapter of the study. The fourth chapter is the analysis of the texts. In this chapter, the research questions would be answered with the help of the theoretical lens and the selected anthologies. .

The final chapter is the conclusion of the study. It concludes the study and draws the conclusions. It discusses how the research questions have been answered.

CHAPTER 2

PERPETRATION, RESISTANCE, AND AN ETERNAL TORMENT

“Kashmir can be won by Power of Spirit (love)... but not by power of sword (force)”. (Kalhana, qtd. in Sanskrit)

This section reviews all the previous literature related to the current study. It has been divided into four sections: The conflict of Kashmir, understanding the concept of perpetrators and perpetration, the wave of civil resistance in Kashmir, and perpetrators of Kashmir. Each section gives an extensive understanding of the research aims and objectives along with validating the main concerns of the research.

2.1 The Conflict in Kashmir

In this section, I provide different research approaches to understanding the conflict in Kashmir. It embodies the lenses of various research scholars regarding the Kashmir dispute.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir enjoys geographically a very crucial location since it has borders with China and Afghanistan. According to the Indian Scholar Dr. H. L. Saxena, in the backdrop of the Kashmir dispute lies the strategic interest of Britain as it wanted to sustain its interests still after the division of British India. Whatever happened in the time period of 1846 to 1947 was actually a result of this strategic policy. The British actually wanted control over the Gilgit Agency. Therefore, Dr. Saxena claims that the communal riots of 1931 in Srinagar were a deliberate act of the Indian government to destabilize the state of Jammu and Kashmir in order to pressurize Maharaja Hari Singh to hand over the Gilgit region to the British for a long period. Dr. Saxena further adds that Mountbatten did not want the accession of the Gilgit region to Jammu and Kashmir rather intended to make it a part of Pakistan, so that Britain could maintain the power in the outpost of Central Asia, Gilgit, even after leaving the Subcontinent (qtd. in Lamb 17). This could be a reason that Kashmir remains a disputed territory to date.

Kashmir has been facing political and social unrest for more than half a century. Many attempts have been made to bring peace to the region, but none have been successful so far. In the research article, “War Trauma, Collective Memory, and Cultural Productions in Conflict Zones: Kashmir in Focus” (2018), Samia Hanif and Inayat Ullah explore the trauma faced by Kashmiri people in the conflict zone. The political instability

and militarization have resulted in developing traumatic experiences for the Kashmiri people. The article has extracted pieces of evidence from Mirza Waheed's book *The Collaborator* (2011).

Hanif and Ullah state that after the 1990s, the Kashmiri young boys joined militancy to fight for their freedom since the Indian government has always been influential in creating chaos in Kashmir. The fictional narratives of Kashmir, in a way, portray the reality of Kashmir. Due to the continuous disputes in Kashmir, a number of people have lost their lives. According to Jong et al, almost 20, 000 people have lost their lives and 4000 Kashmiris have disappeared since the beginning of militancy in Kashmir.

Samia Hanif and Inayat Ullah have incorporated cultural trauma and collective trauma in their research to discuss the traumatic experiences of the Kashmiri people. Collective trauma refers to an overall emotional state while cultural trauma is an emotional as well as a cognitive state that is responsible for meaning-making. The focus of cultural trauma is on victims, perpetrators, and the relationship between them. The novel portrays how the perpetrators and the social actors put the responsibility on someone else's shoulders despite being responsible for it themselves. They have made Kashmiris the victims of kidnapping, mass graves, rape, and so on. *The Collaborator* (2011), though fictional work, brings the sheer realities of Kashmiri people through memory and the past. Therefore, Kashmiris are trying hard to escape these atrocious acts collectively. They are trying to establish an identity that is free of fear.

The research article of Samia Hanif and Inayat Ullah mainly focuses on the trauma and memory of the Kashmiri victims. However, the current study dives into the reasons and causes of the suffering and trauma of Kashmiris. Samia Hanif and Inayat Ullah have studied the conflict in Kashmir using fictional narratives while the present study examines the case of Kashmir through petite memoirs using the lens of perpetrator studies.

In his essay, "Afterword: Not Crushed, Merely Ignored," (2011) Tariq Ali says that the international media pays no attention to the atrocities in Kashmir. He states that in 2010, the Indian forces killed eleven young boys but none of the international news channels mentioned it. When people started protesting against the killing of youngsters, the Indian paramilitary forces, the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), fired tear gas canisters and murdered another seventeen-year-old protestor which was followed by curfews. The local NGO, International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir (IPTK) claims that fearing to damage its relations with

India, the institutions of the West stay quiet about the execution of extrajudicial killings and torture in Kashmir. It further adds that during the Indian military occupation from 1989 to 2009, the death toll exceeded 70,000 in Kashmir, and the Indian state continues to maintain a conflict zone in Indian-occupied Kashmir through its legal, political, and military actions (76).

Even the Indian public appears to be silent when it comes to Kashmir. Neither the world talks about Kashmir nor the people of Kashmir were ever allowed to voice themselves, and were denied a referendum in 1947. Moreover, Ali writes that the leadership of Kashmir is not sincere with its people. In Kashmir, the Abdullah dynasty prevails which is desperate to cooperate with New Delhi to benefit itself. The opposition of Mirwaiz Umar Farooq is engaged in getting aid from both Pakistan and India for itself, hence, the lack of a strong leadership makes it easy for India to manipulate Kashmiris. In 2008, when the Indian politicians were celebrating their independence day, a large number of Kashmiris started a civil disobedience act and marched to the UN office in Srinagar chanting slogans of “azadi” and requesting India to leave. This march too was ignored, and it bore no fruit. Today, a new generation of Kashmiris is involved in protests with stones as their only weapons and a number of them have lost the fear of death demanding independence for their land (Ali 78).

The essay of Tariq Ali validates the claim of the present study that Indian forces are trying hard to control the vale of Kashmir through violence and brutality. Because of the persistent violence, Kashmiris are resisting the intimidation of Indian forces.

In another essay, “The Militarized Zone,” (2011) Angana P. Chatterji, states that all aspects of life in India-governed Kashmir are under the influence of the Indian military. India was once a colony of Great Britain, but now it has made Kashmir its colony. India perceives the demand of Kashmiris for freedom as a threat to its integrity.

Chatterji adds on that the resistance in the land of disputed Jammu and Kashmir has been observed since 1931 as it is evident from the uprising of 13 July and the creation of the All India Kashmir Committee. However, that phase of resistance took a new shape in October 1947 after the severe repression of the Indian government. From 1947 to 1987, non-violent local struggles for power and self-determination were witnessed in Kashmir. After the Cold War, Kashmir has been discussed under the discourse of “power politics.” The armed struggle started in 1988 in Kashmir which got intensified after the Gawakadal killing in January 1990 in Srinagar. The armed struggles dwindled in the years from 1994

to 2007 transforming into a new phase of resistance (Chatterji 59). Though, it is true that Kashmiris sought the help of Pakistan to get armed training in the late eighties and early nineties only because they wanted to get out of their subjugated status at any cost, so, for India, the resistance of Kashmiris is a Pakistan-sponsored act, and the locals are not deliberately involved in it. However, Indian officials are unwilling to understand that the resistance of Kashmiris is a response to the persistent subjugation. For Indian officials, this concept has no strong base. India as a post-colony is perpetrating violence in Kashmir via the use of disciplinary and genocidal techniques. The paramilitary, armed forces, police, and intelligence groups that are authorized to carry out violent acts use discipline as a tool of violence on the subjects. Discipline is maintained through punishment and surveillance to create fear and obedience in the valley. India handled the summer uprising of 2010 more violently when thousands of people across the valley protested for freedom. Various means, such as graffiti, poems, songs, prose, and comic strips, were used by the people to resist India. In the summer of 2010, a fire was opened on protesting crowds as well as on funeral processions, children were tortured, and men were detained and abused without proof (Chatterji 60).

The above-mentioned essay unravels the fact that India is not concerned with the inhabitants of Kashmir and their demands. All it seeks is the land of Kashmir. Despite strongly claiming that Kashmir is its “Atoot Ang,” it treats the residents of the valley as enemies and does not hesitate to perpetrate violence in the region whenever it needs to silence the voices of the people. My research looks into the perpetration factor in detail.

The research article, “Kashmir Conflict: Managing Perceptions and Building Bridges to Peace,” (2018) conducted by Ayjaz Wani over a period of two years regarding the perceptions of Kashmiri youth, looks into how these youth have lived in the violent times, about the Kashmir conflict. He collected data through field surveys about various topics such as governance and administration, Kashmiriat, the exodus of pundits, the responsibility of the media, Article 370, and post-2016 instability. According to this article, Kashmir has suffered various phases of conflict since 1989 when Kashmiris were both deprived and abandoned by New Delhi and this resulted in the birth of militancy in the region. The Kashmir conflict took a new phase after the murder of the leader of militant group Hizbul Mujahideen in 2016 which forced more young boys to join militancy.

Furthermore, Wani states that Muslims and Hindus lived together in peace for

ages, and this cultural milieu is termed kashmiriyat. The valley has lost harmony and peace among communities that shaped the Kashmiriyat (identity) of the valley since radicalization has taken root in it and still New Delhi views the Kashmir conflict as something triggered by Pakistan which is why New Delhi has failed to come up with strong policies to manage the state of Jammu and Kashmir. New Delhi only intervened either by pacifying the political leaders of Kashmir or using excessive force in the valley which led to bad governance and corruption. Jammu and Kashmir is one of the most corrupt states in India, and this has further widened the gap between the center and the youth. The focus of New Delhi should not be on the stone pelters, but rather on the perceptions and ideologies that are developing in the valley.

Wani further asserts that the Article 370 of the Indian constitution gives autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir. Being autonomous means that the state can handle challenges and weaknesses of governance itself, and the local government can take better decisions keeping the needs of people in notice. Kashmiris are of the opinion that autonomy can solve the issues of the state whereas the center believes that autonomy weakens the bond between the center and the local government, giving birth to secessionist ideas as Kashmiris are demanding separation. Unfortunately, several times, Article 370 has been violated by the center and local politicians to integrate the only Muslim-majority state of India with the other provinces. (And finally, we have seen the recent abrogation of Article 370 in 2019.)

The key findings of the research are that New Delhi needs to understand the difference between “conflict in Kashmir” and “conflict over Kashmir” because the solution of the first can lead to the resolution of the second. The chaos in Kashmir since 2008 is an outcome of weak governance, and this has made the Kashmiri youth feel betrayed and unwanted in India. In addition, the prominent reasons for radicalization are militarization, the Public Safety Act (PSA), and delinquent army men.

The above research is based on field surveys and Wani has recorded opinions of the youngsters of Kashmir about the Kashmir dispute. The above article helps us to know how the young people of Kashmir perceive the Kashmir conflict. This could help to take a closer look at the Kashmir conflict, however, the current study deviates in the sense that it analyses the perpetrators of Kashmir by studying the memoirs written by people of all age groups. The current study is more focused on why the perpetrators of Kashmir are delaying conflict resolution and letting people suffer.

In addition, Mohammad Haris and Farid Bin Masood conducted research titled “Legal Review of Kashmir Conflict: Approach to Resolution Through Rawl’s Theory of Justice,” (2021) aiming to illustrate the legal claims of India and Pakistan regarding Kashmir while examining the historical events that led to Kashmir conflict. This research also focuses on positing a solution to the Kashmir dispute since both India and Pakistan are nuclear states, therefore, it is very necessary to reach a solution for the prevalence of peace and stability. According to Haris and Masood, India’s intention to frame a constitution and a constituent assembly for Kashmir has been a danger to the Kashmir conflict whereas Pakistan’s early associations with the US have also been proved to have resulted in delaying the Kashmir conflict. There was a little hope that international law would solve the conflict, but it has also failed in solving it. This research article claims that either the doctrine of self-determination, the Simla Agreement, the UN measures, or interstate cooperation can be used to resolve the Kashmir issue.

This study uses Rawl’s theory to resolve the conflict in Kashmir. Rawl states that justice is the basic structure of a society and in light of Rawl’s theory of justice, the uprising in Kashmir is a result of inequality, denial of rights, and injustice. Secondly, Kashmir is claimed by both India and Pakistan, and this has neglected Kashmir’s right to self-determination. Therefore, establishing equality and justice in Indian-occupied Kashmir can lead to solving the conflict and Kashmiris should be given the right to self-determination. Another way to resolve the Kashmir conflict, according to Rawlsian theory, is cooperation. Both India and Pakistan should put aside their claims on Kashmir and reach a bilateral settlement.

The above article elaborates on the historical events that led to the Kashmir dispute, and it also suggests ways to resolve the conflict. The above article does not review any particular books about the Kashmir conflict; however, the present study would be analyzing three non-fiction books to understand the claims and experiences of Kashmiris in the most militarized zone.

2.2 Understanding the Concept of Perpetrators and Perpetration

In this section, I have incorporated the concepts related to perpetrators and perpetration other than the lens provided by Ungor and Anderson. I would use Holocaust as an example to elaborate on the perpetration of whole states and racial groups in order to understand the perpetrators of Kashmir.

Stefan Kühl, in his essay, “Ordinary Organizations: A Systems Theory Approach

to Perpetrator Studies,” (2020) asserts that in the context of modern society, the members of the state organizations of force are responsible for the majority of the genocides. The state organizations of force comprise the army, police, or militia that either use force or threat of force to enforce state decisions. The state organizations of force can easily legitimize their actions. Weber suggests that bureaucratic mechanisms work as machines with their sense of clarity, persistence, efficiency, and strict subordination, and genocide is considered a product of bureaucratic mechanisms that are used for executing genocide.

In this mode of interpretation, genocide includes the involvement of concepts such as “optimal use of resources” and a “diligent and professional approach.” Due to the demarcation of labor, the “desk murderer” views the victims as a “depersonalized” entity, and “a column of numbers” (Kühl 37). According to Kühl, genocide is a phenomenon of modernity. Zygmunt Bauman said that the Holocaust was a “code of modernity” that was carried out to gain perfection. Modernity aims at sustaining a better, more efficient, and executive world, hence, the massacre of Jews was carried out to enact this belief (qtd. in Kühl 37).

In today’s society, genocide can be explained as a “bureaucratically planned” and “industrially executed...administrative mass murder” (qtd. in Kühl 38). The Holocaust is a vivid representation of this dimension of understanding where a massive number of people was murdered in “death factories” as Wolfgang Sofsky terms it (qtd. in Kühl 38).

Approximately one million perpetrators were involved in the atrocities against Jews in the first half of the twentieth century. When states act as perpetrators, several issues regarding responsibility, guilt, and agency are generated. State-committed atrocities cannot be paralleled by individualized motivations. In the case of the crimes committed by the Nazis, some were actually the drives or masterminds of the perpetration, many joined out of keen interests while others were driven by fear of harmful results of refusing to join the campaign or peer pressure. The focus of perpetrator studies is on two things: one is the focus on the main architects, the drivers of Nazi perpetration and the other includes those who are directly involved in the physical violence. The two of these groups were responsible for the genocide of Jews (Fulbrook 26).

Jessica Wolfendale, in her essay, “The Making of a Torturer” (2020), states that it is a paradox for those liberal democracies that perpetrate torture because they claim to be the protectors of human rights. Such democracies cover their actions of torture as the

motivations of individuals ignited by moral values. This individual perpetration of torture is then used as a moral framework by the policymakers, the public, and torturers to veil the institutional motifs of torture. This interaction between the moral framework of torture and individualized torture shapes the narrative of democratic torture (qtd. in Wolfendale 84) In his essay “Perpetrators and Perpetration in Literature” (2020), Stephanie Bird states that there has been an immense addition to perpetrator literature in the 1990s, and the various genres that perpetrator literature incorporates are family memoirs, historical novels, crime novels, fictional autobiography, and comedy, etc. There are certain texts that incorporate perpetrators though not clearly claiming to be a part of perpetrator literature. Such literary works, according to Imre Kertész’s, make us better comprehend the concept of perpetrators and also question the moral responsibility of perpetrators and the relationship between their good intentions and optimistic self-image, and their violent actions. They also challenge identifying the use of language and their mode of representation to create and disintegrate the identity of the perpetrator. For instance, Imre Kertész’s is a survivor of the concentration camp, his writings reflect a victim’s narrative, yet his texts portray complicated and infuriating details of perpetrators, their ideology, and their moral responsibility for their brutal acts (Bird 302).

According to Stephanie Bird, there has also emerged such literature that has voiced the perspectives of the perpetrators. The representation of perpetrators’ ideologies and subjectivity gives birth to anxiety even scandal. In his 1946 monologue, “Deutsches Requiem,” Jorge Luis Borges “created the ideal Nazi.” The character of the Nazi Otto Dietrich zur Linde illustrates that he does not regret his involvement in the murder of Jews, nor does he want to be executed for that rather he wishes to be understood. Borges said that Nazism was basically a “moral act” and Hitler was actually “fighting for all nations” (301).

Hence, it can be deduced that state-sponsored perpetration is well-organized and various institutions are involved in executing the plans of the state. The act of perpetration is always planned by certain masterminds at the macro-level who then instruct their subordinates. In the case of the Holocaust, Nazis perpetrated the murder of Jews in order to enact their ideologies.

2.3 The Wave of Civil Resistance in Kashmir

The prolonged cruelties and heavy militarization have taught the people of Kashmir the art of resistance. The years of living in marginalization and subjugation brought the

yearning for freedom and liberty. Anirudh Kala et al. wrote a report “Kashmiri Civil Disobedience: A Citizens’ Report” (2019) to reveal how Kashmiris resisted after the abrogation of article 370 and 35 A of Indian constitution on August 5, 2019. They argue that after being “rejected and betrayed by the Indian State” the Kashmiri residents have responded through “largely non-violent protests” (6). Most Kashmiris voluntarily keep their shops and offices closed just to demonstrate an act of resistance against the Indian State.

This report further states that a large group of journalists from Kashmir mentioned that they are “in a spontaneous, self-driven lockdown and this is their silent resistance” (Kala et al 10). After the abrogation of Article 370, the Kashmiris switched their usual means of protest. They gathered on the streets for a few days along with the sporadic stone-pelting, but what was not projected by the media was the collective decision to shut businesses and shops without any leadership as a sign of resistance.

The content of this report aligns with the argument of the current study which states that perpetration of the violation of the rights of Kashmiris has compelled them to resist. However, it portrays just one phase of resistance in Kashmir. On the contrary, the current study focuses on the wave of resistance that has persisted over the last three decades. It studies some petite memoirs to know the various modes of resistance adopted by Kashmiris on different occasions.

The participation of women has also played a significant role in the resistance of Kashmir. Izzat Razia and Saqib Ur Rehman in their research article “Resistance of Women against Indian Illegal Occupation of Jammu and Kashmir: Their Invisibility during Peace Negotiations” (2022) study the role of women in Kashmir’s resistance via the theoretical lens of Feminist Security Studies. It mentions that the female Kashmiri freedom fighters have actively participated in “protests, rallies, marches, and sit-ins” (1). To demand their basic right of self-determination, “Kashmiri women have now shouldered with men and remained at the forefront” (1). They have led the freedom movements, participated in processions, and “raised anti-India slogans under the banner of Dukhtaran-e-eMilat and Muslim Khawateen that have even outnumbered men at times” (1).

It should not be forgotten that in Indian-occupied Kashmir, women are the “worst hit of the conflict” (Razia and Rehman 2). They have been victims of rape and unbearable violence along with managing their survival after the forced disappearance or killing of

the male family members. Though women from Kashmir have been showcased as victims of violence, their contributions to resistance have remained underrated. The women of Kashmir have not been included in the “dialogue process.” Their approaches and views are not given consideration in “conflict related discourse” (Razia and Rehman 2).

The above study specifically focuses on the role of women in Kashmir’s civil resistance and how their participation has been devalued. However, the present study has undertaken both the perpetrators of Kashmir and its civil resistance. It aims at discovering how the perpetration against a particular social group can create civil resistance.

2.4 Perpetrators of Kashmir

This section summarizes several types of research on Kashmir that directly or indirectly discuss the perpetrators of Kashmir. The research summarized in this section will help us understand the main actors that perpetrate violence in Kashmir.

In the article, “Kashmir and International Justice” in the book *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2015), Shubh Mathur explains how the Kashmiris are trying to bring their perpetrators to justice. The twenty-five years of heavy militarization in Kashmir has resulted in various human rights abuses, however, the India state instead of taking legal actions against the perpetrators is honoring them with rewards for counterinsurgency. The variety and intensity of violence against civilians in Kashmir by military qualifies the “legal definitions of crimes against humanity” (Mathur 135).

In a report, “Alleged Perpetrators: Stories of Impunity in J&K,” reveals high-ranked police and army officers responsible for crimes in Kashmir who have not yet been sued for their brutal acts. The delay in implementing justice in Jammu and Kashmir is both intentional and systematic. The failure to implement justice in Kashmir is a success story for its perpetrators.

In the article, Mathur highlights the actors and reasons because of which Kashmir is not free to dwell in peace. Mathur’s insights help in understanding the delays in peace-making processes in Kashmir as the present study attempts to trace the perpetrators. In order to unravel the perpetrators of Kashmir, it employs the lens of perpetrator studies, in particular, to find the perpetrators of Kashmir in the petite memoirs from Kashmir.

In her research article, “Impasse of Kashmir and Recurring Pretexts: A Historiographical Analysis” (2020), Rabia Aamir calls for a historically informed

environmental justice or eco-postcolonial ethic keeping in view the devastating situation of the Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir. According to her article, the Kashmiri people have been the victims of violence since the partition of British India and even before it. Eco-postcolonial ethic is the necessity to comprehend the resistance against the colonizing forces in this age of post-colonialism. Aamir gives a few recommendations to bring the land of Kashmir out of chaos and violence. These recommendations include taking strict actions to combat the present condition of Kashmir since Kashmir has been an example of the present-day Holocaust. She avers: “It is time for a clear declaration of the environmental ethic of this postcolonial region for a sustainable and peaceful future of not only this region but the world at large” (Aamir 22). The level of military violence in the land needs international justice.

Though her study discusses the ideological and repressive state apparatuses responsible for the horrendous state of present-day Kashmir, the present study uses the lens of perpetrator studies to examine the conflict of Kashmir. The present study builds upon this dimension of studying the hegemonic features in the light of perpetrator studies in real-life experiences of the Kashmiris that are portrayed in the three Kashmiri anthologies selected for my research.

The Kashmiri journalist Gowher Geelani argues how the conflict of Kashmir has been neglected by the international society in his article “Kashmir: the forgotten conflict.” (2014). Geelani also discusses major historical facts citing his own personal experiences. He argues that India portrays Kashmir as a land at peace internationally while playing a major role in turning Kashmir into South Asia’s Palestine. “Atrocities like the Holocaust are quite rightly memorialized for their horror, the world ignores the Kashmir conflict despite its 80,000 dead, 6,000 mass and unmarked graves, and thousands of disappeared youth— post resistance of 1989” (Geelani 1). In every province, there are a number of martyrs’ graveyards, but the Indian government does not allow “any memorials to honor the victims of the state-sponsored oppression and terror” (Geelani 2). In a world where economic and business decisions are made carefully, human rights get no specific concern.

Geelani adds that in the Indian-occupied Kashmir, strong distress and resentment are expressed against the Indian administration. In the year 1989, the Kashmiris protested against the Indian rule. The author says that his childhood memories comprise school picnics, freedom songs, crackdowns, and murders. This must be the case with every

Kashmiri. Their past is a mix of trauma and glimpses of hope. The land of Kashmir once famous for its stupendous natural beauty now has become home to fear and uncertainty. Geelani further says, “Kashmir may not have either the Berlin-style memorials or the Anne Frank-type diaries, but its dead will speak from unmarked and marked graves” (8). Kashmir is a much-changed realm after the incident of 1989.

Geelani also targets the Indian forces as the main cause of chaos in Kashmir. He cites historical facts and personal experience to defend his arguments. In the same vein, the present study uses the lens of perpetrator studies in particular to study the case of Kashmir. It examines the petite memoirs presented in the selected Kashmiri anthologies and views them through the theoretical framework put forward by Üngör and Anderson.

Hence, keeping in view the above-reviewed literature, the present study focuses on the reasons and dominant ideologies that are the main causes for the chaotic situation of present-day Kashmir. The present study targets the perpetrators of Kashmir, and their perpetration strategies from the perspective of Uğur Ümit Üngör and Kjell Anderson’s essay, “From Perpetrators to Perpetration: Definitions, Typologies, and Processes.” The study will cite vast textual pieces of evidence from the petite memoirs of the three selected Kashmiri anthologies: *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir* (2013) by Fahad Shah, *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2011) by Sanjay Kak, *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017) by Suvir Kaul to validate its arguments. The anthologies undertaken in this research have not been studied from the perspective of perpetrator studies.

This research tries to bring the perpetrators of Kashmir into focus. The study uses the facts proposed by Üngör and Anderson to identify the perpetrators of Kashmir who are being treated as ordinary people despite their criminal acts. It would go from discussing who the perpetrators are to the motifs and motivations behind their acts of perpetration.

Moreover, this study is an extension of the study “Questioning Idées Reçues: A Study of Interpellative Strategies and Environmental Ethics in Basharat Peer and Ghada Karimi’s Memoirs” (2020), a PhD dissertation by Rabia Aamir. In her research, Aamir has recommended a further study of the three selected anthologies that have been undertaken in this present study. I would delve into the petite memoirs in the anthologies to add my contributions to the field of perpetrator studies and the Kashmir conflict.

CHAPTER 3

PERPETRATION AND POWERFUL UPROARS

This section incorporates a discussion on research methodology and method. It further discusses the concept of perpetrator studies and civil resistance along with the key factors that operate them. It specifically focuses on the basic terminologies and key points of perpetration proposed by Üngör and Anderson. It will also explore the hierarchical division of the perpetration process in detail. Along with the theoretical lens of perpetrator studies, it also consists of the main characteristic features of civil resistance proposed by Erica Chenoweth.

3.1 Research Methodology

The present study incorporates a textual analysis of some petite memoirs from the three selected anthologies; therefore, this fits the characteristic features of qualitative research. According to Catherine Belsey, textual analysis is an indispensable part of cultural criticism. English, Cultural history, cultural studies, or any such discipline that focuses on studying texts falls under the category of cultural criticism (165). To analyze the petite memoirs, the lens of perpetration and civil resistance has been employed. The anthologies adopted for this study were published in the last decade, and they embody recent non-fictional micro-narratives that are produced by Kashmiris after experiencing perpetration and severe marginalization.

The analysis chapter has been divided into three parts. The first section gives a short biography of the editors of the three anthologies along with a summary of the petite memoirs to which they have contributed. This helps in developing a relationship between the editors and the conflict in Kashmir.

The second part of the analysis is called “perpetration and unbearable violence.” In this, I have discussed the three levels of the perpetration process: macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level proposed by Uğur Ümit Üngör and Kjell Anderson. It also discusses the various forms of violence these perpetrators are perpetrating stating examples from the petite memoirs. This helps me in developing a picture of the various perpetration strategies that are undertaken in Kashmir. In the last part of the analysis which is named “resistance and the call for Azadi”, the resistance of Kashmir has been defined as civil resistance using the theoretical lens of Erica Chenoweth. It extracts the diverse methods of resistance from the petite memoirs that the Kashmiri people have adopted to achieve “azadi” for themselves. This section is further divided into three parts based on the

methods of resistance used. It brings into light the participation of people in civil resistance according to their own creativity or immediate needs.

3.2 From Perpetrators to Perpetration

A perpetrator is usually defined “as any individual who contributes directly and substantially to genocide (or other mass atrocities)” (Üngör and Anderson 7). According to the definitions of genocide in “Genocide Convention and Rome Statute” the perpetrators, involved in genocide have the intention to destroy a particular group. However, in some cases, the individuals who participate directly in genocide may lack this intention (Üngör and Anderson 7). The definitions of perpetrators also focus on defining the indirect perpetrators: those who do not take “collective responsibility” but do play a huge role in the act of perpetration. Perpetrators are involved in diverse actions with multiple motivations. In the words of Üngör and Anderson, “high-level perpetrators, such as leaders, often do not “get their hands dirty through direct perpetration” (8). The farther people stay away from atrocities, the more likely they are not to be recognized as perpetrators. Indirect perpetrators are those who play their roles in planning and ordering the execution of atrocities.

Different types of atrocities are associated with various types of perpetrators and perpetration. According to Üngör and Anderson, “perpetrators of genocide, for example, can range from Nazi bureaucrats to Rwandan farmers to (arguably) teachers in Canadian residential schools” (8). The categories of perpetrators are very crucial for social, legal, and historical analysis. The advent of perpetrator studies has questioned the definitions of perpetrators as relating to a fixed social group and having static boundaries. It is very essential to study genocide by clearly distinguishing between the agents and the victims. The perpetrators along with their motives and intentions need to be defined and identified.

Genocide refers to mass killings, controlling births, or any act that helps in the occurrence of the crime. However, “perpetrators often go beyond mere killing to act with entrepreneurial cruelty: their victims are humiliated, dehumanized, and tormented as part of the destruction of the victim group” (Üngör and Anderson 8). This “excessive” cruelty does not occur as something incidental rather it is a part of the very nature of the atrocious act of destroying a racial, religious, national, or ethnic group. The act of destroying a whole social group must embody strong and vivid ideological motivations of the perpetrators. Certain questions such as who are the victims? What is their fundamental essence? and what kind of people perpetrate these acts of extreme cruelty? need to be

answered when carrying out the atrocious act of genocide.

In addition, the notion that criminals differ from ordinary people goes back to Cesare Lombroso and to the origins of criminology (1891). Criminologists have come up with in-depth explanations of criminal behavior. Their arguments could be grouped into two categories: one believes that criminal behavior is inborn (nature) and the other claims that criminal behavior is learned (nurture). As Üngör and Anderson argue: “some individuals may have inborn characteristics that predispose them to criminal behavior, but most individuals will not become criminals without an element of socialization” (7). The main point of concern here is how much the explanations of criminal behavior are applicable to the perpetrators who are involved in genocide where the act of perpetration is “systematic, politicized, and generally endorsed by legitimate authorities” (Üngör and Anderson 9). Many perceptions of criminology are challenged because of the nature of genocide as a state crime. Criminologists believe that the criminals and crimes are deviant acts whereas the perpetrators are themselves deviant. The prominent perpetrators and their representatives are always villainous in nature, but the perpetrators are still recognized as non-deviant and ordinary individuals in society. This vivid paradox is a major concern of debate in perpetrator studies.

The current scholarships on perpetrator studies argue that the perpetrators are involved in the act of perpetration for a number of reasons. Üngör and Anderson state that “perpetrators perpetrate for a variety of reasons, and their acts of perpetration are often contingent rather than rooted in enduring circumstances or personal characteristics” (9). Zimbardo said that according to the social psychological experiments including the Stanford Prison Experiment, the “power of the situation” is more important than the pathology of individuals (Üngör and Anderson 9). Due to the great variety of perpetrators, the researchers have categorized perpetrators into various groups. The typologies of perpetrators are created on the basis of motivations and characteristics. The typologies of perpetrators put emphasis on the perpetrators’ motives and motivations that include economic gain, conformism, sadism, fear, or ideological commitment.

On one hand, the group of individuals who perform the act of perpetration against civilians is termed as perpetrators; while on the other hand, perpetration is the “process of collective commission of mass violence” (Üngör and Anderson 10). Perpetration is, in fact, a socio-ecological model consisting of three different analytical levels: top-level (architects), mid-level (organizers), and bottom-level (killers). This grouping develops a power relation between the perpetrators and victims, and also in the group of perpetrators.

The top level of the perpetrator group guides the lower levels. Without the involvement and guidance of the macro-level political elites, the act of perpetration would not be carried out by the mid-level and lower-level perpetrators who are involved in mass killings.

Since this study uses Üngör and Anderson's theorization about the different aspects of perpetration to analyze the texts of the selected anthologies, the following sub-sections elaborate upon the three main processes of perpetrator studies as introduced by Üngör and Anderson in their article "From Perpetrators to Perpetration: Definitions, Typologies, and Processes."

3.2.1 Macro-level Perpetration Process

The macro-level is the structural and contextual political group of a state which is responsible for taking the decision to initiate genocide. Power and ideology are the key factors that operate perpetration at the macro level. When trying to comprehend an event where violence was witnessed within a state, it is very necessary to know how the political elites of the state used the different state apparatuses of coercion such as police, army, militia, etc. The political elites who are seduced by excessive power could conduct perpetration with or without the agreement of political and social groups in the society.

The totalitarian, dictatorial, and authoritarian regimes perpetrate against civilians and go nearly unquestioned for their acts. The authorities guided by extreme ideologies such as "Communism, Nazism, Fascism, and ethnic nationalism" (Üngör and Anderson 11) are the cause of mass violence. The top-level perpetrators are guided by extreme ideologies. The two most crucial sub-topics that relate to power and ideology in the macro-level perpetration process are "polarization and out-grouping" (Üngör and Anderson 11). The polarization of the political elites is the main cause of lower-level violence. As Rapoport and Weinberg state, "whether we are dealing with an authoritarian state or a democratic one, the polarization of political elites, under specific conditions, often boils over into violence" (Üngör and Anderson 12). The polarization of the Rwandan political landscape (1990-1994) or the Serbian and Croatian political elites (1991) are valid examples of political polarization. In the words of Üngör and Anderson, "as crisis struck these societies, it sparked the deterioration of relations between antagonistic political parties, which carried especially deadly potential because politics was ethnically polarized" (12). The political elites of one political party consider the leaders of the opposition political party as security threats. Hence, one political party

perpetrates to cleanse the members of the opposite political party by arrests, detentions, and murder. These violent acts are the main characteristics of the macro-level perpetration process.

In addition, the political polarization at the macro-level spreads quickly to the micro-level. The citizens also start to form in-groups and out-groups considering themselves an important part of the bigger conflict. The in-groups are formed under “serious intra-state and inter-state pressures creating identity crises. During these crises, internal groups could be equated with external enemies blaming them for being disloyal because they show certain religious, ethnic, or political similarities to the external agents. The second focus here is on “identity politics, especially on how collective identity entrepreneurs can purposefully construct an out-group as a dangerous, treacherous, deeply alien, and ultimately dehumanized enemy” (Üngör and Anderson 12). For instance, when the Nazis came to power, they out-grouped the German Jews. Once such conditions are fulfilled, the perpetration moves from the pre-genocidal stage to the genocidal phase.

3.2.2 Meso-level Perpetration Processes

The political and administrative leaders who “divide labor and organize the machinery of killing” fall under the category of meso-level perpetration process. The meso-level perpetration process is responsible for the “deadly outcomes.” The meso-level perpetrator process “refers to the perpetrating agencies, including the culture and practice of organizing mass murder” (Üngör and Anderson 14). This level connects the macro-level with the micro-level perpetration process, and it converts the dynamics of the macro-level perpetration process into a “society by various political actors and groups” (Üngör and Anderson 14). There has been very less discovered about the meso-level perpetration process since most of the research focuses on the micro-level perpetrators who kill civilians directly. Most of the definitions of perpetrators are focused on the micro-level perpetration process; for instance, according to Scott Straus, “perpetrators are those who directly killed or assaulted civilians and those who participated in groups that killed or assaulted civilians” (Üngör and Anderson 14). The meso-level perpetration process transforms the plans of the macro-level perpetration process into micro-level destruction.

Üngör and Anderson state, “perpetration of mass violence is co-produced by a vast network of collaborating ministry officials, military officers, government functionaries, gatekeepers and caretakers, committees, civil servants, police commissars,

career diplomats, party bosses, provincial judges, and many others” (15). The macro-level perpetrators are well aware that they need these agents to carry out their plans and required tasks. The shift from the pre-genocidal stage to the genocidal stage introduces two processes in the meso-level perpetration process. One is a practical organization and the other is a regional organization. According to Üngör and Anderson, “the organization of perpetration requires a clear, functional, and effective division of labor between the state’s civil service system and its military industry—but also between the military and paramilitary actors in the state” (16). The act of perpetration is often carried out by the well-equipped and specialized forces such as the paramilitary forces. As Üngör and Anderson say, “paramilitarism, refers to clandestine, irregular armed organizations that carry out acts of violence against clearly defined civilian individuals or groups” (16). In the twentieth century, paramilitarism has been highly responsible for the mass violence and violation of human rights. The state hires the forces of paramilitarism to carry out the act of violence and murder.

3.2.3 Micro-level Perpetration Processes

This is the lowest phase of the perpetration process. It refers to the individuals who are involved in the genocide directly. The micro-level motivations are often “immediate and situational,” and are not “rooted in grand political projects.” While considering the role of ideology, one must focus on the fact that how much certain ideological beliefs are crucial for individual perpetrators. The violence that individual perpetrators commit occurs for a number of reasons such as “self-interest, perceived marginalization, and fear.” The main force responsible for the transformation of social order is fear. Fear is created by associating dangerous characteristics with the victim groups. The propaganda that spreads through the micro-level can alter the individual worldviews, and it can also transfer the expectations from the macro-level to the individual perpetrator. At the micro-level perpetration, different motivations come together to carry out the atrocious act of genocide. The most important question here is how different interests align with or diverge from the collective policies (Üngör and Anderson17).

The work of Browning, *Ordinary Men* (1992), shows that the micro-level perpetrators do not accept the orders uniformly. Instead, the individuals work in contexts of limited information, often interpreting orders and exhortations in ways that advance their own interests. The prominent trait of the micro-level perpetration process is the

desensitization of the perpetrators and the dehumanization of the victims by the perpetrators. These diverging characteristics produce social distance for genocide. The perpetrators become insensitive through the gradual habituation of violence. James Waller names it as escalating commitments. In the words of Anderson, ‘perpetration is “facilitated by perpetrator habituation, positive reinforcement, and other coping mechanisms” (qtd. in Üngör and Anderson 19). The perpetrators reshape their behavior during and after perpetration in ways that lessen the moral wrongfulness of their acts.

3.3 Civil Resistance

Erica Chenoweth in his book *Civil Resistance: What Everybody Needs to Know* (2021), states that civil resistance is an organized non-violent mass movement that threatens the political, social, and economic status quo. The term “Civil Resistance” was first introduced by Mohandas Gandhi during his struggle against British colonizers. Civil resistance is actually “a method of active conflict” in which unarmed people employ various “coordinated, non-institutional methods” such as strikes, protests, demonstrations, boycotts, alternative institution building, and many other tactics—to promote change without harming or threatening to harm an opponent” (Chenoweth 2). The term “civil” is derived from the Latin word “civis” which means citizen. However, in contemporary usage, it is more associated with a “sense of public responsibility in which people collectively assert their rights and needs on behalf of their communities,” and the word “resistance” is derived from the Latin word “resistere.” The etymology of this word is further divided into a derivative “sistere.” It is, in fact, a stronger version of the word stare meaning “to stand”, and the prefix re adds intensity to it. Hence, via civil resistance people from all spheres of life come together for a common cause and “demand justice and accountability” with great “intensity and strength” (Chenoweth 2).

However, some of the civil resistance methods are extremely “disruptive and often confrontational” such as intentionally crowding cells of the jail or denying emptying official places. Such people and institutions which confront “nonviolent mobilization” feel highly threatened and their “power, status, and comfort” are endangered. This compels them to react violently to suppress the dissenters employing various techniques such as “arrests, imprisonment, targeted killings, torture, and other forms of coercion” (Chenoweth 2). The ones that do not use violence to resist prepare themselves for violence from their opponents. Nonviolent dissidents refrain from using violence since violence is less effective than “these other tactics against entrenched armed power”

(Chenoweth 2).

To better comprehend civil resistance, it is crucial to scrutinize each element of the definition of civil resistance.

Firstly, civil resistance is a “method of conflict” meaning that it is an active and aggressive way to “assert political, social, economic, or moral claims.” In fact, civil resistance encourages conflict that creates chaos and gathers power to change the status quo. It is referred to as “fighting back” when citizens believe powerful people, organizations or political systems have mistreated them, and develop “new systems that address underlying injustices” (Chenoweth 3). Civil resistance is considered “an antidote” to “passivity and apathy” (Chenoweth 3).

The second element is that civil resistance is carried out by “unarmed civilians without directly harming the opponent.” The people demanding change are ordinary people who are armed with their own “creativity and ingenuity” besides equipping themselves with “various sources of social, economic, cultural, and political leverage” aiming to influence their societies and communities. In addition, civil resistance can be nonviolent. Most experts and scholars believe that the “civil” element of civil resistance actually emphasizes nonviolent means of resistance and rejects armed or violent resistance. However, the “civil” does not mean “friendly, respectful, or polite” (Chenoweth 3). Scholars consider various acts such as rude gestures, shunning opponents, stigmatizing, and shaming as nonviolent and can create an impact on the opponents when they are used together with other methods.

The third element is that civil resistance “involves coordinating a diverse set of methods.” This act of resistance is “deliberate and premeditated” and intentionally employs a variety of methods such as protests, stay-aways, noncooperation, occupation, go-slows, or the “development of alternative economic, political, and social institutions, among others—to build power and leverage from below” (Chenoweth 3). The involvement of people in street protests does not mean they are engaged in civil resistance. Spontaneous and unplanned “street actions” that lack coordination of various “civic groups” are seldom effective in bringing long-term transformation. In fact, civil resistance is neither “spontaneous nor purely symbolic” rather it is a “protracted struggle with the same coordinated groups” including youth groups, religious institutions, civil, organizations, and unions that are working for the attainment of the same goal (Chenoweth 3).

The fourth element is that civil resistance involves “non-institutional actions.” Civil resistance is rather “disobedience” that acts “outside of existing institutions, laws, and larger systems” (Chenoweth 3) which are considered “unjust and illegitimate.” The main goal of civil resistance is to subvert or replace such unfair systems. The actions that do not comply with the official systems and fall under the tactics of civil resistance involve unauthorized marches, violating unjust laws, stopping work, tax denials, or capturing a politician’s office.

To add on, many civil resistance campaigns exhibit both “institutional and unauthorized action.” For instance, the US civil rights campaign undertook different forms of civil resistance such as mass demonstrations, intentional overloading of jails, marches, and silent processions, etc. besides various “traditional political methods” such as “issuing public statements, legal advocacy, lobbying the White House and congressional elites, and supporting antiracist candidates for public office” (Chenoweth 4). However, movements that are solely dependent on institutional actions do not fall into the category of civil resistance.

The last goal of civil resistance is to “affect the status quo.” Civil resistance aims to bring a “revolutionary change” in a broader society. It tends to have a “popular and civic quality” in which different groups and coalitions work together to put forward their arguments on social, political, economic, or religious “practices and concerns”. For example, black activists during the civil rights movement did not fight only for the rights of movement participants rather they spoke to sabotage the entire narratives of racism, white supremacy, and discrimination in the United States. Furthermore, In the Sudanese Revolution, in April 2019 the entire brutal regime of Omar al-Bashir was overthrown.

3.3.1 Role of Art and Music in Civil Resistance

Both artists and musicians play a pivotal role in civil resistance both by participating and “documenting and memorializing” the events that took place during “revolutionary times”. For example, street art is widely used to show resistance during civil resistance campaigns. Professional or amateur artists use graffiti, video projections, stickers, posters, tagging, etc. to project resistance. Street art displays “a strong social or political message in a way that comes across as transgressive and rebellious” (Chenoweth 40). Street art has the potential to forcefully communicate a movement’s claims, its authenticity, and the inability of the opponent to silence separatism. Moreover, some people employ creativity during revolutionary times to “document, record, and publicize”

different elements of revolutionary processes.

Musicians have actively participated in civil resistance to present their struggles mostly rooting their songs in “folk traditions” to project a sense of “unity and civic quality of action” (Chenoweth 43).

Soul artists such as Nina Simone, Sam Cooke, and Aretha Franklin created, performed, and popularized music focused around “Black Liberation” in the 1960s. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, rap and hip-hop music were used to express “political autonomy and cultural resistance” via “defiant lyrics and popular beats” (Chenoweth 43). Contemporary hip-hop and soul artists still continue to popularize music centered on Black Liberation in ways that instill solidarity, passion, and urgency in the listeners.

The liberation movement of Estonia from the Soviet Union is called the “Singing Revolution/” In the Baltic Revolution against the Soviet Union from 1987-1991, around two million people joined hands and formed a human chain singing local songs projecting a sense of national solidarity. Furthermore, in the time period of 1990-1991, Mali’s uprising against the dictatorship of Traoré showed the participation of “songsayers” who would go from village to village to make the people aware of the “ongoing protests.” Since people in the majority could not read, “oral “histories” were a dominating way to communicate the demand for democracy in Mali (Chenoweth 44).

In addition, singing diminishes fear among protesters who fear being attacked. Art and music play a role in showing loyalty and separatism. Very few actually expect that protest songs or street art could make a tremendous change but such art can empower the separatist narratives. Howard Zinn, an American Leftist historian, is quoted by Chenoweth “they have the guns, we have the poets. Therefore, we will win” (45).

3.2.3 Role of Women in Civil Resistance

Women have actively participated in civil resistance. They have been at the forefront of civil resistance movements. It has been observed that almost negligible civil resistance movements that excluded women have been successful since World War II. One of the reasons is that movements that exclude women cut themselves from half of the population (Chenoweth 98).

The participation of women either alongside men or independent of men helps to portray “the universal or apolitical nature of the grievances that the movement represents”

(Chenoweth 97). In Buenos Aires, Argentina, the mothers of disappeared children also named “Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo” projected universal claims against the “right-wing military junta” that disappeared people in thousands who were suspected of opposing the regime from 1976 to 1983 which was known as “Dirty War”. This group of mothers met every Thursday at Plaza De Mayo demanding to know the whereabouts of their children. Even though they could make themselves disappear, they protested for years, finally wearing white scarves to demonstrate peace “and deploying powerful moral claims as mothers to demand accountability and justice for their loved ones” (Chenoweth 97). The efforts of these women promoted courage among those who were fighting the dictatorship that eventually resulted in democracy in 1983. Mothers, sisters, and wives have demanded justice for the killing of their loved ones during war times from Bosnia to Sri Lanka to Liberia.

Secondly, the participation of women provides “a movement more social networks” that can be used to dissuade “those supporting the opponent to defect” (Chenoweth 96). The traditional gender roles enable women to know “where and how to buy or boycott certain products or producers” (Chenoweth 96). Moreover, they know what goods can help to sustain a strike for a longer duration.

Hence, employing the lens of perpetration studies and civil resistance, the petite memoirs are analyzed. These petite memoirs pose a threat to the grand narratives constructed by India regarding Kashmir. These theoretical frameworks help extract textual evidence of perpetration and resistance.

CHAPTER 4

STORIES OF TERROR AND RESISTANCE

This chapter begins with an overview of the three selected anthologies and an introduction to their respective editors. It introduces the selected narratives as petite memoirs written by various independent writers from Kashmir that are incorporated into the three selected anthologies. Further, this chapter answers all three research questions posed by the study. It uses the lens of perpetrator studies and civil resistance to trace evidence of perpetration and resistance in the petite memoirs. There are three subheadings; Introduction to the authors and overview of the primary texts, Perpetration and Unbearable Violence, and Resistance and the Call for Azadi. In the first subheading, information about the three selected anthologies along with the editors is provided. Under the second subheading, the concept of perpetration has been explored along with citing examples of the three levels of perpetration process from the selected petite memoirs. In the last part, the various methods of resistance have been discussed which the Kashmiris employ to resist perpetration at different levels.

4.1. Introduction to the Authors and Overview of Primary Texts

This section incorporates an introduction of all three selected anthologies and their respective authors. It will assist us in building a holistic understanding of the works in relation to the situation in Kashmir.

4.1.1. Fahad Shah and *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings From Kashmir* (2013)

Fahad Shah is a Kashmiri journalist and writer hailing from Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir. He studied journalism from the University of Kashmir, and then, in 2013 moved to the University of London to study critical media and cultural studies. He started his career as a journalist in 2009. He founded the magazine *The Kashmir Walla*. Initially, he made a personal blog in 2010 to write about the disturbances in Kashmir which later turned into his magazine *The Kashmir Walla* in 2011. It is recognized internationally for its credibility and courage. In an interview with *The Sunday Guardian* in 2011, Shah states about *The Kashmir Walla*: “[W]e wanted a breathing space, wherein the reality of Kashmir and the incidents that occur in the valley would get honestly reported” (“Author Interview” n.p.). Al-Jazeera regarded *The Kashmir Walla* as an “insider’s storybook of life in Kashmir” (“Fahad Shah: Indian Journalist” n.p.).

Shah's works have been published in *Tehelka*, *First Post*, *Socialist Worker*, *Hard news*, and *The Christian Science Monitor*. Because of his contribution to the field of journalism, he was selected as a finalist for the Manthan South Asia Award 2011. He was awarded with The Human Rights Press Award in 2021.

Shah has been warned several times by the security agencies of India for publishing news reports. After returning from a trip to Pakistan in 2017, Shah was kept in detention and was inquired by police. Security forces fired a teenage shell into the residence of Shah in 2018 according to witnesses. On February 4, 2022, Shah was arrested by the police of Jammu and Kashmir under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act for "glorifying terrorism" as claimed by the Indian authorities. He was under preventive detention from March until May which means that he can be incarcerated without charges for two years. Later on, he was jailed in Jammu away from his residence "centered on an eleven-year-old guest opinion Piece" under the "Unlawful Activities Prevention Act" (Newcomb n.p.). Shah's arrest is a validation that anti-media and anti-democratic forces are getting stronger.

Shah is the editor of the anthology *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir* (2013) which was listed by the *Hindustan Times* as one of the "most thought-provoking and intellectually satisfying books" of the year 2013 and was regarded as "a remarkable book" ("Fahad Shah: Indian Journalist" n.p.). The anthology *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writing from Kashmir* (2013) edited by Fahad Shah is a compilation of memoirs, essays, interview and articles from the magazine *The Kashmir Walla*. Shah included his essay "Kashmir: A Colony of India" and one of his interviews "Complete Apathy on the Part of Indian Civil Society" in the anthology.

In his essay "Kashmir: A Colony of India," Shah discusses that Kashmir is among the most militarized regions having six lac Indian troops and one lac policemen. Shah further adds that August 30 is the International Day of the Disappeared: a day for the people who have disappeared in conflict-ridden areas and is observed to recognize the fundamental human rights violation. In Kashmir, approximately 10,000 people have disappeared so far, and this has been validated by organizations such as Amnesty International. The military and paramilitary forces of India have deliberately taken the men away not to return them again. On August 30, 2012, the families of the disappeared gathered in a park in Srinagar to voice themselves. Young resistance artists joined the gathering to show the helplessness and void of the people through paintings and sketches.

According to Shah, the situation of Kashmir before 1947 and after 1947 is almost

the same. When the British abandoned Kashmir, India appeared as another colonizer. Indian forces arrest Muslim boys under fake cases, and try to wipe out residential areas to build buildings and dams. When the people of Kashmir protest against such brutal acts, India portrays it as a protest against the paucity of basic needs, such as water, electricity, and roads.

4.1.2 Suvir Kaul and *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017)

Suvir Kaul is a professor at the Department of English, University of Pennsylvania. He has published four books *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017), *Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (2009), *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2001), and *Thomas Gray and Literary Authority: Ideology and Poetics in Eighteenth-Century England* (1992).

The anthology *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017) contains essays, translations, and photographs. The essays provide us with personal experiences along with historical events that led to the deterioration of the valley of Kashmir. The first essay of the anthology titled “Visiting Kashmir, Re-learning Kashmir,” is an autobiography that reveals the identity politics of Kashmir. He has written this essay after his yearly visits to Kashmir. The essay shows a clear difference between life before the 90s and after the 90s in Kashmir. The second essay, “My Paradise is Burning... ” discusses the reasons for Kashmir dispute. It traces the history of Kashmir before partition to its chaotic situation today. The third essay “The Witness of Poetry,” illustrates how poetry has become a source of articulation of pain and protest in conflict-ridden Kashmir. Both the repressed Muslim and the exiled pundit narratives are portrayed through poetry. The last essay “Indian Empire,” portrays the rule of India in Kashmir and the desire of Kashmiris for freedom and self-determination. Along with essays, the book also contains translations of Kashmiri poetry (which is written after facing extraordinary violence) and a photo essay by Javed Dar. In the words of Michael Rothberg, author of *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (2009), "*Of Gardens and Graves* offers a new and necessary approach to political violence. Combining lucid historical, political, and literary analysis with stunning photographs by Javed Dar and a bilingual archive of Kashmiri poetry, Suvir Kaul’s book reveals how collective trauma permeates social life but also how artists and writers have responded creatively to catastrophe. Intensely focused on the conflict in Kashmir, Kaul nevertheless opens up

questions of global concern” (Rottberg n.p.)

4.1.3 Sanjay Kak and *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2011)

Sanjay Kak is an Indian author born in 1958. He is an activist and a filmmaker. Kak was born to a family of pandits whose ancestors were exiled from Kashmir. Kak makes documentaries and films and his works include *Punjab: Doosra Adhay* (1986) which is about the struggle in Punjab for Khalistan, *Pradakshina* about the river Ganges, *Angkor Remembered* (1990), and *This Land, My Land, England* (1993), etc.

The Book *Until My Freedom Has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (2011) brings the voices of intellectuals, journalists, and writers from Kashmir to the reader. The book shows a journey from hopelessness in unbearable violence to being courageous enough to rebel against it with any possible means. The ideas in this book revolve around the summer uprising of 2010 that marks a new phase of resistance in Kashmir. The author has also included one of his memoirs “What Are Kashmir’s Stone-palters Saying to Us?” in the anthology. In this essay, Kak describes his visit to Srinagar in 2003 and reveals how hard it is to live in a militarized zone. The intimidating presence of the army makes daily life very difficult in Kashmir. It also sheds light on the 2010 uprising in Kashmir. The people of Kashmir who protest for their right to freedom just end up in hospitals. In the struggle, many people have lost their lives and others are rendered maimed for a lifetime.

4.2 Perpetration and Unbearable Violence

Several petite memoirs in the selected anthologies for this study exhibit extremely gruesome episodes of violence and bloodshed, therefore, presenting a closer experience of the suffering of Kashmiris, hence, subverting the grand narratives constructed by the Indian state. “Mummy, the fire is at my heart” (qtd. in Kak Xii) are the last few words articulated by the twenty-four-year-old Fancy Jan as she was shot dead with a bullet fired by an anonymous policeman or a soldier. She was drawing the curtains to keep the smoke of the tear gas shells away at her home in Srinagar in July 2010. Sanjay Kak in the introduction “The Fire is at My Heart” mentions that the same year, sixteen-year-old Inayat Ahmed, thirteen-year-old Wamiq Farooq, and sixteen-year-old Zahid Farooq were shot dead. On July 10, 2010, seventeen-year-old Tufail Matoo’s skull was smashed with a tear gas shell on a playground. Mass protests erupted in response to his death; however, the security forces of India reacted to the protests killing more civilians. More than 120

civilians were killed that included mostly teenagers. This is just an excerpt from the ongoing narrative of violence and bloodshed in Kashmir. The young generation of Kashmir is victims of anonymous bullets leaving the families in an eternal torment. The military and paramilitary forces are engulfing a whole new generation of Kashmiris which is going to be its future tomorrow. The grim stories of bloodshed in Kashmir reflect severe subjugation and the violation of moral responsibility.

Violence has been a part of the lives of Kashmiri people. The military, paramilitary, and police forces which possess the moral responsibility to be the protectors and guardians of humanity are acting as micro-level perpetrators employing various violent strategies to maintain the Indian state's control over the region. According to Üngör and Anderson, perpetration is divided into three levels: top-level which includes the architects, mid-level which consists of the organizers and lower-level which consists of the killers. The high-level perpetrators instruct the mid-level and lower-level perpetrators who are involved in mass killings. In the case of Indian-occupied Kashmir, which the current study addresses, the architects of perpetration are the Indian political elites, the meso-level perpetrators are the bureaucrats, and administrative heads, and the lower-level perpetrators are the military, paramilitary, and police forces. The meso-level perpetrators and the micro-level perpetrators materialize the plans of the macro-level perpetrators.

4.2.1 Macro-level Perpetration Process

The macro-level perpetrators also known as the architects are responsible for instigating genocide. The two key factors that run the perpetration at macro-level are power and ideology (Üngör and Anderson 11). When violence is perpetrated within a state or against a particular state, it is very crucial to know the strategies that the macro-level perpetrators, in this case, the political elites, employ to use the state apparatuses such as police, army, militia, etc. to perpetrate violence in order to gain political benefits. In the case of Indian-occupied Kashmir, the Indian state is trying to construct the ideology that Kashmir is an integral part of India whereas India is completely apathetic to the sufferings of Kashmiris which it has caused via its military. Gautam Navlakha writes in his petite memoir, "The Matter of Truth, Lies and Manufacturing Consent in a Conflict Area," that the state of India has managed to develop a grand narrative that the resistance of Kashmiris is, in fact, a proxy war perpetrated by Pakistan. However, in reality, the Indian state's military targets innocent citizens of Kashmir. The literate Indians view Kashmir as a Muslim-majority state won by India in the war against Pakistan in 1947-48.

Indian army reinforces deceptive perceptions even through its policies. The reason for counterinsurgency, according to the “Doctrine of Sub-conventional Operation,” is that “...the military operations should aim firstly, at neutralizing all hostile elements in the conflict zone that oppose or retard the peace initiatives, and secondly, at transforming the will and attitudes of the people...” (OOAR 58). It further states that resisting the government will produce no solution, and it will rather hinder the coming of peace in the region. The transformation of ideologies and perceptions “of a people asks for brutal physical force and for the manipulation of their perceptions,” (OOAR 58), and the unfortunate fact is that the usage of force in Kashmir is legalized through power and authority. The police force which acts at the micro-level wields force to control the thoughts of people and tries to instill such ideologies that are backed by India. It is highly questionable that if Indian state considers Kashmir as its “atoot ang”, then why doesn’t it hesitate to perpetrate violence against its unarmed citizens? It is the moral responsibility of a state to protect and guard the basic rights of its citizens, but the imposition of laws like “Doctrine of Sub-conventional Operation” shows a cynical India.

One cannot imagine the majestic vale of Kashmir without military bunkers and barbed wires these days. The lush green mountains and the vivid sky that once reminded us of beauty, freedom, and kite-flying springs are now home to the intimidation and terror of Indian armed forces as expressed by Farrukh Faheem in his petite memoir “The Disobedient Spring.” In the memoir, the writer describes his childhood experiences of living under Indian rule. He further adds that the Indian forces try to alter the ideologies of the Kashmiris. The best platforms to inculcate certain ideologies into a nation are educational institutions where one can easily spoil a growing mind as done by India in the morning assembly at schools. The Kashmiri students are supposed to recite the pledge, “India is my country, and all Indians are my brothers and sisters.....” (OOAR 53). This shows how the Indian state is attempting to shape the core beliefs and perceptions of Kashmiris. It endeavors to instill its identity and national ideologies in the minds of Kashmiri youth and gradually relegates the core identities of Kashmiris.

In Kashmir, the thoughts of people are controlled along with their lives. Kashmiris cannot even participate in discussions and debates related to their current tormented situation. This shows that the people have got no voice and their opinions are suppressed. Along with the territory of Kashmir, the minds of people are also occupied. The process of thought control in Kashmir is evident from an incident of June 2011. Nayeema Ahmed Mahjoor, a London-based broadcaster from Kashmir, was charged by the police of

Jammu and Kashmir under Section 66 of the Information Technology Act for “inciting violence and spreading disinformation” (*OOAR* 59). Her mistake was that she raised her voice on Facebook asking “why did police kill this man in Lal Chowk?” Will the police not let people dwell in peace? (*OOAR* 59). This demonstrates a behavior that the Indian state will not let any such information to spread that is a threat to its global image of a “democratic state”. It is the fundamental right of citizens to have freedom of expression, however, Kashmiris are denied of this fundamental right. People are charged under various draconian laws when they ask for justice and accountability as happened with Nayeema Mahjoor (*OOAR* 59). The draconian laws are enough for the Indian state to perpetrate any kind of violence and then justify it. Such laws help in reinforcing the Indian mandate and agendas to legalize its perpetration strategies. Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) is a vivid example of such laws. Parvaiz Bukhari, in his petite memoir “Summers of Unrest; Challenging India” states that this law has given the right to micro-level perpetrators such as armed forces to search houses without warrants, Sabotage buildings, especially houses that are suspicious of raising rebels, and detain civilians. Furthermore, according to this act, the soldiers suspected of severe crimes such as rape and murder cannot go through a judicial trial until and unless New Delhi allows the persecution (*UMFHC* 4).

Living under such draconian laws and heavy militarization is even difficult to imagine. Arif Ayaz Parrey in the petite memoir “Kashmir: Three Metaphors for Present,” illustrates that one could come across a bunker every few meters and a camp after a few villages in Kashmir. One has to go through multiple security checks and show ID proof that the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir has turned into a jail for the residents. Even in the absence of security forces, Kashmiris feel intimidated by them and consider themselves as inferior beings.

Another incident that demonstrates the exertion of power to ban freedom of expression so that the ideologies of Kashmiris could be controlled to give space for the ideologies of macro-level perpetrators of India to grow is when on November 2, 2011, children were summoned to a court in Srinagar in handcuffs charged under the Preventive Detention Act (PSA). This incident was never reported by newspapers, for the Home Ministry of Kashmir announced “that newspapers with anti-national agenda will not be given any government support” (*OOAR* 59) just three weeks prior to this incident.

Children are considered to be the future of a nation and they are the keen

observers of the society. A nation where children and press are considered threats to the nation is direly lacking freedom and honesty. Moreover, the responsibility of media is to reveal both good and bad sides of a society, so that the society could know its weaknesses and try to work on them. The Indian state perpetrates to suppress the realities of Kashmir and shows the world only those stories which could help it maintain a good image in the international market. Navlakha best concludes it as, “the supposed guardians of free expression worked in cahoots with the repressive Indian security establishment!” (*OOAR* 60). Freedom of expression is a fundamental human right, but poor citizens are virtually devoid of this right. By controlling the thoughts, perceptions, and utterances of Kashmiris, India has proved that it is not concerned about the people and their rights rather all it needs is the land of Kashmir.

Furthermore, the act of perpetration is always methodical, politicized, and embraced by genuine leadership (Üngör and Anderson 9). This helps perpetrators in carrying out the act of genocide and then legitimizes it. Navlakha adds that several efforts have been made to veil the atrocities of security forces. The death toll from 1989 to 2011 was recorded by the Jammu and Kashmir Home Department, and it was estimated that 43,746 people died among them 21,449 were militants, 16,901 were innocent Kashmiris and the remaining number was military men. This report had got no data on the thousands of disappeared and the number of unidentified graves discovered in the three districts of Kashmir. The police of Jammu and Kashmir claimed that the people buried in the graves are militants; however, this claim is refuted by IPTK and SHRC. They say the graves are of local people, and this shatters all the claims of the Indian security forces that they have killed and buried 6000 militants. The paradox between reality and its portrayal will always restrict the process of peace-making in Kashmir.

Üngör and Anderson aver that perpetration at the macro level is incited by excessive power. The two important key factors that relate to ideology and power are polarization and out-grouping. Polarization of the political elites at the macro-level leads to lower-level atrocities. In the case of Kashmir, polarization has occurred between the Indian political elites and the people of Kashmir. The Indian politicians conspire to obtain the State of Jammu and Kashmir to soothe their personal benefits whereas Kashmiris want to escape India’s illegal occupation to stay independent. In her petite memoir, “Kashmir: A Land of Memory and Blood,” Natasha Kaul states that India has successfully created a grand narrative of being secular, democratic, and serene; hence, by incorporating the Muslim-majority Kashmir into its territory, the Indian state wants to reinforce its secular image globally. India claims Kashmir to be its integral part which is thus another subtle grand narrative, but does not hesitate to

torture its children, women, and men. The Indian state has always viewed Kashmiris as alien and did not consider them trustworthy. Kaul further states, “India is occupying a region against the will of the people who live there. Kashmir is ‘integral’ only to the lives of Kashmiris” (*UMFHC* 224).

Moreover, macro-level perpetrators of Kashmir can be traced back in the times of the second half of twentieth century. Kaul mentions that her grandfather who was a young man then was one of the thousands who attended the speech of Nehru at Lal Chowk, Srinagar. While addressing the crowd, Nehru said, “the people of Kashmir can’t be led by us like goat or sheep in one direction or the other .. .)” (qtd. in *UMFHC* 220) and promised the people of Kashmir a plebiscite to decide their own fate. However, this promise of Nehru was never fulfilled and the state of Jammu and Kashmir still lurks in a limbo. No real effort has been witnessed from India to solve conflicts in Kashmir. This demonstrates that the macro-level perpetrators have been making vague promises to create temporary circumstances of normalcy. When the situation in Kashmir gets intense, the Indian state shows some momentarily responses to bring normalcy, but in the long run it stays indifferent to its sufferings. Nitasha Kaul asserts that the Indian politicians are in fact “dull, corrupt, and lacking in morals” (*UMFHC* 223). India’s indifference towards Kashmiris has made them lose their trust in the center and have started to resist India’s presence in the valley (*UMFHC* 222). Hence, paving ways for polarization that seems to find no reconciliation.

Suvir Kaul, in his petite memoir “Visiting Kashmir, Re-learning Kashmir” mentions that for more than thirty years, elections in Kashmir were rigged and biased. The apparent rigged elections of 1987 informed the emerging well-informed and “politicized’ Kashmiri generation that New Delhi will continue to conduct unfair elections to repress such candidates who have secessionist agendas. Hence, such deliberate marginalization and suppression of Kashmiris became the cause of polarization, and this resulted in the armed rebellion of 1990s (*OGAG* 71).

Another type of polarization can be seen between Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority Kashmir. Indians always find Muslims a threat and consider them as enemies. Angana P. Chatterji states that the only unnatural enemy of India in Kashmir is the Muslim “Other” whom it perceives as a tainted, violent, and unpatriotic being who denies political, economic, and cultural assimilation (58). Nitasha Kaul mentions that demographically, India is a Hindu-majority state, and claims to find strength in diversity. But it has remained intolerant to its minority groups, and the polarization between Hindu majority India and its minority groups has been evident throughout history. For example, there have been witnessed

recurrent brutalities against Kashmiris, Muslims in Gujarat (2002), Sikhs (1984), and Christians in Orissa (2007-2008) (*UMFHC* 221). Moreover, Kaul states that the present Hindu extremists extract certain incidents from the vast history of Kashmir, such as the 1989 incident of the exile of pandits or forced conversions to Islam by Muslims to create religious rivals or polarization.

An incident from Suvir Kaul's visit to Srinagar demonstrates the sense of partiality that the Indian state possesses. Kaul narrates that once he and his mother were at Central Srinagar. His mother was in a sari and he was wearing a beard, but still it was clear to the people around them that they are Hindus. Therefore, the Paramilitary forces deployed by the government of India viewed them "benignly unlike their response to other locals" (*OGAG* 73). This is a vivid example of partial attitudes possessed by Indian state and its troops. Officially, it is claimed by India that the troops deployed in Kashmir are for the safety of Kashmiris, however, this appears to be a falsehood when witnessing the partial and polar behavior of Indian military.

The Hindu and Muslim identity differences that initially started at the macro-level in the form of two nation theory before partition have deeply affected the people at lower-level. These differences are exploited at times by external forces at the macro level for political gains. The Indian state has disappointed Kashmiri Hindus and Kashmiri Muslims equally. The people of Kashmir have seen a repressive Indian regime that tortures and shoots young boys, rapes women and murders the poor in fake encounters.

4.2.2 Meso-level Perpetration Process

Üngör and Anderson define meso-level perpetrators as those heads of administration and politics who divide and organize the forces for genocide. The meso-level perpetration process acts as a mediator between top-level perpetrators and lower-level perpetrators (4). In Kashmir, the planning of the Indian political leaders is executed by the administrative heads as it can be witnessed in the fluctuating statements of the DG of police and army chief. They defend and justify the brutal acts of the Indian state. For instance, the heads of the coercive forces try to legitimize the massive presence of the military in Kashmir since according to official accounts militancy has declined in Kashmir. The DG of police who fall in the category of meso-level perpetration, according to the traits of meso-level perpetrators proposed by Üngör and Anderson, tries to justify the excessive presence of the military by stating that in order to deter any potential terrorist threats; the military has been deployed in Kashmir. Hence, it can be inferred that it is no longer "a real threat" but "a potential threat" that is being combated

(OOAR 62). This raises the question is the “potential threat” going to be worth seven million armed forces? This seems to be a mere excuse to perpetrate violence through heavy militarization in order to maintain control over the region.

Furthermore, the army chief of India said “that infiltration had come down in 2010 compared to 2009 from 110 persons to 85” (OOAR 62). However, the army chief opined four days before this statement when he denied a demand for demilitarization that there were 468 “infiltration bids” in 2010, out of which 95 were successful and killed 40 terrorists. Therefore, the presence of armed forces is very crucial to avert the return of terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir. Such claims justify the forceful control of Jammu and Kashmir by India. This shows that “official truth is elastic” and changes according to the requirements of perpetrators. The variable official statements show signs of an underlying propaganda.

4.3.1 Micro-level Perpetration Process

This is the lowest phase of perpetration process. The micro-level perpetrators are directly involved in the act of perpetration. The most notable feature of micro-level perpetration is the distance created between the perpetrators and victims by the desensitization of the perpetrators and the dehumanization of the victims (Üngör and Anderson 19). While persistently perpetrating violence, the micro-level perpetrators become insensitive. Nitasha Kaul narrates an incident from Srinagar when she was talking to a soldier of the Indian Central Reserve Police Force, and the soldier said, “Kashmiri people are dogs. We do so much for them and they are ingrate curs” (UMFHC 236). She further adds that amid the conversation, the soldier would “shout at local Kashmiri passers-by; rudely, brusquely, asking them to stop, search them, call them names, shoo them away” (UMFHC 236). This shows that the Kashmiris are just a number of people for the Indians. They are not people with an identity or aspiration; they are just ungrateful enemies of the Indians. That’s why Indian perpetrators do not hesitate to treat them brutally. Suvir Kaul, in the preface to *Of Gardens and Graves; Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* states, “it was clear that the soldiers did not treat Kashmiris as fellow citizens possessed of civic and political rights” (17). Kaul wrote this after personally experiencing the situation in Srinagar.

Üngör and Anderson aver that genocide refers to mass killings or any related act that aids in the occurrence of the crime, however, perpetrators go beyond killing and they treat the victim as dehumanized creatures. The unbearable brutality is not abrupt rather it is a part of the strategies to destroy a particular racial group (8). These characteristics of the perpetrators can be seen taking an influential and vivid shape in Kashmir. Another subtle

example of the “desensitization of the perpetrators and the dehumanization of the victims” can be seen in the petite memoir “Forgetting,” in which Mohamad Junaid narrates an event from 1994 that presents a picture of sheer dehumanization of the victims by the oppressors. Junaid states that during a military siege in 1994, the military forces of India dehumanized and humiliated Kashmiris for demanding freedom. The army men picked up men randomly from the crowd and beat them for hours till they became unconscious. Junaid narrates, “I could see the iron rods, bamboo sticks, gun butts, and chains raining on young men from our neighbourhood. For hours, it was unbearable to watch as blood and pieces of flesh splattered the dirty walls of the stores (*OOAR* 33). This reflects the “dehumanization” of Kashmiris by micro-level perpetrators. That day of terror and dehumanization ended in the evening along with ending the lives of four locals. The dead bodies lay next to the Arafat River, “streams of their still warm blood mixing with the icy waters of Arapat, the backs of their heads open, their brains smashed to bits” (*OOAR* 34). These severe acts of brutality are signs of genocide that are perpetrated to sabotage the Kashmiri race. The Kashmiris, who have encountered the brutality of their perpetrators, in this case India, still suffer in their nightmares. The occupied lands witness such excruciating painful events on daily basis and these events then shape the reality of the people as happens with the neighbor of Junaid who witnessed this brutal military siege in 1994 and ended up in fears and trauma for a lifetime.

There are other plenty of examples that include painful transformation of people after receiving “dehumanizing treatment” from their perpetrators. In his petite memoir “The Wounds of Kashmir’s Never-ending War,” Ravi Nessman mentions that a man became drug addict when he witnessed the death of his uncle and two cousins right before him by security forces and a child of third grade stopped going to school when his teacher was shot in front of him. The villagers in Kashmir have developed “midnight Knock Syndrome” after encountering multiple late-night searches. According to Dr. Mushtaq Margoob, 19 per cent of Kashmiris are suffering due to depression and 16 per cent suffer post-traumatic stress syndrome. The rate of depression in Kashmir is accruing. There would be hardly anyone from the six-million population of the valley who has not been affected by violence. Nessman further adds that the valley has seen two lost generations: one is the generation of 1989 whose childhood is engulfed by civil war and the other is the current generation who does not have any childhood at all (*UMFHC* 155).

The micro-level perpetrators employ various means of violence to keep the agenda of the macro-level perpetrators firm and steadfast. A part from shooting bullets,

the security forces used slingshots in 2010 hitting the crowds with sharp pebbles and glass marbles causing severe damage to the eyes and even leaving the citizens blind in some cases. In his introduction, “The Fire is at My Heart,” Kak mentions that a “pain gun” made in the USA is used by the security forces in Kashmir that radiates beams of radiation stimulating the nerve endings causing sheer pain in the body. The ray gun was initially used by the US in Afghanistan (*UMFHC* 25). This demonstrates how the Indian forces are treating the unarmed innocent citizens of Kashmir and most of their targets are school-going children. One cannot even imagine why an emerging superpower has to fear school-going children.

In the words of Üngör and Anderson, the perpetration of genocide refers to any act that bolsters the execution of genocide (8). These acts may include killing, birth control, and Kashmir forced disappearances. Forced disappearance is another type of violence perpetrated by the Indian micro-level perpetrators. The husbands, brothers, sons, and fathers are forcibly taken away leaving the families in an endless longing and paradox. This could be experienced in the petite memoir “Hum Ko Unn Ki Maut Ki Certificate Mill Gayi, Ab Dua Karo Who Zinda Hoon” by Ather Zia. The title of the memoir itself reflects the eternal paradox the families of the disappeared are in. The title is an “oxymoronic expression” that shows an acceptance of death along with a desire for life. The words in the title are uttered by Fatah Jaan, a half-widow, waiting for her spouse Naseeb Khan. A half-widow is a term coined in Kashmir to describe the wives whose husbands are disappeared. Such women never know where their husbands are, and they oscillate between hope and disappointment. Fatah’s husband, Naseeb Khan, was a shepherd and was on the mountainside with his cattle when the Indian army took him away in 2002. Naseeb Khan has five children and his family hardly manages to survive. He was the only breadwinner of his family, and now his disappearance has rendered the family in extreme trouble.

When the male members disappear, the rest of the family has to go through a painful process of searching for them as is experienced by Fatah Jaan. She began the excruciating routine which countless Kashmiri wives, mothers, or families undertake to find their kin” (*OOAR* 95). However, the fruitless searches and disappointment would leave the family in sheer trauma. Forced disappearance is a form of genocide, and it has shattered many Kashmiri families. Fatah narrates that she would wake up at night fearing that people are entering her home with Naseeb’s dead body or imagining the return of Naseeb. Fatah’s youngest daughter would also wake up at night shouting and looking for

her father though she was too young to remember her father's face when he disappeared. This would leave the whole family in tears and longing.

Along with forced disappearance, the occasional torture carried out by micro-level perpetrators is routine in Kashmir. Fatah states that occasionally, the soldiers would come searching homes and would "beat and torture the men" (*OOAR* 95). The women were also victims of beatings, "but more than that they had to face obscenities, ogling and physical harassment" (*OOAR* 95). Fatah's story is just one of the thousands of grim stories from Kashmir. Since 1989, the time when the armed struggle for independence began, 32,000 widows, 97,000 orphans, and 8000-10,000 disappeared cases have been reported in Kashmir (*OOAR* 96).

The half-widows are in a state of limbo, and very few of them have started a new life getting remarried. Rest of them, like Fatah, has raised their families waiting for their husbands' safe return. Soldiers are supposed to be the guardians of humanity, but what the soldiers do in Kashmir seems to be a war between humanity and its protectors. The traumatic nights and restless mornings of Fatah Jaan are a reflection of the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The micro-level perpetrators are involved in the process of perpetration for various reasons. The responses of micro-level perpetrators are often sudden and situational, and are not drawn by grand political projects. They act out of very little knowledge. Their perpetration can be compelled by self-interest, fear, or perceived marginalization (Üngör and Anderson 17). Nitasha Kaul mentions that most of the Indian soldiers who are responsible for lower-level perpetration in Kashmir act out of their self-interest since they belong to very poor economic background. These soldiers work in the rough regions of Himalayas to feed their families and represent the occupying force of India. They possess a very little knowledge about the culture, language, or history of Kashmir, and the food, society and climate is virtually unknown to them. They have little information about the objectives of macro-level perpetrators and the complaints of the victim group (*UMFHC* 237). The objectives for which the macro-level perpetrators perpetrate are seldom known to the lower-level perpetrators. These lower-level perpetrators act out of the circumstances or need. The Indian soldiers who keep working to execute the plans of macro-level perpetrators have to actually savor all the criticism hatred, and regret of perpetration. The ones who suffer the most in the entire process of perpetration are the lower-level perpetrators. They have to leave their families behind and bear all the harsh conditions, and they end up with no gain.

The violence perpetrated by India has sabotaged Kashmiri lives for a long time, and now it is very hard for Kashmiris to believe the Indian intentions to bring development in the region. Suvir Kaul writes that Kashmiris are not going to appreciate any material assistance from India that comes at the cost of the overlooked demands and lives of Kashmiris (*OGAG* 22). Thus, the Kashmiri petite memoirs written out of personal observations and experiences reveal that India which claims to be a democratic nation actually possesses the traits of dictatorship. It controls the lives of Kashmiris via heavy militarization and dehumanizes Kashmiris to acquire their land. It has perpetrated to employ all the atrocious ways to subjugate the people of Kashmir.

4.3 Resistance and the Call for Azadi

“The Struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.”

(Milan Kundera, The Book of Laughter and Forgetting)

The unresolved conflict in Jammu and Kashmir crushed the voices of its people. They are never asked what they want, and when they tried to speak for themselves, they are brutally responded by the Indian State. Kashmir has become an open prison for Kashmiris, and they feel homeless in their own homeland. People resist through all possible means when living becomes challenging in their own homeland. The resistance of Kashmir best fits the definitions of civil resistance which states, “civil resistance is a form of collective action that seeks to affect the political, social, or economic status quo without using violence or the threat of violence against people to do so” (Chenoweth 2). The years of suppression and injustice have turned the people of Kashmir into writers, painters, poets, protesters, and most importantly, stone throwers. Kashmiris resist the perpetration of the Indian state at various levels differently. They have responded to both macro-level perpetration and micro-level perpetration proving their steadfast loyalties to their motherland. Pankaj Mishra in the “introduction” of *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011) states, “Kashmiris will increasingly speak for themselves” (25) and hopefully their suppressed voices will stir the global conscience.

4.3.1 Music and Art as Weapons in the Civil Resistance of Kashmir

People have adopted different forms of resistance in Kashmir and poetry is one of them. Poetry has become a mode of communication, mourning, and protest. By writing and reciting poetry, trauma is known, expressed, and shared. The experiences that the poets articulate through poetry are not individual rather they are collective. They refer to

the lived experience of all Kashmiris. Resistance through poetry is inevitable, and it directly challenges the motives of macro-level perpetrators. Since poetry is the result of excruciating pain and sheer suffering, its impact then becomes worthwhile.

Erica Chenoweth while discussing the role of music in civil resistance asserts that musicians have participated in civil resistance to show “unity and a sense of civic action.” Rap and hip-hop music that have “defiant lyrics and popular beats” can be widely used to project “political autonomy and cultural resistance” (43). Growing up in extreme brutal and depressing situation, MC Kash became a face of resistance through his rap songs. He chose music to resist the brutal and forced occupation of India. In the petite memoir “The Life of a Rebel Artist,” MC Kash expounds that how since his childhood, the word “Azadi” was added to his vocabulary and then later on, this word shaped his existence. The mindsets of people are shaped according to the surrounding. MC Kash’s childhood also got influenced by the environment he lived in. He grew up in extremely painful circumstances where he was most familiar with bunkers, graveyards, funeral processions, mourning, gunshots, and bullets.

Kash’s career as a rapper was triggered by the painful death of Inayat Khan who was 15 when he was shot by CRPF on 8 July 2010. Inayat was waiting for the bus to go home when he was caught in an encounter between the protestors and the CRPF. The CRPF opened fire on the crowd and a bullet hit Inayat’s thigh. Inayat fell to the ground screaming for help and a CRPF gypsy was driven over his body. Even this did not satisfy the soldiers of the CRPF, they got off the gypsy and trampled on his body till he was completely dead. Even after his death, Inayat’s body was returned to his family very late. Thousands of people gathered to attend Inayat’s funeral. Kash states, “Inayat changed the way I looked at my life, every aspect of it. That day in Dalgate, as I carried the 15-year-old’s body, I vowed to speak the truth about Kashmir, at all times, no matter the consequence” (*OOAR* 41).

When people of conscience witness such brutality, they cannot stand still and wait for more such things to happen. They look for ways to express their frustration and anger, therefore, Kash chose music as a way to project his deep-rooted frustration. He released his first rap song “I Protest (Remembrance)” (2010) to demonstrate his way of rebel. The message embedded in music can be heard across borders, and it reaches to every household. Kash’s protest through his songs of “defiant lyrics” is an awakening call, and it challenges the constructed image of Indian sympathy. Chenoweth argues that people

claim art and music cannot bring a huge change, but it has the power to reinforce separatist narratives (45). The following lines from Kash's song "I Protest" evince the burning desire of an artist for freedom and the real image of his ruler.

I Protest, Against The Things You Done!

I Protest, Fo' A Mother Who Lost Her Son!

I Protest, I Will Throw Stones An' Neva Run!

I Protest, Until My Freedom Has Come (*UMFHC* 111)

In the above-mentioned lines, MC Kash boldly acknowledges and resists the atrocities committed by the Indian state. He declares that Kashmiris will never retreat from stone-throwing until they accomplish freedom for themselves.

Howard Zinn avers, "they have the guns, we have the poets. Therefore, we will win" (qtd, in Chenoweth 45). There are others too who have written poetry either in English or Kashmiri language to express their pain regarding their burning valley. Poetry is a testimony of that injustices and trauma that the people of Kashmir have suffered. For instance, Jasim Malik writes a poem that appears to be written by a deceased generation of Kashmiris from its graves. It has been perpetually silenced, and it finds no hope in the future. A few verses of the poem are as follows

This silence has lots of stories to tell

Each word in these Chronicles pierces my page

Stories which no pen dares to jot down

Accounts which no ink can 'give tongue to '

Blood ruptures by my eyes, I feel lazed

I can't even say, 'till we meet again

For I am not sure about the future (*UMFHC* 63)

Jasim Malik's verse speaks of the unbearable violence and brutalities that the valley of Kashmir has witnessed. The Kashmiris who are eternally silenced have taken to the graves untold stories and those stories are painful enough to be penned down. Malik's poetic lines also give an indication of an uncertain future Kashmiris are hesitant to enter. In the midst of turmoil and violence, they cannot even hope for a peaceful future.

Rabia Aamir, in her research paper, "Questioning Idées Reçues: A Study of Interpellative Strategies and Environmental Ethics in Basharat Peer and Ghada Karni's Memoirs," (2020) mentions that young writers have emerged in the second decade of the twenty-first century to share their experience of living in a militarized zone. Aamir

narrates an incident from Basharat Peer's memoir *Curfewed Nights* (2010) where Peer shares a firsthand experience of the threat posed by Indian forces to his life. Peer was a schoolboy then when he ended up in crossfire between the militants and Indian armed forces. To save himself from getting hit by a bullet, Peer was "crouching under the bus seats" to find a safe place. Aamir adds that by narrating such incidents, Peer is "raising his pen for the pervasive military presence" (145). He is speaking against the atrocities committed by the Indian forces such as turning the schools into "military camps" and the students hearing the wailing and mourning of "young prisoners being tortured" or boys as young as Adil Ramzan who was 12-year-old when he was shot dead by Indian forces while he was watching an "azadi procession". The military forces did not allow anyone to take his helpless body, however, some young boys took him to the hospital anyway. The security forces did not allow him to get treated and shot him again in the hospital (145). Such incidents could make anyone realize the death of humanity and the people who actually witness these atrocities could adopt any possible means to resist the terrorizing acts.

Erica Chenoweth avers that during revolutionary times, different elements of revolutionary processes are documented, recorded, and publicized using creativity (42), and art is a dominant way to project resistance through creativity. Freny Manecksha, in her petite memoir "How I Understood Kashmir's Resistance," mentions that Malik Sajad, an artist, graphic artist, and cartoonist has spent most of his childhood indoors in the midst of political discussions and debates. Since the language of art is very strong and influential, therefore, Sajad portrays his childhood through one of his drawings in which a child opens the door of his house to find his cricket ball resting between a soldier's jackboots.

The cricket ball is actually a metaphor for the lives of the Kashmiri people. They cannot imagine Kashmir without militarization. All spheres of their lives are under the influence of military occupation. the childhood of conflict-ridden children is devoid of picnics, outings, and random walks. When such terrorizing dictatorship persists for a long period of time, the victims transform into rebels. Just like this captured cricket ball, Kashmiri lives are also caged in a cage of violence, fear, and trauma. Sajad's drawing is a reflection of both acceptance and resistance.

Manecksha further states that the stories of sheer violence cannot be forgotten easily. It's a daily routine to find dead bodies with traumatic signs of torture as a witness avers, "his eyes had been gouged out and two marbles inserted. The throat had been slit"

(OOAR 89). There would be hardly any village in Kashmir that does not have anonymous graves. Despite such evidence which is a visible sign of the Indian state's forceful occupation, the state wants the world to believe that the people who resist in Kashmir are either Pakistani agents or unemployed youngsters.

4.3.2 .Role of Women in the Civil Resistance of Kashmir

Throughout history, women have showed active participation in civil resistance. Women have played crucial roles in Kashmir to evince the reality and be in the forefront of resistance. They have defied accepting the perpetration of their ruler as their fate and stood against the will of the perpetrators. According to Chenoweth, the involvement of women in civil resistance projects “the universal or apolitical nature of the grievances that the movement represents” (97). This is what Parveena Ahangar has done in Kashmir. She opposed all the stereotypes and challenges to build Association of the Parents of the Disappeared (APDA) after the disappearance of her son to formally inquire the whereabouts of the disappeared Kashmiri residents.

She has become a hope for all those families who are thrown into an eternal darkness after the disappearance of their loved ones. Shubh Mathur, in her petite memoir “Love is Strong as Death: The Moral Voice of the Kashmiri Tehreek” states that Parveena Ahangar, whose seventeen-year-old son Ahmed Ahangar forcibly disappeared in 1991, did not stop searching for her son for 20 years and beyond. She was well aware that she was not the only one who came across such a mishap but there are thousands of others too. Thus, along with those people whose relatives disappeared, Parveena Ahangar created an “apolitical” organization APDP to fight for the truth and resist the unacceptable. Ahangar found her ways of resistance to speak against the brutalities recording and reporting the toll of disappeared from Kashmir.

She has to travel through treacherous roads to reach “remote and isolated” places in order to inform people about the plans of APDP (Mathur 9). The establishment of this organization shows the “apolitical” phase of the civil resistance, and it has persistently asked for justice and the whereabouts of the missing family members. It reports and records the number and stories of disappeared people. The individual stories reflect a mixture of belief, pain, and uncertainty that helps the families “confront the regime of terror” (Mathur 9)

On her way to find the truth, Ahangar came across many stories to which she could relate her pain and longing, and Wani's disappearance shows one such example. It

was this organization that reported the disappearance of Manzoor Ahmed Wani to the United Nations. Parveena Ahangar, along with Shubh Mathur, visited Wani's family in Tragpora, a village surrounded by concertina wire and men in uniform. The area was also under the influence of Ikhwanis. Ikhwanis, another type of micro-level perpetrators, are actually counter-insurgency groups trained and guarded by the Indian army to terrify the Kashmiri locals. Basharat Peer also validates this fact in his memoir *Curfewed Nights* (2010) by stating that "Ikhwanis" were trained and funded by the Indian government to torture and kill anyone they suspected of being a secessionist (170). Wani disappeared in 2001 few months after his marriage. Initially, the army officials assured the family about Wani's presence in the military camp, but later on, they absolutely denied ever having him arrested. This is how the Indian establishment concealed the truth almost all the time.

Wani's family was tortured and threatened to halt the search for Wani and withdraw the case against the army. APDP's initiatives are a struggle against the macro-level perpetrators. Its international recognition and credibility have opened paths to justice for human rights violations.

Ahangar defied being at home like a traditional mother, wailing and waiting for the return of her child rather she stepped out courageously in order to be an inspiration for people. She has proven to be an iron lady with a strong resolve to speak against the injustice and violence perpetrated by the Indian State. The pain of losing a child taught Ahangar the importance of resistance and despite all the challenges she persisted to discover the truth. Shubh Mathur in her book *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2015) declares that disappearance is viewed as "human rights violations" that qualify the definitions of the "legal crimes against humanity" revealing a narrative of "loss and struggle" in a society which is held together by "suffering and resistance" (8).

4.3.3 Confrontational Forms of Civil Resistance

Living under extreme oppression and brutality, Kashmiris have adopted much different ways of resistance. Since they cannot afford to fight back with arms, they are using stones to resist. According to Erica Chenoweth, some civil resistance methods are extremely "disruptive and highly confrontational" and stone pelting is one of them. Stone pelting firstly poses a direct threat to the micro-level perpetrators who confront the stone pelters and then its effects reach the doors of the macro-level perpetrators informing them of the aggression and their rejection by the victim group. Where the protracted violence and trauma turned Kash into a musician, they transformed Hashim into a stone thrower. Hashim's

resistance was provoked when his father was badly beaten by the Indian armed forces in 2010 as he has mentioned in his petite memoir “Why am I a Stone Thrower?” In 2010, protests were going on across Kashmir when Hashim’s father, a doctor, left home to go to the hospital, but he was caught by the armed forces and insensitively beaten for no reason. He was severely bruised and was unable to step out of his home for days. Hashim writes, “I felt so helpless when I saw his wounds. That day, I joined the stone throwers” (80). There was no other way Hashim could lessen the pain of seeing his father in physical torment.

In the journey of stone throwing, Hashim faced many challenges, such as getting hit by live bullets, arrests and torture, but nothing abated his aggression and hatred for the occupiers. Hashim initially started stone throwing to avenge his father’s suffering, but later on he understood the major cause of stone throwing, and that cause is Azadi. He started to comprehend the perpetration of Indian state that how it uses the resources of Kashmir and in return gives very less. If India leaves Kashmir, then Kashmiris have adequate resources to run their economy independently. According to Indian narrative, stone throwers are illiterate, exhausted or unemployed youth, but this narrative is condemned by Hashim who confirms that stone pelters are university students or youth from well off families who are tired of the ruthless Indian occupation of their homeland. Angana P. Chatterji avers in her article “The Militarized Zone” (2011) that persistent violence of the Indian state and “the criminalization of non-violent means of self-expression” (120) of Kashmiri people have compelled Kashmiris to adopt stone pelting. She adds that due to ceaseless subjugation, Kashmiris are left with no choice but to resort to show their resistance with violence.

Perpetration is mostly initiated by macro-level perpetrators and in this entire perpetration process; the micro-level perpetrators fighting for the cause of macro-level perpetrators would get tired of the process. Hashim avers in his petite memoir that police would complain of being fed up of the trouble created by India. Hashim affirms of getting aid from the police for stone throwing and he further adds that the cause for azadi has vanished fear from his heart and now he is ready to bear all the consequences. The arrests, torture, and beating have further strengthened his yearning for independence. This evinces that subjugation is rather reinforcing the idea of “Azadi” in Kashmir. Stone throwers have made the government alert, and now the Indian government is aware that people of Kashmir are going to react to terror.

The protracted violence that prevails in Kashmir has shaped the identities of its people. All spheres of life in Kashmir are influenced by violence and war. The

transformation of Showkat Nanda from a photojournalist to a helpless stone thrower portrayed in the petite memoir “The Pain of Being Haunted by Memories” reinforces the idea of resistance. Growing up in Kashmir changed Nanda’s aspirations for his future. Initially, he wanted to be a doctor, but when crackdowns, bullets, and bomb blasts became a ritual in Kashmir then survival became the only concern. The conflict with which Nanda grew up urged him to opt for photojournalism, so that he could show the world the realities of his conflict-ridden region in order to resist the ongoing violence in Kashmir. Recording gruesome realities and then revealing them to the world is also a form of resistance.

Being a press photographer in a conflict zone is to witness heart-wrenching suffering of people on daily basis. Nanda avers, “I witnessed daily deaths, gunfights, and search operations even in my school. These experiences greatly shaped my identity and the way I saw (and still see) the world. I was beginning to understand how a conflict looked and how it changed people’s lives, including mine” (*OOAR* 30).

Initially, Nanda opted for photojournalism, so that he could play his role in resisting the Indian state’s violence, but then the brutal killing of a twelve-year-old kid turns Nanda into a stone thrower. Nanda narrates that once while photographing an anti-India demonstration in 2009, he came across the killing of a 12-year-old boy by the paramilitary forces. The boy was hit straight in the chest with a bullet while he was confronting the paramilitary soldiers with stones. The boy took his last breaths in Nanda’s arms seeking help to stop the chaos that is slowly crushing his valley as Nanda writes, “I felt a freezing numbness in his body. His smile had turned into a ghastly stare. He was dead” (*OOAR* 24).

A teenage boy died fighting for his region. The little boy was fighting a mighty force with stones as his only weapons. The painful death of the young boy turned Nanda into a stone thrower too because there was no any other way to lessen your pain in a region where living is a challenge and survival an accomplishment. Nanda’s resistance actually reflects the helplessness of Kashmiris who have taken up stones as their last option. The boy’s staring eyes with a glimpse of hope are the microcosm of Kashmir’s reality. The valley is in extreme pain with just a faded hope for peace and stability.

The bold ignorance and aggression have driven Kashmiri youth into stone pelters, and this uncertain war of stones against a full-fledged state has tossed some Kashmiri youth into eternal darkness and devastation. Sameer Yasir, in his petite memoir, “The

Portrait of a Stone Thrower as a Blind Man,” narrates the saddening story of the young rebel Aamir Kabir, a nineteen-year-old stone peltor, who lost his eyesight in a battle against the Indian state. In the 2010 civil disobedience, Aamir was on the Cement Bridge of Varmul throwing stones at paramilitary forces. Aamir was a skilled stone thrower. He took the central position on the bridge when a CRPF man behind an armored vehicle shot a pellet gun straight at Aamir and drove him permanently blind. The eyes that sparkled with a thought of freedom and independence are now the hub of defeat, despair, and hopelessness. The same day many stone throwers lost their lives and others got badly injured. After getting blind, Aamir stayed restricted to his one-room house ignored completely by his society and political elites. Even the pro-freedom political leaders denied a helping hand in the darkest of times. The neglect of the political leaders of Kashmir made Aamir look at the idea of freedom again. He is disappointed for risking his life for a cause that has rendered him lonely. Aamir says: “[E]ven if I could see, I would never return to stone-throwing again” (*OONR* 90). Aamir’s anguish and anger are those of a man who is ignored by his society and politicians. His story is not new. The poor always suffer in the war of macro-level perpetrators. They are crushed and destroyed for the gains of a selected few.

The only hope here is that Aamir has played his part for freedom and hopefully Aamir’s sacrifice would not go in vain. He sacrificed his colorful world to light the candles of freedom for his nation. Even such painful stories have failed to affect the treacherous perpetration strategies of the macro-level perpetrators. The macro-level perpetrators are still firm and determined to occupy the land of Jammu and Kashmir.

Since 1990, Kashmir has witnessed various forms of resistance. Initially, it started with militants and weapons in 1989 which was “provoked with rigged elections and massacres of protestors” (Mishra 20), but now it is transformed into stone pelting. Even after listening to frightening stories like that of Aamir, the passion and resolve of stone throwers have not dwindled. They continue to resist with the same level of enthusiasm. However, Aamir has given up the thought of *azadi*, and it no more incites thrill and passion in him. There are others too who have met the same fate as Aamir in the quest for *azadi*. Aamir’s story shows the other side of the coin. It shows us how the journey of freedom has totally shattered certain Kashmiris making them to shed the thought of *Azadi*. Youngsters like Aamir have realized that after sacrificing their youth and risking their whole lives and families, the Kashmiri people have come to know that they are not respected for the cause they fought for. If in the search for freedom, the people meet

unfortunate consequences then they are left alone by society as if they were fighting for a personal cause.

Dr. Sheikh Showkat Hussain in his petite memoir “The Non-violent Phases of Kashmir’s Resistance,” mentions that the people of Kashmir started to resist when they finally realized that Indian forces have not invaded to protect but to trivialize Kashmiris especially the bearded Muslim population of Kashmir. Kashmiris consider accession as an agreement of subjugation; therefore, they continue to resist Indian presence in the valley. Hussain further states that resistance of Kashmiris began the day the Indian forces arrived in Kashmir, however, the means of resistance have been different at various times, and most of the time it has been non-violent. Shubh Mathur in her petite memoir “Love is Strong as Death”; The Moral Voice of the Kashmiri Tehreek” mentions that an anonymous woman from Kashmir sums up the years of atrocity and hostility of Indian state by stating that all the Indian state wants is the land of Kashmir, it has no concerns with its people. The Indian state boastfully claims Kashmir as a crucial part of it while labeling its inhabitants as terrorists, anti-nationalists, and secessionists. To capture the land of Kashmir, the establishment of India silences all historical facts, objections, and criticism. However, the struggle for freedom or the quest for truth is not halted.

In addition to making living a challenge for Kashmiris in their own homeland, the Indian State expects the Kashmiris to quietly endorse whatever is happening to them. Once a colony itself, how can the Indian State forget the pain of being subjugated by a colonizer? This paradoxical behavior of India further worsens the situation. Instead of taking responsibility for the irreversible chaos in Kashmir, the Indian establishment blames it on the protesters. Aaliya Anjum and Saiba Varma in their petite memoir “Curfewed in Kashmir: Voices from the Valley” aver that the act of blaming the protesters for causing chaos demonstrates that the Indian State is failed to be a democratic state and to find a viable solution to the Kashmir conflict. In the case of Kashmir, the perpetrator is accusing the victims of being the perpetrators. In this tedious journey of dual identities, the Kashmiri youth is now determined to represent contemporary Kashmir in its own way.

Thus the youth of Kashmir has turned to social media platforms such as Facebook and YouTube to tell the world the stories of Kashmir. They revealed how during curfews pregnant women and patients were denied access to hospitals, and how the people could not reach graveyards to bury their deceased relatives. Nowadays, social media sites are

impeccable platforms to protest against a state since these sites can make you heard internationally. Unfortunately, Kashmiris are even bound to express themselves on social media since their moves are monitored by the Indian state and its media. The state has arrested people for posting on social media claiming that they were inciting anti-state sentiments. One of the NDTV reporters reported that both a stone and a computer mouse are perilous weapons possessed by Kashmiris (*UMFHC60*). Social media is one of the most powerful platforms to resist the Indian state. Almost all Kashmiris can voice themselves through it letting the top-level perpetrators know their ideologies and aspirations.

The generation today is going to transfer resistance to the coming generation if in case it fails to gain self-determination. Suvaid Yaseen in his petite memoir “I See Kashmir from New Delhi” narrates an incident from a protest at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi that portrays a physician returning from his duty to participate in a protest. He uttered that his father has taught him resistance and now he would teach it to his son. Therefore, he raised his child in the crowd to show him the worth of resistance. Kashmiris do not consider themselves a part of India, so their resistance is a fundamental right they are practicing and that is the right to freedom. In the same protest, an old man yelled with sheer zeal “Hum Kya Chahte?” and there was an uproar shouting “Azadi.” In civil resistance, people from various spheres of life come together fighting for a common cause demanding “justice and accountability” with great “intensity and strength” (Chenoweth 2). The cause for which all Kashmiris are gathered is “azadi” from the atrocities and brutalities of India. They want a just and accountable environment where they could not feel homeless in their own homeland. Kashmiris cannot forget the spilled blood of their youngsters, abuses to their identity and family, and bullets fired at innocent unarmed protesters by soldiers who act as pawns obeying their masters blindly. Kashmiris say: “this bloodshed will bring life, there will be Revolution” (*UMFHC 69*). They have reacted to bullets with stones, their women have openly defied curfews, and suppression has been responded with the demand for freedom.

For Kashmiris, freedom solely means isolation from India. In an interview, Masarat Alam Bhat, leader of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat, who is also an eminent leader of the “Quit Kashmir” movement, said that people are now aware of the importance of Azadi. If Kashmiris are given a call to write “Go India Go Back” on walls, the next day no road will be spared of the graffiti of this slogan or ask them to run a campaign on social media, and it will be full of anti-India slogans. But slogans such as “Go India Go Back,” “Indian

Dogs Go Back,” and “Quit Kashmir” are answered with brutality and more violence. However, the Indian establishment does not realize that India’s suppression is actually catalyzing the resistance movement in Kashmir. More violence has led to more resistance (*UMFHC* 113). This shows that the wave of civil resistance is getting stronger with every passing day. People are ready to fight for freedom at any cost.

Besides poetry, art, and stone pelting, mass protests have also been a part of resistance and defiance of Indian governance. Erica Chenoweth states that people use different “coordinated, non-institutional methods” including protests to promote change without “harming or threatening to harm the opponent” (2). The emergence of Kashmiris on roads in huge numbers carrying out peaceful protests evinces Kashmiri civil resistance. Protests are a bold confrontation to the micro-level perpetrators showing that the people are ready to meet any kind of consequences. They let the macro-level perpetrators know that they have an ideology that is pre-eminent and more important than the suppression of the ruler. Parvaiz Bukhari, in his petite memoir “Summer of Unrest; Challenging India,” states that in the summer of 2010, mass protests erupted in Indian-administered Kashmir which were never witnessed before. The unarmed protests posed a tremendous challenge to the Indian military. The Indian military reacted with weapons to the protest. On daily basis, civilians were killed since the mid of June which included mostly youngsters. The angry protests erupted demanding separation from the democratic-faced “Indian dictatorship”. The civil disobedience of 2010 appeared to be instigated by the killing of three civilians in the Machil area near the Line of Control. The civilians shot dead by soldiers were claimed to be militants who came from Pakistan. This infuriated Kashmiris throughout Kashmir though there were other reasons too behind the civil disobedience which had gathered over the course of several years.

One element of civil resistance asserts that it is a “method of conflict” which means that it is an “active and aggressive” way to present political, social or economic claims. It refers to “fighting back” when people believe that their rights are violated by powerful organizations or political regimes and build “new systems that address underlying injustices” (Chenoweth 3). The people of Kashmir also believe that their rights are not preserved under an Indian political regime and their insecurities could be seen in the 2008 uprising when the Indian government perpetrated to give a hundred acres of land in the Himalayas to the Shri Amarnath temple. The Muslim populace of Kashmir conceived this decision as a conspiracy to alter the demography of Kashmir; therefore, Kashmiris started mass protests resisting the move in order to “fight back” and preserve

their rights. Bukhari adds that thousands of Kashmiris gathered on the streets and started a march that was intended to cross the border and reach Pakistan-administered Kashmir. The uprising demanded negotiation between India/Pakistan and Kashmir to solve the protracted dispute of Kashmir. However, instead of coming to a peaceful settlement, the Indian government as usual opened fire on the procession halting it to reach the border. This resulted in the killing of many people including the secessionist leader Shaikh Abdul Aziz who was a prominent leader of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (*UMFHC* 32).

The 2008 uprising shows that Kashmiris have learned to fight the Indian government's conspiracies. Once people learn to resist, it's hard for any government to extinguish the fire of freedom. The civil processions in Kashmir are indications of the rejection of a political regime.

In her article, "Azadi: The Only Thing Kashmiris Want," (2011) Arundhati Roy mentions that the 2008 uprising in Kashmir was a reaction to long-lived military terror and suppression and this "kind of rage, once it finds expression, cannot easily be tamed, re-bottled and sent back to where it came from" (79). It was least anticipated by the Indian state after combating the militants. The 2008 protest was a non-violent protest, and the Indian state was least trained to handle it. The indigenous populace of the valley perceived the transfer of land to Amarnath Shrine as a part of "Israeli-style settlements" in order to change the demography of the valley. It instilled insecurity in the minds of Kashmiris. The protests lasted for days affecting the entire valley. The 2008 uprising revived the memories of the rebellion of the 1990s. The stone throwers also came to the streets to confront the police forces. Roy further states commenting on the 2008 uprising that the deliberate intentions of the Indian state to silence the voice of the Kashmiris have turned it into a "deafening roar" (79).

Roy further states that the people of Kashmir courageously came out of their homes to let the Indian state know that the cities, streets, and neighborhoods of Kashmir belong to them. Growing up in a heavily militarized zone, the young generation of Kashmir has learned to speak for their rights and "discovered the power of mass protest" (80) and even the threat of death did not hold them back. The secessionist leaders were being guided by a crowd of enraged and imprisoned people whose long-suppressed energy turned into a revolution. They crushed bunkers and crossed barbed wires chanting slogans of freedom that reverberated across Kashmir (81).

In addition, Bukhari states that meanwhile other eminent separatist leaders such as

Syed Ali Shah Geelani, erstwhile militant commander Yasin Malik, and Mirwaiz Umer Farooq were detained in October 2008 as the elections for the new government of Kashmir were around the corner. It paved the path for pro-India political parties to participate and win the elections. Many resistance groups denied participation in the elections. To carry out the elections smoothly, more troops entered the territory of Kashmir from India. During the election campaigns, many people who resisted Indian perpetration were arrested under the Public Safety Act. Moreover, despite the participation of pro-India political parties in the election, a number of candidates appeared out of nowhere from the regional parties of India to contest the elections. Many among them were independent contestants who were buttressed by Indian state by giving money to convince peers and relatives to participate in the elections. These apparent perpetration strategies made the Indian parties win the elections which demonstrated that the secessionist groups in Kashmir have been vanquished (*UMFHC 34*).

Bukhari adds that the 2008 resistance and anger of people were not silenced properly when in 2009 the murder of two women from the district of Shopian by policemen triggered more protests in the valley. Shopian is under heavy military siege. According to the families of the victims, the women were kidnapped and raped by police officers. For days, Shopian remained under protest and shutdown. The secessionist movements were now bolstered by youngsters who have grown up in decades of severe unrest. An investigation by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) into the Shopian case concluded that the two young women died of drowning in a stream. However, many Kashmiris denied the findings (*UMFHC 35*).

It can be inferred from the incidents that the reaction of people in Kashmir is not planned or backed by anti-nationals rather it demonstrates a people's movement. The civil resistance of Kashmir is "non-institutional" which means it is an act of disobedience against prevailing laws or larger systems that are considered "unjust and illegitimate" (Chenoweth 3). The way Indian government is treating Kashmiris cannot be justified in any way and in such situation the reaction of Kashmiris is undeniable and inevitable. The claims of the Indian government to call the resistance movements organized and funded are just not true rather the violence in Kashmir is planned and funded by India.

In her article "The Militarized Zone" (2011) Angana P. Chatterji points out an important aspect that the youth from Kashmir laments that India asks us "why do we

throw stones?” instead of asking us “who burnt our house down?” (112). Chatterji further pens down the story of Bebaak who participated in the protests of 2009 and 2010 just because he refused subjugation, but in return, he received torture and detention from the Indian army. Bebaak further claims that he was tortured and abused in detention, and he asserts “our struggles against India’s brutalities do not make us criminals” (qtd. in Chatterji 113). He reveals that if any member of the family is involved in a protest, the Indian army attempts to shatter the resolve of the family. However, Bebaak is determined to get azadi. In addition, Khurram Parvez, a human rights defender, when interviewed, mentions that it is our moral responsibility to resist brutality. He then adds that across Jammu and Kashmir, the word “freedom” ultimately means an end to India’s regime (114).

Thus, this reflects that the years of denial, frustration, anguish, and oppression in Kashmir have now taken the shape of rebellion. The three consecutive summers of unrest from 2008 to 2010 reflect not just a denial of the ruler but a robust ideology of separation. Omar Abdullah said that the dearth of accountability in Kashmir made people lose their trust in the Indian government. He further adds, “[E]ach killing triggered more protests, often coordinated through text messages and over the internet (*UMFHC* 9). Furthermore, Arif Ayaz Parrey opines that even if all the security forces retreat from Kashmir, the people of Kashmir are not going to halt their protests because they want the Indian state to leave their territory. The demands of Kashmiris are evident in their slogans: “Cruel Oppressor leave our state,” This country is ours; we will decide its fate” (*UMFHC* 237).

Suvir Kaul best sums up the resistance of Kashmiris in his memoir “Visiting Kashmir, Re-Learning Kashmir,” by stating that Kashmiris have made poetry, stories, pictures, and songs their weapons after suffering two decades of persistent violence since 1990. Apart from these, one could witness tremendous processions of men and women enchanting slogans and stepping into a future that holds little hope of freedom but guarantees more pain and suffering (*OGAG* 76).

By analyzing the micro-narratives of Kashmir, it can be inferred that extreme violence gives birth to resistance. Aggression, anger, and frustration are accumulated in a people who are oppressed for a long period, and when these emotions go intolerant people react violently and forcefully. The petite memoirs from Kashmir are actually manuscripts of rebellion and revolution against certain grand narratives.

CHAPTER 5

WAITING FOR A NEW DAWN

In this chapter, I have summarized the key findings of the research that I have reached after analyzing the petite memoirs from the lens of perpetration and civil resistance. The answers to all three research questions are provided that the study posed. Further, this chapter also incorporates the recommendations that provide room to carry out further research on the selected texts.

Kashmir, South Asia's Palestine, falls under the category of heavily militarized zones. Kashmir has been sympathized for decades without providing a viable solution to its protracted dispute. The current study aims at discovering the perpetrators of Kashmir via micro-narratives defined as "petite memoirs" written by people from Kashmir.

According to Üngör and Anderson, the concept of perpetrator refers to any such individual who is involved in the execution of atrocities directly (7). The act of perpetration is actually systematic and political. Perpetration operates at different levels: macro-level perpetration that involves the architects, meso-level perpetration that involves the organizers, and micro-level perpetration that incorporates the killers. The current study focuses on the perpetration processes operating at different levels. The macro-level perpetrators are solely responsible for instigating the whole process of perpetration. The top-level perpetrators are propelled by power and firm ideologies. (Üngör and Anderson 11). An analysis of selected petite memoirs from Kashmir unravels all three perpetration processes operating in Kashmir to forcibly occupy the land. The macro-level perpetrators which are backed by the ideology of incorporating a Muslim majority state into a Hindu majority state to reinforce the secular and democratic nature of the state guides the perpetrators at the macro-level.

The ideological preferences of the Indian state date back to the two-nation theory which divided the people of the Indian Sub-continent into Muslims and Hindus. This relates the discussion to another subtle feature of macro-level perpetration which is polarization. The polarization of political groups leads to the formation of groups at the micro-level. The Hindu-majority Indian state views the Muslims of Kashmir as perilous "Other." The Indian state has always stayed indifferent to its minorities, and Muslims in Kashmir are victims of marginalization and injustices.

The next level of perpetrators is the meso-level perpetrators who are the political and

administrative heads responsible for dividing the duties and organizing the machinery of murder. Mid-level perpetration process materializes the plans of macro-level perpetrators (Üngör and Anderson 14). The meso and micro-level perpetrators, in order to keep the ideologies of macro-level perpetrators alive, perpetrate violence against the victims considering them enemies or dehumanized beings. The meso-level perpetrators legalize and legitimize the atrocities of macro-level perpetrators. For instance, the DG of the police defends the heavy presence of the Indian army in Kashmir stating that the presence of armed forces is crucial to combat any future militant threats.

The last level of the perpetration process is of micro-level perpetrators who are involved in the genocide directly. The reactions of micro-level perpetrators are abrupt and situational and are not inspired by massive political projects (Üngör and Anderson 17). This level of perpetrators is directly involved in committing the atrocities. Most of the Indian armed forces deployed in Kashmir actually have very little insights about the grand narratives of conspiracy. They just act as pawns. The most prominent victims of the violence in Kashmir are the youth. The concertina wires surrounding the land of Kashmir show a sheer control of Kashmir's land and lives along with the thoughts of the residents.

The violence in Kashmir perpetrated directly by micro-level perpetrators that include the military, paramilitary, and police forces ranges from torture, unauthorized detentions, forced disappearances, and rape to brutal killing. People of Jammu and Kashmir are not allowed to have their own perspectives regarding their occupied territory. Freedom of expression is censored in Kashmir. News channels and social media platforms are monitored closely. This answers my first research question which intends to unveil the various kinds of violence perpetrated by the perpetrators. Arundhati Roy affirms it in her article "Azadi: The Only Thing Kashmiris Want," (2011) by asserting that the state of India has used torture, disinformation, rigged elections, blackmail, and imprisonment to subjugate the people of Kashmir. However, the Indian state misconceived the fact that "domination was victory, that the 'normalcy' it had enforced through the barrel of a gun was indeed normal, and that the sullen silence of people was acquiescence" (77). Hence, this diverts the discussion to the third research question which enquires about the resistance strategies of Kashmiris.

Erica Chenoweth states that civil resistance is an organized non-violent mass movement that threatens the political, social, and economic status quo (2). The resistance of Kashmir is defined as "civil resistance" because in the light of the petite memoirs, all Kashmiris are playing a role in resisting the Indian political hegemony. The years of

excessive domination and militarization have ignited the fire of resistance in the people of Kashmir. The aggression, anxiety, and hopelessness of Kashmiri people have taken the form of fictional narratives, memoirs, poems, art, paintings, stones, and mass protests. Instead of inculcating fear, the long-lived traumatic experiences of people have made them bold and courageous, and are ready to transcend any threats to get freedom for their land. The three consecutive summers of massive protests that erupted in 2008 and continued till 2010 are vivid examples of the denial of their ruler, India. The civil uprising that began in 2008 as a reaction to the transfer of land to Amarnath Shrine was least expected by the Indian government. It was to “fight back” when people realized that their rights are violated by the Indian political regime and to build “new systems that address underlying injustices” (Chenoweth 3). People walked the streets in huge numbers fighting the conspiracies to gradually occupy their land.

Moreover, stone pelting as well as protests is one of the ways of resistance in Kashmir. Experiencing unbearable and absurd violence has forced Kashmiris to stone throwing. The prominent examples of such reactions are that of Hashim and Showkat Nanda. Hashim opted for stone pelting after seeing his father being brutally humiliated by the Indian armed forces. On the contrary, Nanda who pursued photojournalism to play his role in resisting the perpetrators picked stones to revenge the death of a twelve-year-old boy. Nanda’s transition from a skilled photojournalist to a helpless stone-thrower reinforces the idea of why Kashmiris adopted stone-throwing.

However, there are other such stories in which stone pelting has rendered people in more pain and agony. Aamir’s story is an example of such a grim narrative which showcases the darkness Kashmiri people are thrown into when they tried to ignite the candles of freedom. Aamir’s sacrifice is one such example from thousands of narratives in which people’s burning desire for azadi is met with a perpetual darkness.

Along with protests and stone-throwing, people use the power of poetry and music to express their trauma and resistance as is evident in the rap songs of MC Kash and verses of Jasim Malik. Erica Chenoweth asserts that the participation of musicians in civil resistance shows “unity and a sense of civic action” (43). Rap and hip-hop music that have “defiant lyrics and popular beats” can be used to reflect “political autonomy and cultural resistance” (43). Kash’s first song, “I Protest (Remembrance)”, embodies “defiant lyrics” which show defiance and protest state induced brutality. Kash’s song is an admixture of pain and resistance.

Moreover, women also have actively participated in the civil resistance of Kashmir, however, their means of resistance are different and apolitical. According to Chenoweth, the involvement of women in civil resistance projects “the universal or apolitical nature of the grievances that the movement represents” (97). This can be observed in the case of Parveena Ahangar who built APDA after the forced disappearance of her son. By establishing APDA, Ahangar stood against the brutalities to speak for thousands of Kashmiri families who share her pain and trauma.

The perpetration of violence and the compulsion to resist are the identity of present-day Kashmir. Protracted and sheer violence have created a wave of civil resistance in Kashmir. Hence, this answers the second research question that seeks an illustration of the Kashmir conflict via the selected petite narratives. It is concluded that the conflict in Kashmir is an admixture of persistent violence and resistance. The selected petite memoirs which are lived experiences of people from Kashmir, therefore, sum up the conflict of Kashmir evincing the forced occupation of the Indian state without negotiating with the Kashmiris about what they want which is an official right of the people of Kashmir. Kashmiris never availed the right to choose a future for themselves rather they are subdued and subjugated for years, and this has compelled them to resist the presence of Indian forceful occupation.

Arundhati Roy best concludes the situation of Kashmir by posing the question, “Does any government have the right to take away people’s liberty with military force?” (90). The answer to the question posed by Roy is simple. Suppression, marginalization, and militarization can yield silence for a short period, but in the long run; they result in rebellion and resistance. Territories can be forcefully occupied but not people as is evident in Kashmir.

The ephemeral silence created by the Indian perpetrators through guns has now turned into a powerful uproar in the form of civil resistance. The petite memoirs unravel that the fire of freedom has been ignited across Kashmir, and people are fighting to get their liberty back. This concludes the debate that the petite memoirs show individual experiences of individuals from Kashmir narrating stories that validate the argument that violence in Kashmir is perpetrated by Indian political hegemony. Thus, this negates the Indian grand narratives of being democratic and secular. It is trying to occupy a territory against the will of its people and resistance in such a case is inevitable. The petite memoirs are significant in subverting the Indian grand narratives thus opening doors for

unbiased reality.

Social Implications

The conflict of Kashmir has been going on since independence. Literature has been widely used to present the violence and trauma of Kashmiris. The present study focuses on the perpetration of violence and restlessness in Kashmir. It attempts to bring to light the strategies and tactics behind the militarization of Kashmir by the Indian State. The Indian grand narratives claiming the land of Kashmir are very popular, powerful, and widespread. In such a case, Kashmiri petite memoirs give substantial reading material to understand the aspirations and torment of Kashmiris.

A reading of the petite memoirs sheds light on the fact that democratic genocide is going on in the vale of Kashmir and the world seems to be deliberately ignoring it. Devoid of any external help to rescue their land, the Kashmiris have decided to stand for themselves. Unraveling the “forms of perpetration” the present study seems to give agency to the voice of the Kashmiris and their plight.

Recommendations

The three anthologies selected for this study are rich in personal and collective traumatic experiences, therefore the lens of trauma could be employed to analyze the petite memoirs present in the anthologies. Secondly, I have just used petite memoirs from the texts, the anthology *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017) incorporates many poems written on the war experiences in Kashmir, hence, they can be studied using the lens of “Poetry of Witness” by Carolyn Forché.

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