DIVERGENT COLLABORATIONS AND CONFLICTING NATIONAL DISCOURSES IN MIRZA WAHEED'S *THE COLLABORATOR*

By

Salvia Razzaque

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
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By
Salvia Razzaque

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Submitted By: Salvia Razzaque **Registration #: 1074-M.Phil/Eng/F15**

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English Literature
Name of Discipline

Ms. Amina Ghazanfar _____
Name of Research Supervisor Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan _____
Name of Dean (FoLs) Signature of Dean (FoLs)

Brig. Muhammad Ibrahim _____
Name of DG Signature of DG

_____
Date

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I Salvia Razzzaque

Daughter of Abdul Razzaque

Registration # 1074- M.Phil/Eng/ F15

Discipline English Literature

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Divergent Collaborations and Conflicting National Discourses in Mirza Waheed's *The Collaborator*

The focus of this study is the conflict zone of Kashmir. The research highlights the impact of the catastrophic decade of the 90s on the life of Kashmiris as narrated by Mirza Waheed in his debut novel *The Collaborator* (2012). The study employs Post colonialist perspective and theory of Nationalism. The study inquires into the diverse ways in which Kashmiris respond to the changing dynamics of Kashmir in the milieu of the emerging Freedom Movement and its suppression by the Indian Army. It identifies the ideological divisions between Kashmiris, their concept of nationhood and its ensuing discourses. The varied discourse of resistance manifests the divergence in Kashmiri nation. This idea is exhibited through the fictional characters' perception and internalization/rejection of the Freedom Movement. It argues that the concept of Nationalism in Kashmir in the decade of 90s is Janus-faced. The research reveals that some fictional characters exhibit tendencies that are pro-Movement and pro-Pakistan. But, there is also a minority that reflects anti-Movement and anti-Pakistan tendencies. Thus, the response of the fictional characters towards the Freedom Movement governs their choices of allegiances with or against India.

Along with highlighting the manifestation of the ideological divisions, the research investigates the social circumstances and personality traits of the fictional characters that are crucial in carving their national identity. In addition to this, the study also explores the significance of narration as a means of reflecting the multifaceted culture of nations. It also highlights Waheed's artistic skill to juxtapose the grotesque reality of Kashmir filled with brutality against its alluring beauty.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns the conflict faced by Kashmiris in the Indian Occupied Kashmir in the decade of 90s. It intends to take into consideration the resistance put forth by Kashmiris against their oppressors. The discourse on Kashmir has resulted in multiple accounts weaved around the conflict, both by foreign and indigenous writers, resulting in diverse perspectives on the issue. The narratives of the indigenous writers, though, have an added appeal because of their lived experiences and the sense of loss shared by all Kashmiris . The indigenous writers have, thus, narrated a myriad of narratives building on injustice, humiliation and deprivation faced by Kashmiris over the decades. These fictional narratives include *Curfewed Night* (2008) by Basharat Peer, *The Collaborator* (2012), and *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) by Mirza Waheed and *Munnu* (2015) by Malik Sajjad ,to name a few.

Of the above mentioned works, the focus of the thesis is Mirza Waheed's debut novel *The Collaborator* (2012). This study intends to explore the narrative put forth by Mirza Waheed in his debut novel, *The Collaborator* (2012). Waheed is a Kashmiri novelist, author of *The Collaborator* (2012) and *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014). Moreover, he registers resistance by forcefully commenting on the happenings in Kashmir, as a journalist too.

The conflict of Kashmir has its origin in 1947, the time of decolonization of the British India into India and Pakistan. Touqir Hussain in his article "India, Pakistan and Kashmir" (2014) alludes to the British rule before the partition and observes that the sub-continent has been a

unique division where on one hand the British "imperial power directly administered" some areas while "princely states enjoy[ed] varying degrees of autonomy" (44). But, these states were at a loss at the time of decolonization as, "they had to be stripped of ... two layers of colonialism," one of their local rulers and the other of the British rule (Hussain 45).

Kashmir, being one of the princely states in the subcontinent, faced the consequences of this situation. It had a choice to either join India or Pakistan or remain free in 1947 (Peer 12). Tariq Ali in his essay in *Kashmir the Case for Freedom* (2011) also refers to the status of the princely states at the time of independence. He points out that despite the ruler's "legal right" of choice there was a popular assumption that in case of the difference of faith of the ruler and his subjects, the ruler would respect the wishes of the majority. The Muslim rulers of "Hyderabad" and "Junagadh", for example, made a choice of acceding to India because of the majority Hindu population (Ali 15). Like the above mentioned states, Kashmir also had the feature of difference of faith between the ruler and subjects having a major population of Muslims, yet, ruled by a Hindu ruler, Hari Singh. But, unlike the other states, it was unique and thus different because of being "geographically contagious to both India and the future Pakistan" (Schofield 19). This led to a standstill situation in case of Kashmir. According to Basharat Peer, a key figure in making the decisive choice in these circumstances was the famous Kashmiri leader, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. Peer tells that independent Kashmir was his first choice while joining India was a second option for him as he was famously known to be a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister (13).

As Hari Singh and Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah took time contemplating the future of Kashmir, the tribal people of North West Frontier Province of Pakistan intruded and attacked Kashmir in October 1947 (Peer 12). Peer is critical of the role of the tribesmen and says that

they, "forc[ed] their hand" in the matter of Kashmir (12). Abdul Sattar, in his book *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2012* (2006), contrarily, considers it to be a move based on compassion. He is of the view that the "*lashkar*" of the tribesmen felt sympathy for the Kashmiri brothers who were subjected to brutality under the Dogra rule (26). Though, he admires the intention of the tribesmen to relieve Kashmiris of the injustices but is critical of their "poor discipline" (26). In addition to giving the background of the intrusion, he acknowledges the aftermath of this interference i.e. the landing of the Indian army in Kashmir following the tribal attack (26).

Like Sattar, Mir Abdul Aziz values and admires the arrival of the tribesmen in Kashmir. He is of the view that Kashmiris realised and valued the significance of tribesmen attack in Kashmir. In his book *Freedom Struggle in Kashmir* (2000). He mentions that Kashmiri poets wrote poetry admiring them. He praises the tribesmen for achieving their target i.e. defeating the army of Jammu and Kashmir. But, he confesses that they could not "match" the strength of the Indian Army (243).

With respect to the attack of the tribesmen, Peer believes that it was "supported by the Pakistani army" (12). A claim that is supported by Alastair Lamb in his book "*Incomplete Partition* (2002), where he questions the role of Pakistani government in this attack and considers it to be solely a military move (137). Mir Abdul Aziz asserts that Quaid-e-Azam was not "consulted" regarding this move (242). Yasser Latif Hamdani in his book *Jinnah: Myth and Reality* (2012), also, states that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first governor general of Pakistan, was totally unaware of this attack at its inception (119). Furthermore, Hamdani quotes Fatima Jinnah telling that Jinnah considered it to be "a thoughtless step [and that too taken] in such a crude and unorganised manner" (120).

It was at the point of the tribal attack that Hari Sing took the decision of Kashmir's accession to India and was supported by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (Peer 12). The United Nations intervened and "endorsed a plebiscite" for the Kashmiris right for self –determination (Peer13).The plebiscite never occurred but Kashmir's accession to India had its consequences. India first promised to ensure relatively autonomous Kashmir but the autonomy was later on withheld by India (Peer13). Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was imprisoned when he alluded to the possibility of an independent Kashmir. He remained jailed for approximately twenty years. Upon his release, he succumbed to Indian offers and in return was given power. These, Peer tells were the peaceful years. But, the situation in Kashmir deteriorated in 1987 when after Sheikh Abdullah's demise, the Indian government "rigged" the elections and used violence to terrorize "opposition candidates and ... their supporters" (Peer13).Post-election, violence led to resistance and defiance. It was crushed and in turn led to an armed struggle that continues till present.

Alastair Lamb, in his book *Kashmir: A disputed Legacy* (1991), also comments on the context of Kashmir in 1987. He is of thie view that by 1991, India confronted circumstances in Jammu and Kashmir that can be best described as "a terminal colonial situation" (322).He gives the reason for this claim that the only way India can sway the people of Kashmir is through

force and, given a chance of exhibiting their free will, the people of Kashmir would never vote for the continuation of Indian control (Lamb 322). Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle , also relate coercion and force with colonialism. They point out that colony is a "patriarchal and agricultural metaphor" (243). They consider the concept of colony in relation to language, space and time. A colonial situation, for example, involves imposition of a foreign language. As far as space is concerned, it is pointed out that, "'colony' is fundamentally a spatial term, originally it has to do with tilling the land ... and [its] exploitation" (Bennett and Royle 243). They further

explain the importance of time for colonies by referring to the terms post and new colonialism which are temporal in natural (243). So, India once a colony of the British Empire ended up colonizing Kashmiris against their will and thus the legacy of colonialism continues with all its atrocities. But, the Indian domination is constantly being challenged by the Kashmiris.

The freedom struggle in Kashmir has evolved over a period of time. The decade of 90s was an era of confrontation between the Kashmiri fighters and the Indian forces. The freedom struggle took new form in the next decade though. Arundhati Roy in her essay in *Kashmir the Case for Freedom* (2011) hints at the transition of the Kashmiris' mode of resistance in the decade of 2000. She observes that unlike the uprising of the 90s in Kashmir, the next decade is marked by "a new phase" of "sustained mass uprising". She considers the mass protest as a "nightmare" for India. Though India claims victory in crushing the violent uprising, it is in fact replaced by non violent protest of the masses in Kashmir (Roy 28). Unlike the armed strugglers, "young stone-throwers took to the streets" to register resistance through mass uprising (Roy 29). Roy points out that the generation that grew up in 90s witnessed severe clashes between Kashmiri fighters and Indian forces resulting in prolong violence .So they chose to exercise, "the power of mass protest and above all the dignity of being able to straighten their shoulders and speak for themselves, represent themselves" (30). She credits the mass protest of being able to challenge and dispel the elusive fabrications crafted around the identity of those who challenged Indian rule in Kashmir (30). So, the non violent mass protest proved to be a purely Kashmiri phenomenon.

Angana P. Chatterji in *Kashmir the Case for Freedom (2011)*, also observes that, "The armed struggle abated between 2004 and 2007 yielding to a new phase of nonviolent resistance". She asserts that Kashmiris used, "Graffiti, songs, comic strips, prose and poetry ... as mediums of

dissent ... and marched through the streets ... across Kashmir" (50).So, people chose the way of mass protest that was non-violent but these protestors met violence too.

Chatterji, narrates the experiences of a Kashmiri torturee who says that the Kashmiri youth is asked that why do they throw stones but it is not understood that it is nothing in relation to their houses burnt down by the Indian army (48). Kashmiri youth also asks that, "How is it wrong to resist one's bondage?" (Chatterji 48). Chatterji highlights the monstrous reality of "distinction in method and power ... between the stone pelters and the armed soldiers" (52).

The same incongruence in method is highlighted by Mirza Waheed too. He refers to the response of Kashmiris to the martyrdom of Burhan Wani, a freedom fighter, in 2016. The protest of Kashmiris against his martyrdom is emblematic of a renewed energy of resentment and resistance against the oppression of the Indian army. People took to streets in Kashmir to show support for the cause of martyrdom and met violence. Waheed is critical of the use of pellet guns against the street protestors, turning scores of Kashmir blind forever (Mirza Waheed, India is blinding young Kashmiri protestors, guardian.com).

Despite the popular uprising and the just demand for freedom, the narrative put forth by the Indian government claims Kashmir to be an integral part of India. They pose that the aspirations demanding freedom are marginal one. While the exhibition of popular Kashmiri sentiment is otherwise. India keeps claiming that it is introducing confidence building measures to win the hearts of Kashmiris and make them part of the national stream. But it keeps continuing its demeaning tactics. Recently, a young Kashmiri was bound to an army vehicle and was used as a human shield. The Indian army has been severely criticized for this act of objectification of Kashmiris.

The primary text, *The Collaborator* (2012), is also a critique of the coercion and force exercised by the Indian army against Kashmiris.It is a lyrical narrative set in Kashmir in 90s. It depicts the life of Kashmiris, living near the line of control between India and Pakistan, who undergo transformation owing to the violence that engulfs their motherland. While some resort to taking up arms against the oppressors, others choose to leave the turbulent areas in search of education and job. The eponymous narrator, a procrastinating being, oscillates between choices and ends up being a collaborator of the Indian Army. So, this research deals with the portrayal of Kashmiri nation being in the state of transition in 90s. It aims at exploration of the motivation, personality, choices and subsequent experiences of Kashmiris. The decade of 90s offers the context of mesh of available options of collaboration and allegiances to different factions directly affecting the conflict. This context leads to ideological, linguistic and behavioural divisions and their manifestation in life of Kashmiris. This research highlights these ideological divisions as manifested through the behaviour and language of the fictional characters.

Bennett and Royle associate people's perception of things with language. They believe that an individual's thought, "about society, ethics, politics, justice,... about human rights, race, religion and ethnicity, ... the environment, about war and revolution, about terrorists and freedom fighters - is a matter of language" (199). They propose that, "[I]deology, the way that people think about their world, is produced and altered in and through language" (199).They further argue, that it is the power of language that results in creation and transformation of "social and political world[s]for individuals... Ideology in that sense is language" (199).

Poul de man has also commented on the relationship of ideology and language in his essay, "The Resistance to Theory". He is of the view that, "What we call ideology is precisely the confusion of linguistic with natural reality" (qtd in Bennett, Royle 200). This is to say, that

the "'reality' " and "purpose" of being is assigned by language and it is relative (Bennett, Royle 200). Bennett and Royle explain it through an example of a person carrying weapon and wearing balaclava. According to them, he can be considered either a " 'terrorist' " or a " 'freedom fighter' " and the reality and " 'purpose' " of the person's action changes, depending on the application of either of the two terms for his description (200). This example serves well in connection to the different perspectives regarding those who became part of the Active Resistance in Kashmir in 90s.

With respect to ideology, Louis Althusser, asserts that ideology depicts the abstract relation of human beings to the concrete facts and reality of "existence" (qtd in Bennett, Royle 201). Moreover, Althusser considers humans as an "ideological animal" and believes that it is the belief in and allegiance to an ideology that helps individuals in self definition (qtd in Bennett, Royle 201). Bennett and Royle, further, explain the correlation between ideology and issues of identity. They point out that the phenomenon of "subjects"/individuals/people making their ideology and ideology subjecting the individuals is a simultaneous process and " 'ideology' [thus] goes to the heart of personal identity" (202). For Terry Eagleton, too, ideology is the determinant that determines the roles played by individuals in their lives. He believes it is ideology that carves the "images"and determines "the ideas" and "values" of individuals (qtd in Bennett, Royle 201). Thus, ideology plays a pivotal role in determining individuals' choices.

With reference to the relation between ideology and its manifestation through language, Lois Tyson regards ideology to be related to discourse. She defines discourse as "a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and place, and it expresses a particular way of understanding human experience" (285). She further observes that although the two are used "interchangeably ...*discourse* draws attention to the role of language as the

vehicle of ideology" (285). Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia also point out the relation between the two. They relate ideology to social consciousness and consider it to be based on "statements" that reveal a person's "social knowledge". Discourse in that sense leads to "the construction of subjectivity" (14). It is the consciousness of one's experiences and surroundings that defines an individual's identity and leads to certain subjective choices.

The discourse on Kashmir is also subjective and relative reflecting the complexity and intricacy of choices involved with respect to the perspectives regarding the conflict of Kashmir. The rhetoric put forth by authors of varied origins/nationalities regarding the Resistance Movement in Kashmir in 90s and those involved in it is polarised. There are terms either championing or celebrating the uprising and those involved in it or those that are used degradingly for the uprising and its active participants.

The range of words employed by different authors for the Resistance Movement is diverse. Hilal Bhatt, for instance, uses the word "armed rebellion" (41). While Abdul Sattar refers to the same as "[a] popular uprising ... [c]alled Tehrik (movement)" (189). He considers it an "armed struggle" too (192). Pankaj Mishra uses the word "insurgency" (1). But, Angana P. Chatterji states that in Kashmir "resistance" is considered "insurgent by state institutions" (49).

Arhundati Roy hints at this polarity and says that what is "a freedom struggle" for Kashmiris is deemed "a terrorist campaign" by India (31). Lamb also refers to this dichotomy that "one man's "terrorist" is another's "freedom fighter" (332). Kamila Shamsie, refers to those involved in the Resistance Movement as ""militants" or "freedom fighters"", thus putting the two diametrical sides together , leaving the choice of perspective and the dilemma for the readers to decide (Kamila Shamsie, The Collaborator by Mirza Waheed –review, guardian .com). Hilal

Bhatt does the same by keeping the dichotomy intact. He mentions the Kashmiri children's inclination towards being "militants, hero" in the circumstances created after the 1987 election (41). Furthermore, he shares his personal experience that at school, all his class mates aimed at becoming "mujahidin-fighters" (42). Schofield, on the other hand, chooses to use the word "freedom fighter" and "activist" for those involved in the struggle against India (28). The jargon that Peer uses for those involved in the movement reflects diversity too. He considers them "militants ", "young guerrillas" (13). He deems them "rebels" too (24). Though, he acknowledges that people considered them "heroes" for challenging and defying the suppression imposed by India (13). Victoria Schofield refers to a concern in this connection. She points out the fact of Kashmiris' apprehension about their "struggle" being misrepresented and thus "misunderstood" to be an added dimension in the complexity of the Kashmir issue (Schofield 53). Thus, the choice of words is critical in mis/representing an activity and its actors.

The era of 90s in Kashmir is replete with the discourse of resistance reflecting varied ideologies. Similarly, the means to register it are diverse too. A fact that can be witnessed through the analysis of the split, division and divergence of choices and its exhibition in the fictional characters of the primary text. The thesis thus proposes to highlight the eclectic options acquired by the fictional characters in the violent decade of 90s ensuing conflicting national discourses. As far as the theme of Nationalism is concerned, its manifestation in the novel is melancholic in nature. There is a very strong sense of loss and "national sorrow" throughout the novel. A feeling about which Ernest Renan in his essay, " Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" points out that nations are bound together by the virtue of, " having suffered together ,indeed, common suffering is greater than happiness. In fact national sorrows are more significant than triumphs because they impose obligation and demand a common effort" (17). The Kashmiri characters in

the primary text are placed in a similar setting where they are bound by the feelings of helplessness and an aspiration to get rid of the subjugation imposed by India.

The primary text deals with the theme of Nationalism as one of the sources from which human beings carve their identity. Anthony D. Smith refers to some of the diverse sources of identity for humans before the modern times. These include, "family, gender, clan, caste, class, religion ..." etc. But, none of these identities, he points out, could achieve a position of global "political" importance (1). A position that is achieved in modern times by national identity (Smith 1). He, thus, associates nationalism with modernity.

According to Smith, nationalism is "an ideological movement" for an already existing nation (2). Whereas, nation is a group of people having a common "culture", "historic territory", "myths", "historical memories" etc (Smith 1). Thus, nationalism involves a common effort not only for the "attainment" but also for the "maintenance of autonomy", "unity" and "identity" of a group of people considering themselves as a nation (Smith 1). Max Weber also refers to the aspiration of having a separate state to be rooted in nationalism. He defines nation as "a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own" (25).

Bhahba's views on Nationalism are of prime importance in the study. Bhabha's perspective on Nationalism highlights the importance of narration with respect to nations (Huddart 121). Basharat Peer , emphasizes the importance of narration of nation in his memoir , *Curfewed Night* (2010) too and says that,"People from almost every conflict zone had told their stories: Palestinians, Israeli, Bosnians, Kurds, Tibetans, Lebanese, East Germans, Africans, East Timorese and many more. [He] felt the absence of [his] own telling, the unwritten books about

the Kashmiri experience..." (95). So, the study aims to reflect the importance of narration and its impact on self-definition.

The thesis also intends to deliberate Waheed's skill of juxtaposing the idyllic beauty of Kashmir lyrically against the grotesque torture and killing of its inhabitants. Edward Said, proposes that the relation between the oppressor and oppressed can be analysed through "rich cultural documents" (22). Waheed's debut novel, thus, serves an example in the context of Kashmir. Waheed critiques the imperialistic tendencies exercised by the Indian Army over Kashmiri locals. Edward Said is, also, of view that, "[d]omination and inequities of power and wealth are perennial facts of human society" (20). Waheed clearly shows this fact in his novel too.

Thesis Statement:

Kashmir is a site of divergent ideologies and allegiances in the violent decade of 90s as depicted in Waheed's *The Collaborator* (2012) and these ideological divisions among Kashmiris reflect the phenomenon of diversity and transition with respect to the idea of nationhood.

Significance:

It envisages proving that state of affairs in Kashmir does not have even a speck of normalcy and people live a traumatic life. It further highlights the contribution of the fictional work to the ambit of resistance literature. It portrays diversity and relativism existing in the nation of Kashmir. It also points out Waheed's portrayal of divergence in discourse of Kashmiri Nation and the absence of a unifying force in the setting of the fictional work. Waheed represents

this idea through the fictional characters' perception and internalization/ rejection of the Armed Struggle of 1989 and its suppression by the Indian Army.

Objectives of study:

The research deals with the structures of "difference" in choices, allegiances, motivations, ideologies and discourses among Kashmiris. The goal of the research is threefold. It aims at:

1. To describe the behaviour and choices of the characters in the fictional setting.
2. To explain the impact of those choices on lives of Kashmiris and the dynamics of Kashmir.
3. To explore the multiple national discourses and the reasons behind those discourses by investigating the personality traits, identity and the motivations of the characters underlying the origin of the multiplicity.

Research Questions:

This study, primarily, explores the transitional social reality of the different characters of the primary text. It inquires into the issues of the individualistic identity of the characters, their ideological divisions and its impact on the national character and discourses. The study seeks to find answers to the following questions:

1. To what extent do the fictional characters conform to the ideal of active involvement in the Freedom Movement of Kashmir in the 1990s?

2. What is the impact of varied networks of allegiance in shaping the ideological, linguistic, social and historical reality of Kashmir, after the Armed Struggle of 1989?
3. How do the individual traits of the characters and their context underpin the choices they make?

Delimitation:

The Collaborator (2012) is a rich and complex fictional narrative. The richness of the content allows it to be dealt through varied perspectives like Psychoanalysis, Eco-criticism, Feminism, New- historicism, Critical Discourse Analysis etc. But this project deals with the identification of different national discourse in the setting of *The Collaborator* (2012).

Chapter Breakdown:

Chapter 1: The introductory chapter deals with the foundations of the research by providing information about the author, the novel under discussion and the statement of problem. It also includes the significance and objectives of the study. In addition to that, it also includes the explanation of the key terms.

Chapter 2: This chapter deals with literature review and is thus intended to provide information about the existing literature, reviews and researches related to the topic. It also concerns with identification of the research gap in the area and establishing the relevance and significance of the study to the existing repository of research**.**

Chapter 3: This chapter deals with the theoretical framework and research methodology.

Chapter 4: This chapter consists of textual analysis to highlight the central / major mode of resistance of fictional characters. It encompasses their active involvement/ facilitation of the Freedom Movement against India. It also deals with the exploration of the impetus for their choices and its outcomes.

Chapter 5: This chapter deals with the analysis of the text to study the life of the protagonist and his choice of revolting against the prevalent mode of resistance i.e participation in the Armed Struggle. It also includes the exploration of the idea of palimpsest with reference to the identity of the protagonist and the "[c]omplicated sense of not/belonging" that he experiences in the transitional national period of Kashmir (Bhattacharya 9).

Chapter 6: This chapter includes recapitulation of the essence of the study and suggestions for further research concerning the topic.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue of Kashmir has been discussed at a great length in both prose and poetry. As far as prose is concerned, the information about Kashmir is found both in fiction and non-fiction. With respect to fiction, novels are written including graphic novels too, depicting the complex reality of Kashmir. There is abundance of material written under the genre of non-fiction too. It includes anthologies of essays, history books and memoires. A rich resource of researches conducted on the literature written about Kashmir also expands the ambit of literature on Kashmir. With reference to poetry, the names that have gained prominence are those of indigenous poets like Habba Khatun and Agha Shahid Ali. Habba Khatun, is a sixteenth century poetess. Her poems are translated into English and are representative of Kashmiri culture. Agha Shahid Ali, on the other hand, wrote about the issue of Kashmir in English.

A constant theme in the literature written about Kashmir is a comment on the origin and history of evolution of rule in Kashmir; another theme, equally apparent, is the context and reasons of the initiation of the Armed Struggle in 1989 in Kashmir and its ensuing impact; a third theme is the streak of violence let loose in Kashmir; yet another dominant theme is the negligence and callousness of the world towards the Kashmir conflict; and another major theme out of many is the significance of the representation of the conflict through indigenous art.

As far as the ***history of origin and evolution of rule in Kashmir*** is concerned, Peer in his memoire, *Curfewed Night* (2008) comments on it, though not chronologically. Unlike Peer, Tariq Ali in his essay, "The Story of Kashmir" (2011) does not sparingly reflect on the history of Kashmir but gives a deep insight of "Kashmir's turbulent past, [both] Islamic and pre-Islamic" and that too in a chronological order (5). Dalrymple, also comments on the two broad divisions of the history of Kashmir: one with the Hindu reign and "Buddhist cultural influence" and the other with Muslim rule. It is mentioned that the former lasted till the "fourteenth century" while the latter continued till the "twentieth century" (William Dalrymple, Kashmir: The Sacred and the Beautiful, nybooks.com). Victoria Schofield, in her book, *Kashmir Vales of Tears, Home of Tragedy* (1996) also, comments on the history of Kashmir that is full of foreign intrusions and invasions. She is of the view that, though, geographically Kashmir may seem remote and segregated, because of its series of mountains, but, "[i]ts apparent impregnability is, [in fact], illusory". She maintains that there are more than "twenty passes" that provide access to Kashmir (5). These passages multiply the possibilities of accessing Kashmir.

Like Schofield, Mir Abdul Aziz comments on the natural conditions of Kashmir and refers to a myth about its creation. He comments on the origin of the word Kashmir. He associates the "Kash" Part of the word with the name of a spiritual leader Kashyap. He is believed to have played a role in conversion of the place from a lake to land. "Mir" according to him means "a place" (10).

Peer in his memoire refers to the myth too. It is believed that there was a large lake inhabited by a demon. His presence was an obstacle in the way of land being inhabited by human beings. So, "Kashyapa, the sage", pleaded Hindu gods to avert this destruction. It is thought that through their intervention a pass was created and water of the lake, "drained out". After that the

demon went inside the ground and was forbidden to come out by a pebble being placed there which turned into a mountain by the miracle of Hindu gods (Peer130). It is believed that this resulted in the possibility of the place being inhabited by people.

Peer mentions the presence of the historic king Ashoka in Kashmir too. He tells that around 250 BC, it was he who "founded Srinagari" near the present day Srinagar. In addition to that, it was from Kashmir, that the teachings of Buddhism were preached to Japan and China, as, Ashoka abandoned violence after the battle of Kalinga and lived his life filled with teachings of Buddhism (Peer 113).

Peer, then, refers to the tenure of Zain-ul-Abideen too, who ruled Kashmir in 15th century. His period was considered as, "the golden age" and he is still called "Bud Shah (The Great King)" (Peer 193). Like him, Dalrymple shares the admiration of the Kashmiris for Zain-ul-Abidin till present for being a patron of art and for his "enlightened administration" (William Dalrymple, Kashmir: The Sacred and the Beautiful, nybooks.com). Peer also mentions that the reason that was and is still celebrated as the great king is, his keen interest in the welfare of Kashmiris. He took interest in their education and granted "generous" funds to those who indulged in learning. He played a significant role in instilling craftsmanship in people of Kashmir too. He made the people of Kashmir collaborate with the "craftsmen and artisans from Central Asian cities, who taught Kashmiris the fine arts of papier-mâché and carpet weaving (Peer 193). Kashmir is still known for the production of rich cultural products.

Tariq Ali in *Kashmir, the case for freedom* (2011) traces the endeavours of invaders to establish Muslim rule in Kashmir. He mentions that the efforts to do so can be traced as early as the "eighth century" and points out that this invasion was averted by the Himalayan

range (5). The Muslim rule became possible after Rinchana became the ruler of Kashmir. Although he was a Buddhist, he later on converted to Islam under the influence of a Sufi named "Bulbul". The peculiarity of his rule was the presence of "Turkish mercenaries" as his guards (Ali 5) .Their presence is noteworthy because they were to be the future rulers. After the death of Rinchana, "Shah Mir," the chief of the mercenaries, took over and laid the foundations of the "first Muslim dynasty" in Kashmir (Ali 5).

Birbal Nath in his book *Kashmir*:*The Nuclear Flashpoint* (1998) gives reference to the Muslim rule in Kashmir too. He refers to the origin of Muslim rule in Kashmir being a result of "the purest coincidences". He mentions that Rinchen, a Ladakhi Budhist is responsible "to usher in Islam in to the valley". Birbal asserts that Rinchen took certain steps to be accepted locally. He, for instance, "married Kota Rani" a local lady. He also sought help from Hindus to convert to Hinduism which he was denied. Consequently, he converted to Islam with the help of an Indian Sufi Bulbul Shah (Nath 30).

With reference to the glorious period in the history of Kashmir, Nath refers to Zain-ul Abidin's golden age. He admires him for his patronage of art and kind treatment of Hindus. He mentions that unlike his predecessors he gave religious freedom to Hindus. Nath says that he "was a benevolent monarch who shines among otherwise dreary procession of kings (31).

Ali also comments on the glory of the tenure of Zain-al-Abidin. He maintains that, although, Shah Mir, in his tenure, put forth the policy of "forced conversion" to Islam but the majority Kashmiris were not influenced until the rule of "Zain-al-Abidin" who then inspired them to embrace Islam (6). He put an end to "forced conversions of Hindus" and they had the freedom to follow their own religion. His rule is marked by the characteristics of compassion and

generosity. He even encouraged Hindus to rebuild the temples that were destroyed earlier and in his rule people of different faiths co-existed peacefully (Ali 6). Moreover, he laid the foundations of the arts of "bookbinding and woodcarving and …mak[ing] carpets and shawls" in Kashmir by making Kashmiris learn these arts and crafts through their interaction and collaboration with the people of Iran and Central Asia" . So, owing to his valuable contribution, a large majority accepted Islam willingly causing the Hindus to be in minority in Kashmir: a demographic reality which has not changed ever since (Ali 6).

Ali then comments on the context that paved the way for the Moghul rule. An era that is significant in the history of Kashmir, according to Schofield too. She observes that the invasion of the Mughal's in Kashmir is generally regarded as the era "of Kashmir's modern history" (Schofield 8). As the period of glory in Kashmir ended with the death of Zain-al- Abidin, situation deteriorated, thus, paving the way for intrusions from outside. It was in this situation that the Mughals invaded Kashmir in the sixteenth century (Ali 6). Ali acknowledges the administrative efficiency of the "Mughal civil servants" in bringing improvement in the field of "trade…shawls making and…agriculture" but he, also, highlights the migration of the Kashmiri artists from Kashmir in the absence of patronage (6). With the passage of time, the Mughal rule started to decline and Ahmed Shah Durrani, from Afghanistan, invaded Kashmir in the eighteenth century. The Afghan rule proved to be a turbulent one, as, during the rule heavy taxes were imposed and Shia minority was persecuted (Ali 8). Throughout the half century of Mughal rule, the Sunni, Shia confrontation was a common occurrence (Ali 8). Circumstances deteriorated further with the Sikh invasion of Kashmir in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Sikh rule lasted for twenty seven years and proved to be calamitous for the Kashmiris. Despite, being an area having Muslim majority, Muslims were denied the freedom to follow their

religion (Ali 8). Slaughtering of cow was prohibited, for instance. Moreover, the main mosque in Srinagar was closed and others came under the control of the state (Ali 8). The Kashmiris were burdened economically and under the Sikh rule taxes were imposed even on the poor and thus, "Mass impoverishment led to mass emigration" (Ali 8).

Peer also, mentions the rule of the Mughals, the Afghans and the Sikhs, but, in quick succession. He maintains that various masters have changed, after Kashmir lost her independence to the Mughal rule, "in the late sixteenth century". The Mughals were then replaced by the Afghans "in the mid eighteenth century" which in turn lost Kashmir to the Sikh rule in early nineteenth century (Peer 125).

Ali comments on the Sikh rule too, that was cut short by the arrival of East India Company in India. After the "first Anglo-Sikh war in 1846", Kashmir came under the domination of the East India Company (Ali 8). But soon, it withheld from Kashmir, selling it to the Dogra ruler "for seventy five lakh rupees", who proved to be an unjust ruler by imposing more taxes (Ali 8). Ali points out that the young Kashmiris, who returned from Lahore and Delhi after getting education brought some hope with them. So, twentieth century in Kashmir witnessed values of "freedom from foreign rule, passive resistance, the right to form trade unions, even socialism" (Ali 8). The struggle continues till date.

Peer also comments on this transition and transfer of power from The British to the Dogra. He is of the view that, after the Sikh rule, the British masters were successful in ruling Kashmir but they sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh, "a Hindu chieftain of Jammu" who had helped them in the battle against the Sikhs. He paid "seventy five lakh rupees" to own Kashmir and in turn ruled with cruelty to have as much money as possible in order to compensate for the amount

he had paid (Peer 125). Peer mentions that the plight of Kashmiris in that context is reflected in a book "Cashmeer Misgovernment" by Robert Thorpe. He raised his voice against the oppression of Gulab Singh's son, Pratap Singh. He criticized him for his "ruthless taxation and the deaths of forced labourers due to starvation, exertion and cold…"and in turn was killed in 1868 in Kashmir. Peer comments on his reason of visiting Kashmir and taking interest in the life of Kashmiris. His father R Thorpe was in British army and married a Kashmiri lady Amiran while in Kashmir. Robert Thorpe chose to visit the land of his mother and thus came to Kashmir. There, he could not tolerate the injustices and oppression the Kashmiri people were subjected to and thus resisted through writing against it and was consequently silenced by being killed (Peer 126).

As Peer refers to the rule of Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty, Victoria Schofield comments on the last ruler of the Dogra dynasty, Hari Singh. She is of view, that despite Kashmir being a Muslim majority area and its ruler Hari Singh's hatred for Nehru, he still strongly wanted Kashmir to be united to India. She comments on the role played by Gandhi and Nehru in this situation too. She says that despite the grave "political and communal" turmoil at the time of independence, both Nehru and Gandhi wanted to visit Kashmir. Gandhi eventually visited Kashmir and met protest and demonstrations on his visit and even the "glass panes of his car" are reported to be broken by the demonstrations (Schofield 20). This event clearly exhibited people's aspirations against the accession of Kashmir to India. Moreover, the supporters of Muslim League expected Kashmir to be part of Pakistan (Schofield 22). Schofield confirms that they were pleased to receive the news of independence of Pakistan, as, multitudes of people swarm to see the flag of Pakistan hoisted on the post office (23). In addition to that, she points out the relevance of the "Redcliffe Award", to the issue of Kashmir. Schofield refers to the

"Boundary Commissions" that was held responsible for the demarcation of boundaries between India and Pakistan based on the allocation of Muslim and Hindu, majority areas to Pakistan and India respectively (20). Of the three routes to Kashmir, two were via Rawalpindi and Sialkot i.e. through the areas which were supposed to fall in Pakistan. While the third one went via Guardaspur (Schofield 20). Despite, it having "51.14 percent of Muslim majority", its three out of four districts were allocated to India. Thus, giving India an access to Kashmir (Schofield 21). Post- Independence, despite Maharaja Hari Singh's standstill agreement with Pakistan, India took measures, "to improve communications [in Kashmir] with India by telegraph, telephone, wireless and roods (Schofield 23). Moreover, in a memorandum of Postal Telegraph, New Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir was "listed as part of India" (Schofield 23). This clearly exhibited the Indian plan to make Kashmir part of India.

The discussion on the evolution and transference of power over centuries can be summed up by Peer's views, who points out that the cycle of oppression, resistance, suppression and martyrdom is not new in Kashmir: it existed in past and is still prevalent (Peer 125).

Another dominant theme in the literature about Kashmir is ***the context and reasons of the Resistance Movement initiated in 1989 and its aftermath in Kashmir*** . But before sharing the troublesome realities of the above mentioned Movement, Peer in his memoire, gives a glimpse of the serenity before the Armed Struggle in Kashmir, i.e. an era before 1989. He does so by his comments on different seasons in Kashmir, its culture, the agricultural habits of Kashmiris and their simplicity of living. He recollects his experiences of childhood. These recollections, though personal, have the quality of representing the reality not only of his but that of other Kashmiri families too. He is unquestionably nostalgic in his tone.

Peer, for instance, talks lyrically about the four seasons in succession. Beginning with the description of winter, he recapitulates how building snowmen, enjoying ice creams made at home and listening to the "thud" of the snow falling from roof marked the winter in Kashmir (1). He further discusses, how afternoon was the time in winter when people gathered in front of the stores to gossip and comment on the impart of weather on crops (1). He observes that people used to get dispersed only to offer prayer and cattle grazing etc (2).

As far as, the description of spring is concerned, he provides sensory details. He describes that in spring, Kashmir is laden with greenery and flowers (2). He further asserts that the celebration of spring could be witnessed listening to radio too, where songs regarding "flowers" and "nightingales" were played (2). He also hints at the communal coexistence manifested at the time of harvest where people would help each other even without being asked (2).

He further, informs how in summer rice was sowed on reaping the mustard crop. He mentions the role of women in the agricultural life and comments on their demeanor that they "planted and sang" (2). He finally describes autumn as the season of ripening of fruits which were then sold (3).

Peer says that in his childhood, people from remote cities of India came to visit Kashmir .He further mentions that not only did Kashmir received Indian visitors but also tourists from the west (3) . But the stories of tranquil Kashmir are limited to eighties as Peer draws a contrast between, "the fairytale childhood of the eighties and … the horror of the nineties"; 90s being the decade when violence, brutal torture and resistance prevailed in the valley of Kashmir (111). He remembers it to be the beginning of his political education (18). He comments on the changing

time and says that before the 90s, news were about distant places unknown to Kashmir, but then later on news dealt with statistics of the people who died each day in Kashmir. He nostalgically says that there was a time when, "[n]ews was not about us" i.e. the people of Kashmir, but, then situation changed in the decade of 90s and active resistance on part of Kashmiris led to severe consequences (104). The same sense of loss is reflected in the fictional writings of Kashmiris too. Faiz, the protagonist of Waheed's second novel comments on the circumstances in war-torn Kashmir; where everybody suffers and it leads to a sense of unified suffering. This unification according to him in turn demands, "rising above one's own concerns [as] the personal and collective have, in fact, become one" (Waheed 254). So, this sense of loss binds people together.

Whereas Peer and Waheed, being Kashmiri, give an insider's view, full of emotional details, Alastair Lamb, in his book *Kashmir A disputed Legacy* (1991), gives a broader view and details that constitute the context of the active struggle in Kashmir. He is of the view that by 1991, India confronted circumstances in Jammu and Kashmir that can be best described as "a terminal colonial situation" (322). He gives the reason for this claim that the only way India can sway the people of Kashmir is through force and, given a chance of exhibiting their free will, the people of Kashmir would never vote for the continuation of Indian control (Lamb 322). He traces the deteriorating situation of India in Kashmir in late 80s and identifies ***four*** main reasons for this. **First**, Pakistan didn't forgo its interest in the issue of Kashmir, considering it significant for its "sense of national identity" and this feeling was recognized by people in the Indian occupied Kashmir too (Lamb 322). **Second**, India was at a loss because of its inability to find the replacement of Sheikh Abdullah, a prominent Kashmiri leader (Lamb 323). After his demise "the Islamic component" of the politics in Kashmir overcome secularism that prevailed during his life time (Lamb 332). **Third**, India itself witnessed instability after the assassination of Indira

Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, soon after the Golden temple, the main Sikh shrine, was stormed in by the Indian military. So, a vacuum was created after Indira Gandhi's death due to the unavailability of a leader of her stature. Thus, the weakening effect caused by her death and the rise of "Sikh Separatism" engendered the will and courage to "dissent", among the people of Jammu and Kashmir too (Lamb 323). **Fourth**, the dynamics of South Asian reality underwent transformation too. The Iranian revolution, for instance, along with the resistance put forth against the Soviet Invasion in Afghanistan had its influence on Kashmir too. This situation gave rise to "a new Islamic militancy" in Kashmir (Lamb 323). It is in this context that the Kashmiris were determined and convinced of the possibility to overthrow the Indian power.

Aqil Ahmad Azmi in his book *Kashmir an Unparalleled Curfew* (1990) also comments on the context of Kashmir in 90s. He is of the view the Kashmiris relied on "India's good conscience", the possibility of Pakistan and United Nations' ability to solve the conflict for almost 40 years. But when their expectations weren't met, they chose to fight for their freedom (1).

He is very critical of both the countries India and Pakistan with respect to the issue of Kashmir. He points out that over a period of time, "Pakistan adopted a low-key posture for reasons of its own, India assiduously promoted the myth that the issue had ceased to exist (7). His comments on the situation of Kashmir in 90s are quite relevant even today. Thus, the issue still persists.

He also shares the report published in the magazine India Today in 1988 which claimed that, "Kashmir seems ready to burst at the seams. Inefficiency, corruption, religious fundamentalism and escalating violence stalk the valley..." (69). He is of the view that it was in

these circumstances that Kashmiris felt frustrated and resorted to violence. He further states that the "youth ... felt cheated of their democratic rights. They had taken an active part in the assembly polls [of 1987] and lent their full support to the Muslim United Front (MUF) (75). As the result of the 1987 elections did not match the expectations of the Kashmiris, they lost faith in democratic peaceful process. Since then Kashmiris started demonstrations for independence and faced violence. Azmi points out that almost "one hundred people" were killed in a demonstration on January 22, 1990 (76).

Schofield, also, provides the reasons originating the Movement in 1989 and identifies its roots in time as early as the decade of 60s. According to her, the anti-Indian activists in Kashmir accuse India of taking measures to change the demographic details of the area. In late 60s granting "citizenship certificates" to the non-Muslims settlers in the valley, is one such example (Schofield 28). An accord was signed between Sheikh Abdullah and Indira Gandhi in 1975. Kashmiris opposed the accord and it was believed that it, "subverted Kashmiris' right of self-determination" (Schofield 29). Sheikh Abdullah's son succeeded him in 1981 and became the chief minister of Kashmir. But, he was dismissed by Indira Gandhi who nominated G.M Shah to replace him as chief minister (Schofield 31). Soon after Indira Gandhi's assassination, he resumed power in 1987. The situation in Kashmir deteriorated further after the rigged elections of 1987 which caused disappointment among Kashmiris. When the circumstances grew worse, they resulted in imposition of "indefinite curfew". A general feeling of discontentment and restlessness prevailed among the Kashmiri Muslims because of being marginalized and discriminated. They, for example, were deprived of important jobs (Schofield 32). Meanwhile, succumbing to the dictates of New Delhi affected Farooq Abdullah's popularity in Kashmir and he was seen as a "traitor" in contrast to his earlier heroic perception in Kashmir (Schofield 33).

This led to a kind of "political vacuum" and political parties joined together and formed Muslim United Front in 1986. The Front aspired to solve the long-standing issues and had popular support but according to the results of the 1987 election, National Conference was declared victorious, which caused disillusionment of Kashmiris (Schofield 33). Peer, is also of the view that the situation in Kashmir deteriorated in 1987 when after Sheikh Abdullah's demise, the Indian government "rigged "the elections and used violence to terrorize opposition candidates and their supporters (Peer13).Post-election, violence led to resistance and defiance. It was crushed and in turn led to a mass Movement challenging the Indian occupation.

Mir also considers the rigging of 1987 election as "the turning point" in the history of Kashmir. He believes that the "United Front" was forcibly kept out of the electoral process. The Kashmiris in turn lost faith in peaceful democratic process and chose the option of insurgency (466).

Hilal Bhatt, another Kashmiri writer, in his essay "Fayazabad 31223", similarly, identifies the rigged elections of 1987 to be the reason of insurrection in Kashmir (41). He tells that for Kashmiris participating in the 1987 election meant to be an experience filled with aspiration of autonomy. But, disappointment rather desperation prevailed after the rigged election and young people started joining "indigenous guerrilla organizations" in large numbers. Even the school kids yearned to grow up and "become militants, heroes". Bhatt mentions that, "Without exception, everybody in [his] class, including the girls wanted to become mujahidin-fighter" (42). Waheed portrays the same passion in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014). He mentions that in 90s young boys and girls believed in participating in active resistance and were of the view that, "[I]t is better to vanish in a struggle against the enemy than to disappear in some shady rumour-like interrogation cell" (120). He not only talks about the Kashmiri youth in

general but gives examples of Faiz, an artist and Maqbool , an engineer , who join the Movement despite being passionately indulged in their respective professions, earlier (126). The decade of nineties , thus, brought with it turbulence and Human Rights' violation in Kashmir (Schofield 34). While, the older generation preferred passive resistance, the younger generation yielded to "active resistance" (Schofield 35). Curfews and crack downs, by the Indian forces became common and so did the defiance by Kashmiris (Schofield 36). In 1995, All Parties Hurriyat Conference, "a loose coalition of some 34 Kashmiri political parties and groups in the freedom struggle," revealed their unwillingness to participate in the elections (Schofield 43). They challenged the illusory significance of the political process and demanded the right of self-determination (Schofield 44). Since then the efforts to achieve the same continue.

According to Alastair Lamb, it was in this scenario that new forces began to take roots in Kashmir which may be termed as " " revolutionary" or "terrorist" (through of course, one man's "terrorist: is another's " freedom fighter")" (Lamb 332). Young Kashmiris who felt "oppressed" or discriminated" aspired to dissent (Lamb 333).

Moreover, Lamb contemplates the possibility of shift of militancy and weaponry after the end of the Soviet endeavours to occupy Afghanistan, to be another impetus in causing the insurrection in Kashmir in 1989 (336). Consequently, by 1989 the conflict lost its native distinct troublesome, "character" and added to examples of "Islamic confrontations with infidel overlords" (Lamb 337). Lamb points out that the decade of 8os turned out to be unlike the recent peaceful past decades. According to him, in 1960s, for example, Kashmir was a "calmish" place and even in 1970s it was possible to be a tourist without even being aware of the underlying conflict in Kashmir (335).

Lamb, further, comments on the reason and the impact of the Movement in Kashmir in late 80s onwards. He considers the trial of Maqbool Butt, a Kashmiri Separatist, by the Indian Court in New Delhi to be a "decisive moment" in the transition from a peaceful to troublesome Kashmir (335). Various requests for mercy were turned down and he was hanged on 11 February 1984. Few days before his death, a group claiming to be Kashmir Liberation Army, (KLA), abducted "Ravindra Mahtre, Assistant High Commissioner in Birmingham". They abducted him for ransom and held him hostage demanding freedom of Maqbool Butt along with some other prisoners. They ultimately killed the senior Indian diplomat on 6th February (Lamb 335). According to the British press the aforementioned group was related to the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front which was soon to gain significance in Kashmir (Lamb 336).

Peer also alludes to the same group and points out that Yasin Malik, the leader of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), and his companions received training to fight against India and trained many people "within Kashmir" (Peer13) .They were perceived as "young guerrillas", "heroes" who could challenge and fight against India and were thus treated with reverence by the Kashmiris (Peer13). But, according to Lamb JKLF was not the only group challenging the situation in Kashmir. Many other, "resistance factions… had proliferated under the bewildering array of names, like, for example "Hizbullah", the "Tiger of Allah" and the "Al-Omar Mujahidin" and with mysterious affiliations" (Lamb 336).

Peer, too, refers to the diverse groups operating in Kashmir since 1989. He mentions that Islamist militant groups' popularity increased in early 90s, in contrast to the independence seeking Kashmiri Nationalist groups like JKLF (178). Peer asserts, that militants groups, "used Islam for mobilization" and the images and jargon of "Islamic history" became common (178). He mentions the association between Pakistan and the "right wing politico-religious

organization", the "Jamaat-e-Islami, Jammu and Kashmir" (178). Despite, the fact that the Jamaat was not much celebrated in early 60s, it become successful in asserting itself again "in the early nineties…after its militant wing , Hizbul Mujahideen (Peer 179). More and more young boys were encouraged to join this group which was supported by Pakistan and aimed at joining Kashmir with Pakistan (Peer 179). But, it was popularly believed that, "a brutal counter-insurgent group, Ikhwan-ul Muslimoon [resulted due] to the excesses of Jamaat men and the Hizbul Mujahideen" (Peer180). Indian government armed this group and supported it as well, as they could easily get away with their crimes of tortures and killings against the members and sympathizers of, "Jamaat specifically [and] the separatists in general" (Peer180).

While Peer mentions the formation and functioning of the diverse resistant groups, Lamb, also, gives details of how after the formation of these "resistance factions", important people in Kashmir were targeted. On 15th September 1989, for example, T.L. Taploo, a leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was killed at his home. The daughter of the Home Minister, Mufti Muhammad Sayeed was kidnapped the same year in December. It was claimed that JKLF was responsible for the action and demanded the release of five group members from the Indian prison. She was released upon the fulfilment of the demand of the group. A local politician Ghulam Mustafa was hanged on 25th March 1990, because he was thought to be a police informer. The same year in April, the Jammu and Kashmir Student Liberation Front, claimed the responsibility of kidnapping Professor Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University along with two other people. They demanded that three prisoners should be set free from Indian prison. When their demand was not met, all the three hostages were killed (Lamb 337). The Indian government came with a severe response through the Governor's rule and "the Indian Army reinforced the existing security police, notably the Central Reserved Police Force (CRPF)

in imposing an increasingly severe regime of curfews,… house searches, arbitrary arrests and the retaliatory punishment of the civil population in the vale of Kashmir, accompanied by rapes and looting … as well as the punitive destruction of houses, indeed of entire neighbourhoods" (Lamb 338). Thus, the situation in Kashmir became dismal.

Peer also affirms the same retaliatory measures on part of the Indian government. He says that the activities of the militants did not go unchecked. The Indian forces crushed the "incipient rebellion" and this was the time when curfew, imprisonment and dragging young men out of their homes started (Peer14). People came out in congregation to demand freedom from India and in one such protest in Maisuma district fifty people were killed by the firing of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). Peer recollects that it was "the first massacre" in Kashmir (14).The incident saddened everybody: silence prevailed, leading to violence, resulting in a check on daily routine and its bustle (Peer 15). The impact of massacre resulted in mass public movement demanding justice (Peer16). Peer observes that he himself felt to be part of something grand and experienced the transition from the state of "I to we" (17). "Defiance and death," became the only news (Peer16).

It was in this context of conflict ridden region, that the people of Kashmir had to decide their future, from the myriads of options available for them. Peer recollects that in 90s, Kashmiris had multiple options to choose from. And the choices the individuals made, determined the future track of their lives. Some of the determiners included; the love of land and strong sense of defiance against the Indian presence and oppression in Kashmir. The financial status of the individuals also played a pivotal role in choosing their future course of action.

Peer for instance, shares the conflict he had to undergo in his adolescence, when he wanted to join JKLF and his parents wanted otherwise. He tells that he himself along with his school fellows at the age of fourteen wanted to join JKLF (14). When his family got to know about his intentions he predicted "an encounter at home" (Peer 27). He was told clearly by his grandfather that death is a sure and inevitable reality in war (Peer 28). Peer's parents tried to convince him in their own ways. His mother, for example, laid her scarf at his feet to request him abandon the choice of active resistance against the Indian rule (Peer30). His father, on the other hand, tried to convince him by providing him scriptures - the Holy Quran and the Holy Bible - and asked him to read them in order to understand, "the obligation of children towards their parents" with a special reference to the lives of Ishmael and Isaac (Peer 29-30). He tried to persuade him through logic.

He told Peer that, "any movement that seeks a separate country takes a very long time". Furthermore, he gave his son examples of such struggles. He enumerated India, Tibet and Czechoslovakia. He told him that India and Czechoslovakia got their freedom after a very long time and the Tibetans still aspire to get freedom from China, after having continued their struggle, for more than three decades. He clearly disagreed with using violent means instead of peaceful and educated ways to further any cause. He tried to convince Peer by giving him example of leaders who preferred non-violent means of resistance to acquire freedom. Peer quotes his father saying that, "Nehru and Gandhi studied law in England and were both very good writers …Vaclav Havel is a very big writer. The Dalai Lama has read a lot and can teach so many things to people. None of them used gun but they changed history". He asked him to read well and think about the available choices and then take a decision (Peer30).

So, Peer concludes that when his family apprehended the possibility of his indulgence in the Freedom Movement, he was sent to Delhi for further education (25). Though, later on, based on his own experience, Peer recommended the same to one of his friends Asif who, was once actively involved in the resistance against the Indian forces ,but, then left it , because he, "was too scared and death seemed so real"(Peer 211). Peer's apprehensive parents and family is symbolic of the other Kashmiri parents and families having the fear of possibility of their children choosing militancy by joining the movement and getting killed in the process.

He further narrates the experiences of his second cousin Tariq, who was a graduate, with mathematics and chemistry as his major subjects (32). Despite his educational background and his father being a retired police officer, he chose to be a "militant" (35). Peer tells that Tariq narrated his experiences of going to Pakistan and receiving training, being facilitated by the guides, who were boys mostly living in the border villages (35).

He recounts the grief of a bereaved mother, as well, who had lost her son as a result of his active involvement in the Movement. She came to visit his second cousin Tariq, who was fighting against the Indian forces and was still alive (37). Tariq's father, however, was equally distraught at his son's choice and was an emblem of, "silent resignation" (Peer 34). He dreaded the outcome of his son's choice.

In addition to the example of Tariq, he tells about another Kashmiri, Afaq Shah, who was the first one to carry out a suicide attack in Kashmir in 1999. He reports that he died "three days before his seventeenth birthday". His mother, ignorant of the influence that he received from "a pan-Islamic militant group" and his indulgence in activities following it, repented his choice and

cried saying that his son had an ambition to be a doctor (Peer80). So, his example reflects that he was in a situation which made him give priority to the cause of Kashmir over his personal life.

Along with, the love of land, the financial status of the individuals also determined their future course of action. A plumber from Peer's village, having three daughters, for example chose to be a "militant" after the hotel business collapsed in 1990. Resultantly, he stopped having the opportunity to fix pipes to facilitate the tourists staying at hotels (Peer 25).

Those who could afford sent their children out of the conflict zone of Kashmir to protect them from witnessing traumatic experiences. But, there are examples of Kashmiris in the 9os who could receive education neither inside nor outside Kashmir so there is "a privileged minority" that got a chance to get education. The majority was deprived and was forced to undergo or witness traumatic experiences (Peer149). Thus, social class not only played a role in providing or denying access to education, but, it also determined the places, young Kashmiris were sent to. The upper class young Kashmiris, for example, went to "Europe and North America" for getting education. While, those belonging to middle and lower middle classes were sent to different Indian cities (Peer 60).

But, life was not easy even for the Kashmiris, who went outside Kashmir, particularly those who went to Indian cities for getting education. Despite having the option to study and work in various cities of India, Kashmiris, could not live at ease and without being vulnerable. After the terrorist attack on Indian parliament, for instance, living in India became difficult for those who bore Kashmiri identity (Peer 85). Peer shares how difficult it became for him to find an apartment in Delhi after the attack (85). It was so, because the Indian authorities considered the groups, "Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed" to be responsible for carrying out this attack

and, “these groups had been operating mostly in Kashmir” (Peer 87). Moreover newspapers advertised warning on part of police about possible terrorist attacks by “Kashmir militants” (Peer 85). So, in this context Peer shares the account of his difficulties in finding an apartment in Delhi. According to Peer, no one was ready to rent out an apartment to any Kashmiri because of being suspicious about them. A property dealer who was, “sympathetic,” told Peer that Sikhs found themselves in a similar kind of situation after the upheaval of 1984, where they could not rent an apartment for a decade (Peer 85). He finally got a room after months of being suspected, because of his Kashmiri origin and outlook. His land lady was a Kashmiri Pandit and welcomed him (Peer 86).

Bhutt , narrates a similar traumatic experience, despite being outside Kashmir. He says that as Kashmiri parents did not want their children to be engulfed by the violence directly, so, they started sending them to seats of learning outside the valley (Bhatt 43). Bhatt narrates his own experience of being sent to Minto Circle School that is attached to Aligarh Muslim University, along with seven other Kashmiri boys (43). Even though, the Kashmiri parents tried to ward off violence from their children’s lives, as in this case, but it engulfed them even outside Kashmir. Bhatt narrates the implication of the Ayodhya debacle in 1992 for the Indian Muslims in general and Kashmiri Muslims in particular. The issue raised with 150,000 Kar Sevaks i.e. “(Hindu Nationalist volunteers)” demolishing the Babri mosque in Ayodhya, with the claim that it was built at the site of birth place of a Hindu god Rama (Bhatt 43). They intended to replace the mosque with a temple. This resulted in mass riots by the Muslin students from Aligarh Muslim University (Bhatt 43). As a large number of people were killed in the riots the educational process was affected and the Kashmiri students studying in Aligarh considered it appropriate to go home (Bhatt 44). Bhatt narrates the atrocity he had to face along with his

friends on way home. The train they boarded had Hindu Nationalist volunteers in it. When they recognized the Kashmiri students they killed them all except Bhatt. Farhat and Javaid, for example, were killed brutally (Bhatt 45). Rafiq Ahmed, another Kashmiri student was chased and killed when he stealthily left the train to save his life and was regarded a "Kashmiri terrorist" (Bhatt 46). Bhatt mentions that all of his Kashmiri friends were identified and killed by the Kar Sevaks except for him. He was successful in saving his life despite, his Kashmiri accent by faking his identity. When one of the Kar Sevaks was about to cut his throat he shouted, "I am a Kashmiri Pandit" and gained their sympathy by convincing them successfully of being oppressed by the Kashmiri militants (Bhatt 45). So, it reflects the burden of bearing Kashmiri identity even outside Kashmir.

So, even those who chose to study witnessed violence. The ray of hope in this bleak situation, according to Peer, nonetheless, is the fact that most of the Kashmiris who went outside Kashmir for educated in the 9os, came back to Kashmir "as educated professionals" (181). Whereas, some Kashmiris preferred education and joined certain professions, there are others who got actively involved in the Freedom Movement and people in Kashmir did support the cause of freedom and people's active involvement in resisting against the Indian occupation.

Omkar Razdan quotes a Kashmiri girl Sara who comments about the origin and identity of those fighting to liberate Kashmir. She says that they were mostly "sons of the soil". She asserts that they were loved by Kashmiris and well received when they entered any home at anytime. She adds that people considered them as "Messiah". She claims that they were "readily served" with food (27).

Unlike Razdan, Peer in his memoir represents the reaction of Kashmiris towards the "militants" after the 9os to be an ambivalent one i.e. they exhibit feelings of "attraction" and "repulsion" simultaneously (Ashcroft et al. 12). Though Kashmiris glorified and supported their cause but they were also apprehensive of the retaliation of the Indian army in response to their activities. Peer further recollects that people of Kashmir gave endless support to Yasin Malik, the leader of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). He says that people of JKLF were trained and they resultantly trained more people "within Kashmir," suggesting that those who led the trainings were trained elsewhere (13). He further asserts that the militants were perceived as heroes by people of all ages. Kashmiri teenagers, for example, looked up to them and imitated their styles. Peer observes that, "militants walking the ramp of war determined the fashionable trends" (207). Teenagers e.g. forsook the long –standing, "sufi tradition of wearing an amulet" only and wore a Kalashnikov cartridge, in addition to, an amulet held in a string (Peer 208). Similarly, gems in the rings were replaced by bullets following the militants (Peer 208). But, "[f]amiliarity," with the "militants" Peer points out, lessened their "glamour" as they started mingling with people and would even play football with school students and take refuge in the dorm of their school (31).

Peer shares an account of how his second cousin Tariq, being a militant, was received with love by Kashmiris. He tells that a multitude of people gathered at his place to welcome him home after a year's disappearance. Peer tells that there wasn't even slightest space left to take off his shoes when he tried to enter the room where he was sitting and was surrounded by people. He says that, "A hundred eyes were focused on a single face" (34). People rejoiced at his safety and on being able to meet him again (Peer 34).But, this incident is an example of a rarity, as the life of a "militant" is fraught with peril (Peer 212). This is evident from the fact that in, "the early

nineties, funerals [of those involved in the Movement] were held almost everywhere, almost every day (Peer 217).Peer tells that the "militants" were treated as heroes during their funerals and their body was accompanied by procession, chanting slogans (212). Peer further elaborates that the people in the procession used to be charged with energy. He says that, "some cried some held back tears, and some burned with anger" (215). He gives examples of women glorifying the "militants" too. He tells that during on such funeral procession, he witnessed "a chorus of female voices singing," congratulating the deceased for embracing martyrdom (216).

Although Kashmiris celebrated and supported the freedom cause, but, they had reservations regarding the methods used to achieve this aim. Waheed in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014), comments on the fear caused by the "mujahids" even among the Muslim Kashmiris. In the course of novel when one of the girl's schools is occupied by the Indian army for operational purposes, the girls feel insecure at the prospect of the academic space being turned in to a military zone. But, they feel equally threatened by the possibility of their school being attacked by the "mujahids" and thus consider the presence of the army as a kind of defence (Waheed 54). Moreover, it was equally difficult for Kashmiris to face the counter attack by the Indian army which ensued from the Freedom fighters confrontation with the forces of India. Peer illustrates an incident where some Kashmiris tried to persuade the "militants" against their plan of attacking a convoy of the Indian Army. They did so, because they did not want the "soldiers to barge into [their] homes", having "young daughters" and they did not want their village to be burnt either. Despite their imploring the "militants" did not revert their plan (Peer 42).

Peer points out, that the "militants" not only targeted the Indian army but they attacked and killed people of their own community too, based on varied reasons. They, for example, targeted police, politicians having pro-Indian loyalties and civil servants too. Peer's father being

a civil servant was attacked too. He along with his wife miraculously survived a landmine attack set by the "militants" (Peer 75).

Peer not only shares the methods acquired by the "militants" and their effects in the post 9os era , but he also gives an insight in to the different layers of their existences and the choices they had in life. He for instance says that, "[He] could place [the Kashmiri militants] on a social map" (Peer 218).He observes that a large number of "militants" met death. Many others left the life of militancy and chose to live as normal civilian. A large group, though, chose to manipulate, the confusion of the conflict "and played all sides" (Peer 218). He also highlights that, there are examples of those who felt betrayed by the Movement and its leaders. He narrates the experience of meeting Shafi, who had joined the Movement in his youth at the age of nineteen (Peer 140). He was imprisoned and tortured brutally by the Indian Army and was resultantly a "bespectacled man ….limping [even after using] a wooden staff" upon his release (Peer139). Peer tells that he tried to manage living on the support provided by Yasin Malik that consisted of thousand rupees per month. He implored the other Movement leaders to help him but they wanted proofs of him being even ever part of the Movement. Shafi believed that the Separatist leaders lived luxuriously and disappointed, "those who destroyed their lives for the cause" (Peer141). A character named Ijaz in the fictional world created by Roy echoes Shafi's feelings. He is critical of the indifference of the "Hizb and JKLF" leaders and is of the view that they manipulated the Kashmiri cause for their political gain. In addition to that, he denounces them for having a "no plan" at all to pursue (Roy 228). So, it's not only the civilians having ambivalent feeling towards the militants but the militants in some instances have the same feeling for the Movement itself.

No matter whatever, choices Kashmiris made in life since the Indian Occupation, one thing was sure and that was the indispensible fact of ***witnessing violence***. Kashmiris have a long

history of being brutalized. The killing of protestors at Gaw Kadal Bridge in Srinagar, seeking freedom from India, marks "the first massacre" in Kashmir (Peer 14). Such incidents unite nations with a sense of loss that is felt together.William Dalrymple shares the horrors of this incident. He reports that first fire was opened in all directions to kill people. Then the Indian army moved among the dead bodies to ensure killing those who survived and thereupon started throwing the bodies from the bridge into the river (William Dalrymple,Kashmir: The Scarred and the Beautiful, nybooks.com).

Incidents like these lead to the nationalistic zeal getting stronger. Kashmir is no exception. So, the emotions of Kashmiris found an expression in joining an organized Movement. The fact of a lot of Kashmiris joining the Movement rightfully challenges the false claims of the Indian government over Kashmir. Those who joined the Movement have embraced martyrdom too. It is celebrated by all to show unity among the people and to glorify the heroes. Stephen Morton points out that this "public display" of honouring the martyrs challenges the claims of India who considers the Movement to be an external affair or being glorified by few (26).

Abdul Sattar in his book, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2012* (2006), shares the serious concern of Amnesty International, regarding those killed in custody, extra-judicially (191). Mirza Waheed , a Kashmiri writer refers to the violence that permeates Kashmir. He regrets the fact that people are "butchered" on roads. He adds that there are massive incidents of violence where people have to wash off the blood of their loved ones from streets (Mirza Waheed, India is blinding young Kashmiri protestors, guardian.com). Arundhati Roy in *Kashmir the Case for Freedom* (2011) also criticizes the Indian government for committing the atrocities against Kashmiris. She states that Indian state has done all it could, "to subvert, suppress,

represent, misrepresent, discredit, interpret, intimidate, purchase, and simply snuff out the voice of the Kashmiri people (28).

Mir in his book *Freedom Struggle in Kashmir* (2000) shares Kuldip Nayar's article published in 1998. Nayar is an Indian journalist and politician who wrote about the situation of Kashmiris after his visit to Kashmir. He points out the almost all the families have lost "a near and a dear one". Moreover, people are still searching for their missing relatives. He also refers to torturous interrogation centres. He shares the data that the number of the missing "averaged 200 a month in 1997 and 225 a month in the first three months of 1998". He says that "Incidents become numbers and the victims a subject" (455). His article reflects the condition of violence let loose in Kashmir because of the plurality of instances of injustice and brutality against Kashmiris.

Waheed in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) portrays the ugly reality of conflict-torn Kashmir too. On one occasion, when a bunker is attacked by a rocket-launcher, the person sitting in the bunker retaliates and fires the machine-gun in every direction. His frantic firing engulfs a school bus and innocent kids get killed consequently (85). In these circumstances, violence in Kashmir is let loose ruthlessly and"[they] are all in it … with no escape" (Waheed 145).

Rohi, one of the two main characters in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) emphasizes on the prevalence of "death" and "suspicion" in Kashmir. According to her, in the setting of the troublesome decade of 90s there are diverse agents of death, who kill for varied reasons. Indian soldiers undoubtedly kill the Kashmiris but young Kashmiris kill their own people too. Some are particularly harsh on girls and victimize them through death. There are others who kill just for "sport", to become famous (Waheed 211). She further adds that the rivalry between indigenous

groups is also common which results in targeting each other. She finally refers to a "particularly strange" group that kills both "Muslim[s] and Hindu[s]" (Waheed 212). So, there are diverse reasons and groups that rule Kashmir and cause death.

Peer, also, narrates the sad and traumatic experiences of both Kashmiri men and women and the impact of those incidents on their lives. He, for instance, shares the story of a couple, Rashid Malik and Mubeena Ghani. They got married on My 16, 1990. After "nikah" the groom's family insisted to leave the bride's home against the will of bride's family who thought it unsafe, to travel five miles at night. But Rashid's brother was confident about not having any trouble as he had a, "permission slip acquired from an army colonel" (Peer 152). On the way, the marriage procession met a CRPF vehicle, and were allowed to proceed when they produced the "permission slip". But, "a few miles ahead", they encountered, "soldier from another paramilitary group, [Border Security Force] ,the BSF" (Peer 153).

Unfortunately the above mentioned soldiers had exchanged gunfire with another group of paramilitary force, thinking them to be militants and this recent happening, somehow, proved to be fatal for Rashid and Mubeena. The BSF soldiers did not even look at the permission ship produced by the marriage procession in their defense (Peer 153).They started gunfire, following , "a round of mass beating" (Peer 154). Rashid and Mubeena received five and there bullets respectively. Rashid lost consciousness while Mubeena despite being injured was disgraced and deprived of her honor too, by a number of soldiers. Later on the injured men and women were taken to hospital by another group of soldiers belonging to BSF. The authorities announced to give the victims Rs 3000 /- per person which they denied to take. Moreover, the Separatist leaders implored the villagers to be compassionate towards Mubeena and Rashid. The couple however, faced a hostile silence on their return and Mubeena was considered, "a bad omen: the

cause of misfortune, which took one life and injured ten" (Peer 154). In spite of their traumatic experience of 1990 and the brutal reality of social rejection Rashid and Mubeena, thrive on seeing their daughter and are proud of her, with her high ambitions of being a doctor (Peer 155). Another example of war crimes against women is found in the incident of Kunanposhpora, where in 1990 twenty women were disgraced by the Indian soldiers. Since then that place has become a, "symbol, a metaphor" (Peer 156).

Peer narrates the incidents of physical and psychological traumas experienced by the "militants" in the detention cum torture centre [s] too (137). He mentions various Indian prisons like that of, "Rajasthan , … Kot Balwal,…Gogoland,…,[and] Ranchi [etc]" (138) . But, Papa-2 was notorious amongst all and in contrast to the Indian prison houses, mentioned above, this was in Kashmir. Peer asserts that "Hundreds who were taken to Papa-2 did not return. Those who returned were wrecks" (137). Peer gives the examples of Ansar and Shafi. The former, "joined a separatist organization called People's League in the mid eighties" (Peer 143). While, the latter joined the student wing of JKLF in 1990. Both of them were informed against by the locals collaborating with army and had to suffer the torture of Papa-2 (Peer 140-143). Shafi referred to Papa-2 as "hell". Remembering the torture of Papa-2, he told Peer that he was made to live in an over-crowded room and everyone in the room was given blankets filled with lice. Moreover a corner of room was specified as a toilet and, "[t]he prisoners defecated and urinated into polythene bags" which were late on thrown in dustbin" (Peer 140). Peer tells that Shafi and the other prisoners, "slept laid out like rows of corpses" and had to "battle the vermin" throughout the night (Peer 141). Furthermore, the other tortures included making them "stare at very bright bulbs" an experience that made Shafi, "crav[e] darkness" and his world ultimately became darker

as he started losing eyesight (Peer 141). Peer tells that Shafi loathed the place and called it "hell" (140)

Peer shares the experience of Ansar too. He told him that, "Not even stray cows would eat the food they threw at [them] there" (Peer 143). Besides that, the prisoners' flesh was burnt with cigarette butts and kerosene stoves used for welding … till [they] spoke" and they also received high voltage shocks in Papa-2 (Peer 143). They did not only receive physical tortrue but they were toured psychologically too. They, for instance, were forced to utter the words against their will. They were repeatedly made to say, "Jai Hind" (Peer 142). Peer tells that based on his experience Ansar was of view that those who went to Papa-2 were "destroyed" as one could not "live a normal life after that torture" (Peer 143).

Birbal Nath in *Kashmir :The Nuclear Flashpoint* (1998), considers the violent methods used by the Indian forces against the Kashmiri fighters legitimate, on two grounds. He is of the view that, "Any person, violating any law of the land, forfeits certain rights of his". He illustrates this point by saying it is just to curtail the freedom of a murderer (181). In addition to that he mentions that all rights belong to "non-combatants" and "a terrorist or militant [who] impinge[s] on the rights of the group of peaceful citizens" does not deserve any such rights (182). Thus, he emphasizes that despite the fact that "every liberal democracy" is bound to ensure the provision of human rights to its citizens the Kashmiris fighting against the Indian forces don't deserve such rights (180).

William Dalrymple also refers to the notorious detention and the interrogation centers. He particularly mentions Papa 1 and Papa 2, where the Movement fighters were detained, interrogated and ruthlessly tortured. Their bodies were thrown in rivers having injury marks and

at times fingers or the whole limbs missing (William Dalrymple, Kashmir: The Sacred and the Beautiful, nybooks.com). A character, Ijaz in Roy's fictional work *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (2017), shares some of the common methods the torturees were subjected to and says that followed by the tortures; the victims were made to sign "a blank sheet" which was later on filled with the desired rhetoric to mollify the struggle. Though, helpless about the details that would be put in the sheet, he pledged never to "denounce" those who trained him (Roy 227).

Peer confronts the brutal reality of Kashmir and tells that Kashmiris needed "faith" as their support system and waited to witness "miracles". Defied by the government and the politicians of any possible solution, they hope to find one by, "turn[ing] to the shrines, to the Prophet and to God (Peer 188). So, despite the brutality of the conflict, Kashmir teems with, examples of resilience and fortitude as Mubeena and Rashid, "[dream] of seeing their daughter as a doctor… [a]nd tortured, broken men like Ansar had built new lives … and [Peer] had finally been able to write about people places and subjects [he] had run away from" (Peer 158).

Peer in his memoir not only sheds light on the anguish felt by the majority community i.e. Muslims living in Kashmir , but he also illustrates the impact of the conflict of Kashmir on Hindu Pundits , in post 90s scenario. He provides the background to the phenomenon of the "Pundit Exodus" i.e. mass movement of the Pundits from Kashmir, in early nineties .He traces its origin in the role played by the militants in the armed conflict. He asserts that before the initiation of the Movement, Kashmir was a place of multi-religious characteristics, where Muslims and Hindus lived peacefully. They even acquired habits from each other. The Hindus, for instance, would visit the Sufi shrines just like the Muslims. The rift though would be visible only during the cricket match between India and Pakistan. This rift widened after the insurrection, though. The Separatist fighters killed people having loyalty towards India or whom

they suspected to collaborate with the Indian army. Peer observes that, "they killed a few hundred Pundits on similar grounds or without any reason at all" (195). Peer points out that this created a sense of insecurity among the Pundits and they had to migrate. Those, who could afford, lived in their houses in "Jammu, Delhi" and other cities of India. A large number of Pundits, on the other hand, found refuge, "in the squalor of refugee camps and rented rooms in Jammu and Delhi" (195). William Dalrymple also refers to the mass migration of the "the learned and talented Kashmiris" after the Resistance Movement, making Kashmir a "monoreligious" area unlike its past history of being a multi religious place. (William Dalrymple, Kashmir: The Sacred and the Beautiful, nybooks. com).

Omkar Razdan, a Kasmiri Pundit , also shares the apprehensions felt by the Pundit community after insurrection in his book, *The Trauma of Kashmir: The Untold Reality* (1999) . He refers to a Pundit lady stating that in 90s the Pundit community was marginalised and forced to leave Kashmir. She mentions that they were warned to leave through "posters pasted on walls". She adds that warnings were published in "Urdu papers ... sponsored by the militants" (11). So, this hostile environment compelled them to leave Kashmir.

Peer tells that even after their mass movement to various cities of India, the Pundits felt nostalgic about their abandoned houses and wanted to revisit them. He, for instance, quotes his Pundit landlady in Delhi, who always wanted to visit her house in central Srinagar. But, Peer says that it would have been of no use as the houses in that area were burnt and ruined (128). The transition affected not only their houses but the "temple complexes [were also] taken over by the military and paramilitary "(Peer 196).Peer refers to the absence of the Pundits after the 90s by pointing out that "half the chains" in his class were vacant (197). He feels sad about the migration of his principal Mr. Kantroo and did not dare to visit him in Jammu at the prospect of

seeing him as a refugee (198). He shares the feelings of a teenager Pundit who had to live the life of a refugee and "hated Muslims" for that and complained that no one is compassionate towards them (Peer 198). Peer shares the experience of meeting Ramesh, a Pundit from Kashmir in Delhi. He tells that he lived in miserable conditions with his family in a slum. Peer points out, that for Ramesh, it was not only the slum life experience which was troublesome, but, he complained about the harsh summers of Delhi in contrast to the weather of his village in Kashmir (97). Ramesh considered Peer lucky for being able to go back to his home (Peer 97). Peer narrates his own experience too. He tells that as soon as he reached Kashmir, "The breeze healed [him] of the Indian summer" (99).

In fact, the life of Kashmiris underwent immense transition in almost all aspects of their lives after the confrontation between the militants and the Indian forces. Roy comments on this transition and points out that in the years of "insurrection" all the jobs related to tourism "evaporated" and consequently affected all those associated with this industry. She observes the only profession that flourished was that of grave digging (Roy 315).

Peer, also, comments on the change and narrates how his school building was turned in to an army camp. Moreover, new routine was devised for the students, as they had to show their identity card both while entering and leaving the school. In addition to that, the visitors to the school had to write down identificatory information about them and only after being body searched by the forces, they were allowed to enter the school (Peer 57).

The arrival of the Indian army in Kashmir leading to transition in many aspects of daily routine is reflected in Kashmiri literature. Waheed in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) illustrates the impact of the occupation. The army occupies one of the schools and uses it for their

residence, administration and as detention and interrogation centre. He portrays the shuffling and combination of different sections of classes for the provision of space for the army (44). This was the time when slowly and gradually a comparatively peaceful Kashmir turned in to a conflict zone. Principal Koul, one of the characters in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) is disturbed upon hearing the sound of machine gun fire and wonders, "Since when did [this sound] become a part of [Srinagar's] ambience?" (Waheed 85).

New rules and routines were set in the era that asserted the omni-presence of the Indian forces in Kashmir .Travelling, for example, became a troublesome affair for Kashmiris. Travelling simply meant, "endless frisking and identification parades" (Peer164). Kashmiris were subjected to reported frisking and checking. For Peer, "in some perverse way, it did signal reaching home" and for him, "it was oppressive and intimate" simultaneously (99).

Historical monuments in Kashmir became "as much victims of the conflict as people" (Peer 113). Pari Mahal, a beautiful palace, for example, became, "the world's most beautiful paramilitary camp (Peer112). It was not the only monument to be destroyed, but there are multiple examples like: the library of Islamia College which was destroyed in the conflict along with age-old "rare manuscripts" and "[t]he 600 year old shrine" of a sufi saint Nuruddin Rishi which fell prey to the confrontation between the Indian forces and the militants (Peer 112-113).

According to Peer, absence rules Kashmir in various forms, one being the disappearance of Kashmiri boys and men. Roy also refers to the Kashmiri ladies whose male family member disappeared in Kashmir. In her novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness,* she portrays "the Association of Mothers of the Disappeared" protesting at Jantar Mantar in Delhi against the forced disappearances of their husbands, sons, brothers etc. The banner that they carry gives the

statistics of the loss suffered by Kashmiris in the struggle for independence over a period of time; with "68,000" people being dead and "10,000" being disappeared. On the banner there is a thought provoking question with reference to India, "Is this Democracy or Demon Crazy?" (Roy 115). Roy points out that the group was subjected to harsh and threatening comments. A group of people kept calling them "Muslim Terrorist" and passed this verdict against them that they don't deserve compassion or being granted any kind of human rights. In addition to that they complained about the injustices suffered by the pundits in Kashmir and referred to their genocide and used it as a plea to deny considering their case at all (Roy 115).

Peer also refers to the phenomenon of absences and says, it existed in the life of Zoon or Habba Khatoon in sixth century, when her husband Yusuf Shah Chak was imprisoned by Akbar, the Mughal emperor (Peer 134). It still exists in Kashmir, where wives, "half widows," wait for their husbands who disappeared as a result of being arrested or killed in the conflict torn Kashmir (Peer 131). Absence rules not only the lives but also the cities of Kashmir. Srinagar, for example is, "a city of absences. It has lost its nights to a decade and a half of curfews…. It has lost its theaters… [It] has also lost its multi-religious character [etc]…" (Peer128). Waheed , also refers to the absence of activity in Srinagar. He metaphorically illustrates the absence of activity at the end of the day and says that with sunset everything comes to a halt as though people's "ownership, their claim, their bond with the place is severed at sunset, the city and its lovers sundered as soon as the soldier from the plains begins his nocturnal vigil" (106).

In the world of absences two words have been constant presences for Peer i.e. "militants and soldiers" (Peer 206). Submissive resignation is what is felt by the people of Kashmir. The presence of soldiers with their entire paraphernalia makes them, "as much a part of the landscape as the chinars and willows" (Peer 227).

Peer, draws comfort in hoping to have a day when people would be considered human beings with their full complexity, rather than being "part of processes that reduced individuals to suspects or military targets" (Peer 233).

In addition to the theme of violence suffered by Kashmiris, another dominant theme highlighted in the books written on the issue of Kashmir is the ***indifference, callousness and desensitization of the world*** **towards** the conflict. Ali, for instance, complains about the negligence of the International media with reference to the issue of Kashmir. He illustrates that in summer 2010 when "eleven young men" aged "fifteen" to "twenty-seven" were killed by the Indian forces, the International media did not give coverage to this incident of brutality. The news of death of model hailing from India was preferred in contrast (Ali 67). Peer also shares the grievances of Kashmiris regarding the feeling of being neglected and demand to show the ugly face of brutality let loose in Kashmir. He quotes an old mourner in the funeral of a martyr who demands the presence of "TV wallahs" and says that, "this is what they should show live" (217).

In addition to the expectations of Kashmiris from the International media, people in Kashmir look up to the United Nations for the resolution of the conflict, too. The possibility of UN's possible role is traced to be recommended for the first time by Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten on November 1st, 1947 in his meeting with Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Schofield 24).

Thereupon, the issue has been raised again and again on the same platform. In January 1948, the conflict of Kashmir came under discussion in the Security Council of the United Nations and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, (UNCIP) , was consequently created to look into the matter and, "carry out any mediatory influence likely to smooth away difficulties" (Schofield 24). On 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949, UNCIP affirmed that the

conflict would be resolved through, “the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite” (Schofield 25). The plebiscite never occurred and the conflict was discussed internationally throughout 60s too. The Government of Pakistan, for instance, referred to the Security Council again in 1963 but nothing could be achieved substantially with the presence of “Soviet Veto”. So, the issue remained unresolved (Schofield 27).

Pankaj Mishra, also, questions that why the brutalities suffered by Kashmir for decades are not considered enough to require a response (1). He further elucidates that both the international media and UN fail to highlight the issue of Kashmir and respond to it, despite it being their moral obligation. He says that the news channels like “BBC and CNN” don’t give proper coverage to this issue and “bloggers and tweeters in the West “fail to address the atrocities committed by the Indian army against the Kashmiris. As far as the United Nations is concerned, it fails to meet the expectations when it comes to the issue of Kashmir (Mishra 1). He inquires that despite having knowledge of mass human rights’ violation in Kashmir, why does this issue then “occup[ies] such an imperceptible place in our moral imagination ?”(1). He is critical of the callousness not only of the Western media but also of the world leaders especially the leaders of America. He points out that in their visit to India , they prefer to have a “strategic public silence” over the issue of Kashmir because they are mindful of the massive and important role India plays in the world economy (1). He narrow downs his list further and accuses the Indian writers and intellectuals of being “evasive” on the issue of Kashmir (2). He finds it justifiable on their part to flinch back from the brutality of insurgency in the valley, but, he believes that they should be compassionate to the passive resistance put forth by Kashmiris “since 2008” (2). But, he is mindful of the fact that fair judgment in India bears harmful consequences (Mishra 2). He gives the example of “Arhundati Roy’s near-imprisonment for

'sedition' " in this context (2). She also responds to the accusation of being considered anti-national for her views on supporting the cause of Kashmir .She elucidates, that those who consider her seditious should consider Nehru, the first Prime Minster of India the same , because he was also of the view that , "the question of accession in any disputed territory or state must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people " (quoted in Roy 63). She quotes the broadcast of the Indian Prime Minister as well where he refers to the option of self determination that was promised to the Kashmiris. He is of view that, "That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it" (quoted in Roy 64). He is also quoted where he refers to Kashmir having "a soul… and individuality of its own" (quoted in Roy 66). In addition to that, Arhundati Roy shares his views on Kashmir, where he said that it's wrong to consider Kashmir, "a prize for India or Pakistan… [because] it has an individual existence" (quoted in Roy 65). Thus Roy has compiled all these quotes of the first Prime Minister of India to convince people that favouring the option of self-determination for Kashmir should not be considered as seditious.

In addition to the history of Kashmir, reason and ensuing impact of the insurrection of 1989, the omni-presence of violence in the lives of Kashmiris and the disillusionment felt by the Kashmiris because of the negligence of the issue by the world; another major theme is the ***need and significance of the indigenous art to represent the conflict***. Peer, for example, illustrates art of some other conflict zones and its impact on Kashmiris, saying that Kashmiris looked around for inspiration from the depiction of lives of people caught up in situations similar to theirs (19). He for instance tells that a novel and a movie celebrating rebels were enjoyed and discussed by people around him. A novel depicting a young Afghan rebel fighting against the Russians was

famous among the young boys while the elders preferred discussing the character of a brave old Libyan man who refuses to yield to his Italian masters (Peer19).

In conflict zones, generally, people respond to suppression and violence and use different means for their defence. One of the influential and important ways is to respond through writing about the conflict. It sheds light on the grievances of people of that area and thus evokes compassion. In addition to that, such writings become representative of the nation and thus play a crucial role in establishing national identity of the people of the conflict torn nation. Peer in his memoire acknowledges the importance of contribution of various Kashmir writes and gives information about different genres and techniques employed by diverse writers.

He, for instance, gives the example of Akhter Mohiuddin. He had lost his son and son-in-law in the conflict. Peer asserts that, "In protest against military and police excesses, Akhter had returned the Padma Shri (160). He was conferred upon this award by the Indian government in acknowledgment of his contribution to literature. Peer points out that, he wrote in a style that exhibited intimacy with, "war, power and fear"(160).Peer points out that he really felt for the young people who were killed at "unknown places" and dedicated his last book to all such Kashmiris (160). Peer refrs to his shorts story "The New Disease" that immaculately captures the theme of absurdity of the instructions at various check points in Kashmir. Peer quotes an elderly person,too, who is of view that most of the time the instruction are aimed at self-assertion and power show on part of the security forces (161). Akhter Mohiuddin, shares his views and thus highlights the impact of frisking in his short story. He narrates the experience of an individual, who after being frisked repeatedly acquires a strange habit. He does not enter the gate of this home upon reaching there but waits as though, he is in a queue. He then instead of entering his

home moves elsewhere. When taken to doctor he suggests a remedy i.e. he should always be frisked upon reaching the gate of his home. The family follows it and the remedy works.

After giving the example of Akhter Mohiuddin, Peer discusses the talent of another writer from Kashmir i.e. Professor Rashid Nazki, who taught at University of Kashmir (191). Peer tells that his poetry bears, "a mystical vein" and he has received many awards for his poetical works. Moreover his work has been translated into English and Urdu too (190). Peer laments at the fact that he stopped writing poetry, out of grief after losing "half of his family in a grenade blast "and sought refuge in religion. After that, he spent his time "translating a biography of the Prophet" (Peer 191).

After giving the examples of the above-mentioned writers, Peer turns to Agha Shahid Ali. He appreciates him for his ability to successfully evoke, "the fear, the tension, the anger and the hopelessness of" the experiences of Kashmiris (95). He, also shares Professor Rashid Nazki's views about Agha Shahid Ali, who believes that his poetry is "political" in nature and asserts that Kashmir needs more poets like Agha Shahid Ali. The Professor is of the view that Agha Shahid Ali, "talks about the conflict directly" (Peer 190).

Peer also shares his experience of starting writing about Kashmir. He recollects that he felt the strong urge to write about the issue of Kashmir but the brutal facts of the conflict and the traumatic experience of Kashmiris made him feel "choked [and resultantly] rendered [him] inarticulate" (95). He mentions that he used to discuss with his friend Shahid, his inability to write about Kashmir. He ,in turn, told him that it was common to be depressed after meeting "trauma victims" in Kashmir but he needs to confront this reality and overcome his irritability and sulkiness to be able to write, which he finally did (149).

Tariq Ali also refers to a voice from Kashmir and that is of Habba Khatun. She is a 16th century Kashmiris poetess who wrote poetry filled with theme of yearning to be united with her husband Yusuf Shah, who was arrested and exiled by the Mughal king Akbar (Ali 7). The "half widows", waiting for their husbands, and the grief stricken mothers of young Kashmiri boys, whose sons disappeared, falling prey to the conflict, wait endlessly for their loved ones to come back. These ladies sing verses of Habba Khatun (Ali 7). Habba Khatoon, in her poetry, compares herself to a restless stream that flows endlessly searching for her object of love (quoted in Crook 36). Her poetry is filled with the sense of deprivation. She feels deprived in the absence of her husband and is of the view that everything would "pale" including her (quoted in Crook 37). Her poetry is filled with restlessness. She, for example, wants to know that who is responsible for "luring him away from her" (quoted in Crook 38). So, the sense of loss and deprivation is evident in writings about Kashmir.

The issue of Kashmir is discussed not only through various genres of literature but the discourse on the conflict of Kashmir has been under discussion in the realm of research as well. Researchers are recently showing an increased interest in the literary pieces of Kashmiri writers, writing in English. Agha Shahid Ali, Basharat Peer and Mirza Waheed to name a few are the writers whose works are being researched.

The occupation of Kashmir by India exemplifies the use of coercion against the will of Kashmiris. Stephen Morton in his article "Sovereignty and nacropolitics at the Line of Control" (2013) argues that the Indian government ensures the false show of its sovereignty in Kashmir through military paraphernalia. The presence of check posts is one example (19). It is in this scenario that the people of Kashmir are subjected to routine frisking and crack downs, curfews and even random killings. During routine frisking people are arrested even for a faster heart beat

or their inability to communicate coherently. Crack downs terrorize them further. During crack downs all the people are asked to come out of their homes. The men are then made to walk in a line to be identified by the informers. Curfews, on the other hand deprive people of their basic needs. Morton considers India's claim of sovereignty with respect to Kashmir being necropolitical i.e. the use of coercion by the Indian government to dictate the life and death of Kashmiris (21). Morton , calls this phenomenon, Indian State's "spatial performance of sovereignty" (19). He emphasizes that they oppress Kashmiris through India's Armed Forces Special Power Act and Public Safety Act (19). These laws empower the security forces of India to use power against the Kashmiris and immune them against any possible persecution.

Morton asserts that literary responses to the conflict of Kashmir provide " post colonial narratives", highlighting the necropolitical tendencies exercised by India in Kashmir. He is of view that these narratives depict the miserable life and death of those who object to the Indian presence in Kashmir (21). He gives the example of Mirza Waheed's novel , *The Collaborator* (2012). He says that the narrator's experience of witnessing the dead bodies serves as an instance of "critical melancholia" (26). He further delineates the juxtaposition of "[t]he narrator's graphic description of the killing fields in the valley of Kashmir to the Indian military captain's surveillance" of the killing from a distance through binoculars. He is presented witnessing the whole process "in miniature as if it were a computer game" (26). Thus, India not only governs the life of Kashmiris but also redefines their identity as "foreign infiltrators" upon their death (Mortan 26). Thus, coercion is the tactics employed by India in Kashmir.

Like Morton, Javeria Khursheed also highlights the importance of the experiences shared by the indigenous writers: who write about the anarchy let loose in Kahmir in 1990's (1).She writes that the writings of Agha Shahid, Basharat Peer and Mirza Waheed have initiated "a

process of renaissance" in relation to the issue of Kashmir .She believes, every catastrophe invites literary response and the conflict of Kashmir is no exception . Her study focuses the response of the above mentioned writers to the " catastrophic annihilation of the earthly paradise into gruesome, barricade and repugnant garrison" (2).She further discusses the significance of the indigenous literary tradition ,of Kashmiri literature in English, initiated by Agha Shahid and taken to applauding level by his successors. She celebrates the fact that Kashmir has found its "own voice" (5).

Another writer in his research considers the fact how Waheed has provided the humane element missing in the narratives of non Kasmiris which predominantly contribute to the rhetoric (Shamim 145). He further mentions that Waheed in his debut novel emphasizes on how Line of Control (LOC) between Pakistan and India is different from any other border because of being a battlefield. He further focuses in his research on the dilemma that the protagonist faces in having ambivalent feelings for the militant insurgency against Indian Army (147).

Shamim further refers to the identification of the contradictions associated with the Kashmiri armed strugglers by Waheed. They are depicted claiming to be "the liberators of the oppressed people [of their nation]" but they simultaneously cause them harm too (149) . Shamim points out that the brutality of the freedom fighters against Kashmiris "earns them [their] derision". According to Shamim the narrator's father repetitively criticizes them for their brutal methods (150). In addition to that Shamim refers to immense "socio-cultural","political and military" pressures dominating the life of young Kashmiris. He is of the view that the unnamed narrator is representative of the young Kashmiris. The narrator's life, for instances, is marked by a dilemma. He is torn between the feelings of "fascination for the militants" and abhorrence towards terrorizing militancy. Moreover, this dilemma negatively affects his relationship with his

family too leading to a “father-son tussel” (148). So, conflict permeates the existence of the narrator.

Ishrat Bashir , yet another researcher is critical of the absence of just portrayal of sufferings of Kashmiri women in Waheed’s novel (1). She refers to them being depicted as “ghosts” and “shadows”. She finds women being victimized by both colonial enterprise and patriarchal set up (2). She is of view that in the novel power is vested in “army” and “manfolk” (5). She points out that the female characters are silent and the sufferings confronted by Kashmiri women in reality is not reciprocated in this fictional representation. She believes their sacrifices and efforts are not acknowledged by Waheed : as his representation of women is “eliding , catching only the corner of eye” (8)

The above mentioned researches deal with the thematic analysis of Waheed’s novel through diverse perspectives. This research, on the other hand, provides an insight in to how the Textual Analysis of the primary text reflects the ideological split in the nation of Kashmir.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research Methodology:

The notion of nationalism is multi-disciplinary but the theoretical framework of the thesis confines it to relevant literary theory i.e. Bhabha's view about, "the ambivalent figure of nation" and the importance of narrating the nation (307).

The research design of the thesis is threefold i.e. descriptive, explanatory and exploratory. The study intends to describe the reaction of Kashmiris against the Indian Army in the decades of 90's. First, it intends to **describe** the crucial choices of association made by Kashmiris in this context. Then, the study intends to **explain** the ever-changing dynamics of Kashmir, in milieu of phenomenon like infiltration, insurrection and suppression of the freedom movement. So, it intends to explain how some Kashmiris choose to go to Pakistan, while some choose to stay in Indian Occupied Kashmir, following the flow of life. There is another category of the people who facilitate those involved in the freedom movement. Yet another category of people is, of those who choose to go to India. The study finally intends to **explore** the discourses reflected by the choices made by Kashmiris. It also investigates the difference in the identity, personality and motivation of individuals.

The primary data used for describing, explaining and exploring the life of Kashmiris in the 90's is Mirza Waheed's first novel The Collaborator (2012). The articles, interviews,

discussions, talks and literary session by Mirza Waheed, also provide a useful insight in to the issue of Kashmir in general and the fictional work under discussion, in particular.

The literary pieces of other indigenous writes like Agha Shahid Ali, Basharat Peer and Malik Sajjad etc are also studied to have a deep insight into the textual representation of Kashmir. Moreover, the books written on Kashmir by foreign writers like Arhundati Roy, Victoria Schofield, Justine Hardy, Alastair Lamb etc are also of great help to understand the conflict of Kashmir. In addition to that the reviews and critical articles about the primary data are also incorporated in the research

The research is qualitative in nature and employs interpretive paradigm. The thesis deals with cultural studies and thus incorporates textual analysis for examining the data. Catherine Belsey in *Research Methods for English Studies* (2005) regards Textual Analysis "indispensable" for carrying out research in "cultural criticism" as it enables understanding culture through art (157). The focus of this method is "all the quotations that make up the text"(Belsey 162).

The prime focus of Textual Analysis lies in the "process of interpretation", determined by the relationship between the text and the reader (Belsey 163). It takes into account not only the possibility of dialogue within the text but also the dialogue between the text and its reader (Belsey 163). The text plays a major part in determining "the range of its possible interpretations" but this fact, nonetheless, does not exclude the role of a reader , as, "[a]ny serious Textual Analysis depends on a grasp of how meaning works" (Belsey 163). Catherine Belsey, acknowledges, that a text can have plurality of meaning but this plurality according to her is finite in its magnitude (164). She is of view that in Textual Analysis the text is analyzed

but "[it] is by no means an empty space, a vacancy into which we pour whatever we like; instead the text itself participates in the process of signification" (164). Belsey further, finds out a correlation between Post-Structuralism and Textual Analysis, as both deal with bringing forth the difference and says that, "The poststructuralist reader remains the destination of the text" (166). Belsey investigates, how Textual Analysis functions and points out that the process involves "address[ing] a question / problem posed by the text". It is the task of the reader to identify, where does the "sympathies" [within the text] lie. "What historical differences does [the text] present? (Belsey 170).

Alan Mckee , on the other hand, defines Textual Analysis as a method of getting information about how individuals perceive the world or what is their idea of reality (1). It is strongly associated with the issues of identity within a particular culture under scrutiny (Mckee 1). It thus concerns with "sense making practices" and compares and contrasts different cultures in terms of "sense making practices". It also focuses on, how even the individuals belonging to same nation may differ in their "sense making practices" (Mckee 14). Textual analysis is "sift(ing) through the evidence" provided by the text (Mckee 15). Human beings' mode of perception leads to placement of themselves and people in distinct "groups" and this placement determines one's behavior towards others (Mckee 60). Mckee is of view that Textual Analysis is "context" bound (80). He like Belsey , believes in finitude of possible interpretations in Textual Analysis (80). Data about individuals can be gathered while using Textual Analysis for cultural studies by "rely[ing]on outward signals- what they say,... wear, how they move their bodies- in order to try and guess ...what they mean (Mckee 88). Textual analysis thus, involves empirical textual evidence (Mckee 89). It also explores the "dominant discourses" in a particular

culture and draws attention to a contrast of how they can be of no significance in another culture (Mckee 100).

Textual evidence for analysis "sense making" ways can be gathered from the way people communicate and exchange texts at different level of communities ranging from "[h]oushold units" to the level of "[t]ransnational communities", including the intermittent levels of "workplace", neighbourhood", city and nation (Mckee 101). Mckee believes that "the best" strategy of knowing the prevalent "dominant discourses " in the culture under scrutiny, " is to immerse [one self] in the culture as much as possible (106). Mckee identifies some strategies that can be helpful in exploring some "invisible" yet invaluable discourses in a culture (106). The first strategy is that of "exnomination" which considers the role of dominant standards against which the minor trends are measured (Mckee 106). The other technique is that of "structuring absences" which aims at identification of particular" kinds of representations" that are excluded from the text (Mckee 110). So, Textual Analysis is an appropriate method to explore, explain and interpret the national culture of Kashmir in the primary text.

Theoretical Framework:

This research employs theory of Nationalism. It aims at incorporating Homi K. Bhabha's views on Nationalism to explore the national character of Kashmiris in 90s. Bhabha is of view that nation can be named with certainty as "the modern Janus" (307). Janus being a god believed to be on a threshold of things and having two faces one in front and the other on the back of his head and is thus attributed to be allusive and evocative (Simpson and Weiner 101). He asserts that the notion of nation is structured around opposing ideas like "progression and regression" and "political rationality and irrationality" (307). Bhaba thus relates the idea of nation with "a

particular ambivalence" (306). It's a phenomenon based on dual characteristics i.e. "a complex mix of attraction and repulsion" felt towards something (Ashcroft and Griffiths 12) .It can be both "exploitative and nurturing" (Ashcroft and Griffiths 12) . Bhabha in his theory emphasizes on the possibility of dual characteristics of nation that correspond to the idea of ambivalence and leads to the "Janus-faced discourse of the nation" (Bhabha 308).

He further proposes that the influence of ambivalence is not restricted only to "the language of those who write of it", but it also governs the ways people live their lives (306). His views, primarily, concern the ambivalence associated with Nationalism and its impact on "narratives and discourses that signify a sense of nationess"(Bhabha307). He, for instance, contemplates the influence of ambivalence on national narratives in terms of the following realms of a nation: "the heimlich" comfort of homeliness, "the unheimlich" fear of the unknown in terms of "space or race of the Other", the comfort of social bond, the class system with its "hidden injuries", "the power of political" allegiances, "the sense of social order" and the perception of the ideals of "justice" and "injustice" etc (307). Bhabha, thus, relies more on the "cultural signification" associated with nation instead of associating or treating it as a political ideology (306). He shares this aspect with Benedict Anderson who in *Imagined Communities* (1983) proposes to understand Nationalism, "by aligning it with large cultural systems" rather than associating it with "self-consciously held political ideologies" (12). The alignment of nationalism with culture leads to possibility of diverse national character.

With reference to the idea of diversity in the national character, David Huddart shares his views about Bhabha that he does not believe in the notion of fixed national identity. He rather believes in the "open[ness]" of national identity which paves the way for diversity and growth (101). David Huddart draws the association between nationalism and colonialism and vice versa

and acknowledges the importance of nationalism both during colonialism and in post-colonial scenario . He, for example, observes, that the range and application of ambivalence is not only limited to the identities and relationship between the colonizer and the colonized but extends further to " post-colonial nationality" in terms of the identity and relationship among the individuals of the same nation (108). He , thus, provides the background to understand the importance of ambivalence in post-colonial context too. He asserts that the idea of being a nation has not only been important in driving out the colonial masters but has played an important role in " post –colonial reconstruction" of "stable cultural identities" too (101). Bhabha , though is critical of the stability and complacency associated with the idea of nationhood (Huddart 101). This critique of the ideas of stability and uniformity associated with nationalism leads to the possibility of diverse identities of individuals, despite belonging to the same nation. It , thus, rejects the concept of a single, monolithic, totalitarian national identity.

In addition to commenting on ambivalence , Huddart highlights the conflicting nature of the " central and marginal identities ... within the " imagined community" of [a] nation" (104). He points out how Benedict Anderson considers, "simultaneity" an important feature of the "modern nation" whereby an individual considers himself like many other belonging to the same nation (106). Bhabha , on the contrary, primarily focuses on the *differences* between the individuals despite belonging to the same nation(emphasis is mine). He is against the idea where nation is perceived as, "a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time" (qtd in Huddart 106). He rejects this notion because of, "Its pernicious insistence on a simultaneity that tends, of course, to exclude those that do not fit" (Huddart 106). Bhabha thus challenges the limitations of "simultaneity" by putting forth the idea of possibilities of multiple identities with respect to nationalism.

Bhabha, clearly, confesses in his writing, that his main concern regarding, "[t]he discourse of nationalism" lies in his dissatisfaction about the ideas of "certainty and settled nature" that are complacently weaved around the idea of nationalism (140). Bhabha, thus, advocates openness in relation to the idea of nationalism. He is Post-structuralist in his approach, as he holds the view that nationalism is a "complex" phenomenon and involves exhibition of hybridity in expression of "cultural differences" (140). He believes that these differences are multilayered and thus defy binarism (140). He is a strong supporter of the identification and celebration of cultural diversity. A reality that is proclaimed by Frantz Fanon too, who is of the view that "culture abhors simplification" (qtd in Bhabha 152). And, Bhabha believes that it is the identification and acknowledgment of the cultural "complexity" and diversity that makes the people of a nation inherent "subjects of a range of social and literary narratives" (140). Bhabha, emphasizes on the significance of "ambivalence of the 'nation' as a narrative strategy and its strong role in production of "slippage of categories" in narrating the nation'' which defy strictly defined and controlled models and thus give rise to multiple identities of individuals with in a nation (emphasis original 140).

According to Huddart the metaphor of "Palimpsest" aptly expresses and explains the idea of multiple identities (107). Huddart points out that, "Palimpsests are overwritten, heavily annotated manuscripts, on which earlier writing is still visible underneath newer writing: they offer a suggestive model of hybrid identity" (107). This approach on nationalism celebrates:

> [The] recesses of national culture from which alternative constituencies of peoples and oppositional analytic capacities may emerge- youth, the every- day, nostalgia, new 'ethnicities', new social movements, 'the politics of difference'. They assign new meanings and different directions to the pro-cess of historical change. The most progressive development from such positions takes a 'discursive conception of ideology.' (Bhabha 308)

The discursive practises, thus, give rise to the discourse of minority groups too and in consequence to this, the "marginalized groups have privileged perspectives on the rethinking of national identities" (Huddart 102). Bhabha, identifies "a kind of doubleness in writing" (141). He believes that this "doubleness" results from the opposition in the "world views of master and slave" (144). Bhabha illustrates this " double movement " to be an opposition between "pedagogy" and "performance" (Huddart 108). The "pedagogical" aspect of the nation stands for the idea of all individuals of the nation being alike while the " performative" aspect of the nation stands for uniqueness of individuals despite belonging to the same nation and thus gives way to possibility of diversity and dissent and engenders ambivalence . This process exhibits the divide between the " pedagogical" and the "performative identity" of a nation; the contrast of "certainties" and "anxieties" (Huddart 108), "established fact and an open becoming" that always go together (Huddart 111) and can be "emblem[atically]" represented by " a chiasmatic figure of cultural difference" (Bhabha 309).

As far as the pedagogical aspect of national character is concerned, the individuals are subjected as "the historical objects" by the authority of "nationalist pedagogy". The performative aspect of cultural production, on the other hand, successfully resists this historical authority and portrays the individuals as "the 'subjects' of a process of signification" signifying the contemporary reality in terms of time (emphasis original Bhabha 145). This pedagogical and performative contestation leads to a "split" between these two diametrically opposite categories which in turn gives rise to "ambivalence" in the national narrative and "represent[s the people] as the cutting edge between the totalizing powers of the 'social' as homogeneous, consensual

community, and the forces that signify the more specific address to contentious, unequal interests and identities within the population" (Bhabha 146). Bhabha, argues that this split highlights the fact that "heterogeneity" is not barely a contentious mater between the nation as self v/s the other but the difference of identity among the individuals of the same nation (148). So, as far as the signification of difference is concerned, Bhabha's interest lies more in the "finitude [of difference] 'within' (emphasis original Bhabha 150). He highlights that for him "the threat of cultural difference ... becomes a question of otherness of the people –as- one" (Bhabha 150). This difference of self v/s the other within the nation, resultantly, leads to the "discourses of minorities" (Bhabha 148) and this discursiveness, eventually, challenges the "essentialist identities" tagged with nations (Bhabha 149).

Bhabha , not only tries to explore the grave, deep and multilayered concepts associated with nationalism but, also emphasizes on the significance of representing one's nation in terms of narration. For him the "written" account of a nation engenders "social consciousness" (307). Bhabha , thus, gives immense importance to the significance of exercising the right to narrate one's nation. He believes it is through this right that culture is "propagated" and preserved. This "right" leads to the possibility of writing history and determining the "flow" of "social life" by having an essential feature of " freedom" of being "heard" , "recognized and represented" (Bhabha, The Right to Narrate, Harvard Design Magazine). He further comments on the impact of witnessing a cultural production and points out that it makes one adjust one's sense of self, surrounding realities and "contemporaneity". He maintains that narration signifies and stands for a "civic life" and the societies devoid of this right are "societies of deafening silence authoritarian nations, police states, xenophobic cultures". This silence, he further observes, is consequently "fill[ed]... with sirens, megaphones, hectoring voices carried by loudspeakers or

from lowering podiums". He deems it an indispensible humanitarian cause and responsibility to " return to the silent killing fields of the past and the present be it colonization, partition, apartheid, the Holocaust;or Vietnam, Palestine, Ayodhya, Afghanistan, Berlin, South Africa, Rawanda, to try and give voice to those who were silenced (Bhabha, the Right to Narrate, Harvard Design Magazine).

So, Bhabha clearly endorses the importance of individuals' contribution to the ideal of self-definition as subjects of a nation rather than choosing to be mere objects. He is conscious of the possible results of this kind of freedom of expression. He appreciates, celebrates and defends dissent and divergence of opinion. An idea which can be supported by his critique of the the steps taken by the administration of Jawahar Lal Nehru University (JNU) against the president of students' union, who had to face a judicial sedition case, in relation to the controversy that resulted in the wake of an event organized on campus, on February 9, 2016, against the execution of Afzal Guru, the Indian Parliament attack convict. In a letter to Vice chancellor of JNU, Jagadesh Kumar, Bhabha wrote , " Instead of engaging with the diversity of opinion expressed by your own students and faculty the members of your very own community you have resorted to criminalisation of dissent" ('You Resorted To Criminalisation Of Dissent': Harvard's Homi K. Bhabha Writes To JNU VC, Youthkiawaz.com) . Bhabha thus advocates the choice of narrating one's nation not only in theory but in practise too.

He is of view that national narrative not only signifies a nation's "language and rhetoric;it also attempts to alter the conceptual object itself (308). He further acknowledges the possibility of multiplicity of discourses in case of nations being narrated. He says that, " If the problematic 'closure' of textuality questions the ' totalization' of national culture, then its positive value lies in displaying the wide dissemination through which we construct the field of meanings and

symbols associated with national life" (308). So, in Bhabha's theorizing the Post- structuralist "critique of knowledge, totality and the subject" is evident (Culler 139). This attitude takes into consideration not only the central discourses of nationhood but endorses the marginal ones too. The marginal discourses, thus, consequently challenge the set standards of "progress, homogeneity, cultural organicism etc (Bhabha 309). Bhabha illustrates this point further by using the metaphor of space. He believes that the inclusion of the minority groups in national discourse reflects, "Cultural boundaries of the nation" having "thresholds of meaning that must be crossed, erased and translated in process of cultural production" (309). The idea of nationhood involves a complex process of "interruptive interiority" with respect to its "cultural space [having] transgressive boundaries" (Bhabha 310).

So, this research analyzes the text by applying the concepts like ideological divisions between the individuals of the same nation, multiplicity of national discourses, ambivalence associated with nationalism and difference between Performative and Pedagogical Identity.

It also deals with the application of the "discursive conception of ideology" (Bhabha 308) on Kashmiri national narrative in the wake of the decade of 90's and deliberate the ideological divisions and their reasons. It deals with the analysis of the text to highlight the transition experienced by Kashmiris in 90s due to initiation of the Armed Struggle. Quotations from the text depicting plurality of views regarding Kashmiri nationalism and freedom movement are considered. The diverse response of the Kashmiri characters reflects their ideology through the discourse of celebration or rejection of the Movement. Moreover, it emphasizes on "Minority discourses [that] acknowledge the status of national culture – and the people- as a contentious, performative space of the perplexity of living" (Bhabha 307).

So, this research reflects the possibilities of expression of dissent among people regarding the social and political ideology, which is an ever changing phenomenon. It also tends to explore the negotiation of identity of the fictional characters.

CHAPTER 4

DEATH; A WAY OF LIFE

Waheed's *The Collaborator* (2012) is a political novel, posing a national question. With reference to the decade of 90s, Kashmiris are forced to make choices as a nation. This text exemplifies the varied choices of allegiances, which are not only divergent and diverse but conflicting too. This divergence in turn leads to a diverse political and national life ensuing subjective discourses. This chapter primarily deals with the transition in the national history of Kashmir, taking in to consideration the era of late 80s and the decade of 90s, when Kashmiris choose the option of armed struggle against the Indian army. Applying Bhabha's perspective on nationalism with respect to Indian Occupied Kashmir, one can identify the 80s Movement as one of the "new … movements" that emerge from the "recesses of national culture" (308). It is in fact Kashmiris' answer to the Indian claim over Kashmir. But the split in the choices among the fictional characters exemplify the different perception of national ideology among Kashmiris (Bhabha 308). This difference leads to the possibility of projection of diverse national identity of the minority groups (Huddart 102). Bhabha also hints that the differences in a nation can be recognized through narration. He thus challenges the ideas of certainty and fixed identity associated with the individuals of the same nation.The primary text also reveals that the ideas of "the Heimlich pleasures of the hearth , the unheimlich terror of the space or race or the other" are filled with differences and possibilities of multiple interpretations (Bhabha 307).

Considering the notion of "the heimlich pleasures of the hearth", it can be identified that the protagonist's friends join the freedom movement and thus sacrifice their "Heimlich" comfort in the national interest. They choose eminent death in rugged and rough terrains over the safety

offered by the warmth of the home. The protagonist unlike his friends is never ready to let go the comfort and warmth of the hearth. But, even the choice of staying back home does not entail solace in the ever changing milieu of Kashmir in the 90s.

Similarly the notion of "the unheimlich terror of the ... the other" can be applied to the fictional characters in diverse ways. The Indian occupation of Kashmir and and suppression of Kashmiris doesnot entail a uniform response from all the Kashmiris. Some like Hussain and his father choose to fight against them. But, others like the protagonist and his father collaborate with the Indian army. The protagonist and his father stay at a bay from the Freedom Movement. But, this chapter explores the choice and mode of dominant resistance and its impact on the dynamics of Kashmir. It also highlights the choice, role and identity of those who facilitated the Movement fighters.

The Armed Struggle; A Sense Making Practice:

Mckee identifies individuals' idea of reality with their choice of association and ensuing behaviour (60). The protagonist's friends Hussain, Muhammad, Gull, and Ashfaq consider the Movement to be indispensible for ensuring the rights of Kashmiris. They consequently actively participate against the Indian occupation of Kashmir and thus disappear from Nowgam to join the Movement. But, that is not the only option taken by all Kashmiris in the fictional setting.

Mckee is of the view that human beings can be placed in different groups based on their "sense making practices" i.e. their sense of reality which is diverse. This understanding not only varies from culture to culture but also is varied with respect to individuals belonging to the same culture (14). A phenomenon which can be witnessed in the fictional characters of the primary text with reference to the way they perceive and exhibit their national identity. Whereas, the

protagonist's friends being Kashmiris opt to join the Resistance Movement in their efforts to pave the way to freedom, Captain Kadian, an Indian army officer is severely critical of their actions and considers it a naivety. The protagonist unlike his decisive friends keeps contemplating about his decision to join the Movement and ends up being a collaborator with the Indian Army.

The divergence can be witnessed not only in the choices and actions of the characters but also in their language. For instance, the words used for those who join the Movement differ depending on the individuals. Captain Kadian, for instance, always refers to them derogatorily, hatefully and abusively. The protagonist predominantly calls them "militants" but simultaneously portrays their aspiration for independence of Kashmir sympathetically (*TC* 7). He, though, uses a mixture of words ranging from celebration to detest. He, for instance, disapproves his best friend Hussain's decision to join the Movement and says that he "was the first to disappear [and] fall" (*TC* 22). He refers to the disappearances of the other three members of his group: Gull, Muhammad, and Ashfaq too (*TC* 100). Though, the protagonist being narrator acknowledges that "everyone wanted... to cross over and become a famous freedom fighter... a commander, a masked legend in their own right, a liberator of Kashmiri people, a hero" (*TC* 17). This proclamation serves as a source to establish the dominant discourse prevalent in Kashmir in late 80s and in the next decade. The word "everyone" reflects the dominance of the ideology and discourse of freedom from the foreign occupation. This aspiration to get freedom gives rise to pro-Resistance and anti-Indian behaviour and discourse.

Dominant National Identity:

The narrator comments on the transition that he witnessed while growing in Kashmir in late 80s and early 90s. His representation of Kashmir clearly reflects the dominant/ central pro-freedom discourse. He remembers how, "Posters appeared everywhere. Out of nowhere" claiming freedom (*TC* 175) .The narrator hints at the abundance of the posters saying, "Posters competed for space on the sparse street walls". Moreover these posters registered hatred for India by calling the Indian Army "Dogs" and asking them to go back. In addition to that, they also reflected Kashmiri sentiment for Pakistan through words like "Pakistan Zindabad" (Long live Pakistan) (*TC* 176). Bhabha uses the term "nationalist pedagogy" for written text i.e authoritative and dictates a certain response (145). In the novel the posters and the invitations to join the Movement serve as an example.

The posters exhibited in the Nowgam area are not the only source of pro-Freedom and anti-Indian discourse but it is reiterated by the author through the slogans chanted by Kashmiri people in the mosque and by " excitable young boys" who did so with the endless beating of their " tin roofs" (*TC* 176). The dominance of the anit-Indian/ pro-Resistance Movement discourse is confirmed by the newspapers too. The protagonist refers to the publication of images in news papers like "*Daily Aftab", "Srinagar Times"* and the "ominously" named "The *Daily Toll*" and proposes that:

> I saw roadfuls of azadi-crying [freedom crying] people on the streets; I saw columns and columns of masked militants-our heroes, our boys-marching openly with their weapons (and I did try, more than a few times, to imagine myself as one of them); I saw women and children cheering the future martyrs on ; I saw .... grandiose statements declaring independence by militant commanders in their Palestinian headscarves. But I

> also saw white shrouded bodies neatly, piously, sadly lined up for Namaz-e-Jinazah [funeral prayer].... I saw martyrs' graveyards multiplying like eager new housing colonies; and I saw grieving men and women in hospitals and the blank, sad faces of fresh orphans. (*TC* 37)

Thus, these details present the collective national identity of Kashmir. The narrator then gives examples from his own experience. The armed strugglers are depicted facing the consequences of their choice in the bordering areas too. A lot of them get killed by the Indian Army on the line of control between India and Pakistan during their movement across the border which is considered "no-man's-land" by Captain Kadian (*TC* 3). Captain Kadian is really critical of their choice and mode of resistance. He comments on the origin of the struggle and dates it back to "1988-89" (*TC* 10). He loath fully comments about the dead bodies of those killed on the line of control and refers to them as "debris" of those who faced the consequences of their "sneaky" attempts. He also acknowledges that severe winter checks their movement (*TC* 10). Captain Kadian confesses and thus complains about the Indian Army's inability to kill everyone in the bordering areas and mentions that "some" rather "many" are successful in executing their expertise something that he despises: they two finally get killed in the cities though (*TC* 3). He explains that the success rate of the Indian Army in targeting them is low in the bordering area because of the cover provided by nature (*TC* 6).

The Active Mode of Resistance:

Waheed not only portrays the central mode of resistance but also shows how it is executed. The observation of the "outward signals" i.e. the appearance, language and behaviour of the characters clearly reveal the details of their choices (Mckee 88). For example, there are certain rituals associated with all who aspire to join the armed struggle and leave the comfort of

their hearth. These rituals include collection of food items to be consumed during long journeys in unforeseen situations and gathering warm clothes etc for being protected against the harsh weather in rough setting. Waheed in the novel illustrates a list of rituals signalling an individual's choice of joining the Movement. When Hussain leaves home it is found out that "all his woollens... [along with] long –boots" are taken along. Moreover, it is mentioned in retrospect that he had been buying "biscuits, walnuts, and almonds" (*TC* 41). When the protagonist is at the verge of "border – crossing", which he eventually does not- he starts preparing for the expedition too. He starts storing "almonds", "dates", "dried apricots" etc. He gets hold of his "Baba's big boots" and selects the clothes he would wear. The selection naturally is determined by the weather. So, to suit the severe rough winters, he decides to wear "three sweaters", a "wool pyjamas", "jeans", his "winter cap with the ear flaps" etc. He naively contemplates about taking a blanket along but then discards the idea. Similarly, he first thinks to make a choice about the book; he would like to carry but then considers it impractical (*TC* 141). The narrator observes that another identification of those who choose to leave home for active Resistance is their suspicious behaviour .The protagonist points out that his friend Hussain became quieter before leaving. He even stopped humming: something really unusual and unthinkable for a person who would hum even during eating (*TC* 28). The protagonist emphasizes on the intensity of "border crossing" in 90s and considers it a kind of "fair" endorsed not only by the boys of the border areas but also by stylish city dwellers (*TC* 58). Peer, in his memoire also, recapitulates the incidents of young Kashmiri boys disappearing to take up arms against the Indian forces and the sense of fear and insecurity their parents felt resultantly. He says that, "border and crossing the border; it had become an obsession, an invisible presence" (31). He points out that as far as those who died in the process, their funerals were "held…in absentia" (37).Waheed not only discusses

this major choice of young Kashmiris but also portrays the places these boys had to traverse. He points out that their journey involves crossing "streams", "rapids", "ravines and treacherous gorges" (*TC* 147).

Noor, another fictional character, who is a Nowgam resident, asserts that these boys who join Movement are well-received by Kashmiris. Kashmiris provide them food and shelter and thus protect them against the Indian army. He endorses this sign of hospitality and hints at the possibility of hosting boys of Nowgam (*TC* 168). Something Captain Kadian refers to disapprovingly, saying that Kashmiris "harbour militants" *(TC 266).*

The narrator claims that the years of active Resistance initiated scores of rumours about the whole affair. One being that young boys, who disappear, despite the popularly believed notion that they join the Movement, are in fact abducted by the Indian army for "*begaar,* for forced labour". They are enslaved and made to do hard work with little option of taking rest. They could not think to protest or resist, dreading the idea of being killed and "passed off as some foreign militant commander" (*TC* 166). So, they choose enslaved labour over the idea of being misrepresented; serving the cause of the Indian rhetoric.

Stimuli For The Armed Struggle:

Waheed enquires into the reasons serving as stimuli for the Kashmiri boys' choice of joining the Movement. The protagonist being unable to do so himself, is inquisitive about the reasons they leave for and wonders about their new habitat and way of being. He thinks that they leave their homes, "for a high cause" (*TC* 19). The narrator reveals the identity of those who join the Movement. He asserts that they include: "[H]undreds of young man- exited, idealistic teenagers; hurt, angry boys wronged by police or army action: vengeful brothers with [family

members disgraced] at home; firebrand youth leaders conjuring up paradisiacal visions of freedom and an independent Kashmir" (*TC* 24).

Waheed also illustrates incidents depicting the brutality of the Indian army against civilians. He emphasizes the fact by narrating the transformation of Captain Kadian's peon, Dasrath Singh, who was a "subedar" earlier. The protagonist is interested in knowing that what the peon does in addition to the eternal "dozing off"? It's only then, Captain Kadian tells the reason behind his "desk job" instead of his previous "field" operations. He narrates that he, "had a great ear for sniffing people out". On one such occasions when he was about to discover those hiding in a house in Srinagar, a lady resisted to let him search. In the "melee" he hurt the lady and was later on "accused of attempt to double-murder"; the mother was safe but the baby was born "with fractured limbs". The issue was not only raised by social activists from Delhi and Calcutta but also in the legislative assembly under the title the "Fractured Foetus Case". Since then he had to abandon the search operations but he was still "*Interrogator Extraordinaire*" (*TC* 264-268).Inhuman treatment received by Kashmiris in incidents like these seem to provide reasons enough to invoke reaction from Kashmiris.

In addition to the abovementioned incident Waheed narrates an experience of collective humiliation. He narrates the unnamed narrator's experience of being assembled with other locals. The Kashmiris are presented as a group of captive audience huddled together, waiting for the arrival of the Governor of Kashmir. They are made to gather in the same ground where a day earlier the corpse of a local Kashmiri named Khadim Hussain was exhibited. The Indian Army that took part in that horrifying manifestation yesterday takes up the responsibility of ensuring strict discipline and obedience, the next day, using their unquestioned authority. They are depicted exercising strict check by "cracking" their sticks against stones in an area where local

women and children are sitting with "unease". The clanking of the sticks frightens the kids who shrink back and tightly press their lips. Gratification is what one of the guards feel on commanding the crowd (*TC* 223).

Imperialism is clearly visible in this hollow ceremony, where Kashmiris are shown to follow the dictates of the Indian administrators subserviently. Waheed has successfully captured this social reality in his fictional work. A phenomenon about which Edward Said proposes that the interaction between the imperialists and imperialized can be understood by analysing "rich cultural documents" (22). Waheed's debut novel thus serves as an example in context of Kashmir. Waheed critiques the imperialistic tendencies exercised by the Indian Army over Kashmiri locals.

Edward Said is also of view that, "[d]omination and inequities of power and wealth are perennial facts of human society" (20). The lack of power balance is visible in the situation under discussion. It clearly depicts the power exercised by Indians over Kashmiris as a result of Indian occupation. In the presence of authoritative Indian soldiers, the natives are depicted as captive audience. The Indian Army's hegemonic presence is illustrated by their "crack[ing] … sticks" (*TC* 223), "menacing boots and large guns" (TC 235) and "a pair of imposing machine" (TC 225) to ensure check and control over the huddled masses. In addition to that, it is presented that the natives don't expect any leniency from the soldiers, therefore in the assembly mothers hold, "their [babies'] small bodies against their chests to muffle the crying" to avoid the annoyance of the soldiers (TC 225).

The Kashmiris are thus presented by Waheed in a helpless situation. At the arrival of the Governor the children "shr[i]nk back and shut their mouths". An action which a domineering sentry finds really satisfying and grins (*TC* 223). Kashmiris are referred to as "captive audience,

half shivering, half shocked …bewildered but speechless in the cold mist" (*TC* 229). It's a hollow ceremony because the Governor addresses the natives in a language which they don't understand at all. It is not only the Governor's presence but his choice of language is illogical for Kashmiris too. An exchange of "disoriented glances" is the outcome from the natives to the English speech about the articles of Indian Constitution made by the Governor (*TC* 232). Consequently, the disinterested native audience is depicted as an "aching, yawning, scratching, moaning, farting crowd" (*TC* 233). The only "cheer[ing]" and "clap[ing]" comes from the army officers and journalist accompanying the Governor.

The protagonist uses animal imagery for referring to the Indian Army and representatives of Indian administration. This set forths the imagery of a relation between a hunter and hunted in jungle and serves as an appropriate metaphor to explain the relation between imperialists and the imperialized. The narrator for example refers to the sound of Governor's helicopter as "roar"; a sound produced by predating animals to dominate the meeker ones.

The Governor of Kashmir is loathed by the natives because he is the "The King of Curfews himself" (*TC* 227). Hatred for him is reflected by the language to describe his appearance. The narrator finds him more "hideous" in real than in media images. While describing his appearance the narrator says that "[h]is lips were tightly pursed and looked like two fat worms in tight embrace" (*TC* 229). He refers to his tongue as "big", "fat rat" (*TC* 234). The disgust for the Indian army is also visible from the simile used by the narrator that they "poured out like rats from the massive truck" (*TC* 226).The minister of sports too is talked about in animalistic terms. He is compared to a buffalo because of his excessive perspiring even in winter.

The analysis of the text establishes the antagonistic relation between Kashmiris and the Indian Army and administration. It also portrays the hollowness of the affair of imperialism

when the Governor unconvincingly tries to justify his presence by associating it with the welfare of Kashmiris (*TC* 230). It is a fact that powerful nations, having insatiable lust for power, keep expanding their territories and try to find an excuse for that too. Such nations usually take refuge in law of their land. Bennett and Royle point out about this situation that, "Every colony entails the imposition of codes of law and punishment from elsewhere, from back 'home' or from a foreign country" (247). The idea of spatial "'[e]xternality' " is strongly associated with issues of "colonialism". An aspiration for exploiting a land "elsewhere", away from one's own "immediate habitat available for exploitation" (Bennett and Royle 143). The Indian army's presence despised by Kashmiris and Kashmiris' forced assemblage by the Indian army, on the occasion of the arrival of the Governor clearly reflects their uneasy colonized situation.

Bhabha refers to the "transgressive boundaries" of the nation. He is of the view that "interruptive interiority" leads to the possibility of transgression. So, the nation should not be expected to behave uniformly (310). He refers to "boundaries of the nation" having thresholds of meaning that must be crossed, erased and translated" (309). Bhabha further refers to "the recesses of national culture from which alternative constituencies of peoples and oppositional analytic capacities may emerge ... [that] assign new meanings and different directions to the process of historical change. The most progressive development from such positions takes a 'discursive conception of ideology' (Bhabha 308). The text depicts the religious transition to be one of the factors in determining the initiation of armed struggle in Kashmir.

Waheed considers the religious transition and the increasing impact of religion on people to be one of the reasons, behind their active involvement in the Movement. Peer also mentions that along with political and national movements, the conflict zone of Kashmir has witnessed efforts to ensure religious transition too. He, for instance, shares the details of a Salafist group

that challenged and rebelled against the age old ways in which Islam was practiced in Kashmir i.e. as "a mixture of text and tradition" (176). Those who belonged to this group became active in late eighties and wanted to break off from the practices that became part of Islam in Kashmir, as a result of "long process of conversion from a Hindu past to Islam" (Peer 176). Peer finds them "dry and strict" (176). He points out that he did not like their sense of self-righteousness (177). Moreover, he says that they were "dismissive and contemptuous" about those whom they judged to be "the not-so-faithful" (177). Peer admits that there have been fringe efforts to drag the "Saudi-style Islamic code in Kashmir" but these efforts were dismissed by the Kashmiris as most of them choose to follow "unorthodox Islam" (181).He supports his point by the fact that as Kashmir is, "an agrarian society": males and females have always worked together and helped each other in the fields. As far as, the dress code for women is concerned, the women have the habit of covering their heads by scarves but the practice of observing veil has never been very popular (181). He mentions the efforts of a women's group named " Dukhtaran-e-Millat," led by Assia Andrabi to impose the practice of veil among women but their efforts did not meet much success (Peer 182) . So, Peer sums up the argument by saying that, "imposing puritanical interpretations of Islam continued to fail in Kashmir (183).

He also recapitulates, that the Salafist group criticized the practice of visiting the shrines of the saints; a practice very common in Kashmir since ages. But, the people did not succumb to their criticism and rather turned into an angry mob and then the member of the Salafist group had to once hide to save their lives (Peer 183). They criticized this practice on the grounds that people associate with saints the power of mediation between them and their creator and thus they considered it "un-Islamic" (Peer 183).

A similar kind of transition is referred to by Waheed in the novel too especially with reference to the people of Nowgam. Waheed through the narrator refers to the change in the attitude of the people towards religion after the first "concrete" mosque in his area was constructed (*TC* 29). He tells that before this, the Nogam dwellers had, "meagre spiritual needs" that entailed eid celebration, visiting shrines, having someone who knew the verses of the Holy Quran required for conducting funeral and marriage. The reason for little attention to an organized religious life being the nomadic lifestyle of the Gujjar community before settling in Nogam (*TC* 32) . But , with the new mosque and the presence of Imam, people's perception towards religion changed. The narrator claims that, "[S]incere religious devotion became a priority occupation for many" in his area. "Friday sermons", "preaching", and "dars", something unknown to the *Gujjars*, became most sought after activities. Soon, appearances changed too: small beards were replaced by, "flowing tufts of hair... hanging down to the chests. Moustaches half a century old... either disappeared altogether or gave way to thin, austere alterations above the new beards" (*TC* 30). The narrator is critical of the identity of the "newly appeared" Imam and suggests that he was an outsider (*TC* 31). He emphasizes on his inability to "place" him that is to say with surety, where did he belonged to (*TC* 32).

But the whole village seemed to be under the impression of the Imam. In his first Friday sermon he referred to the injustices inflicted by the Indian army on Kashmiris. He referred to the killing of Kashmiris for protesting against their loved ones killed already and burning down of the entire areas searching for the defiant "brave boys". He adds that in Sopore the Indian army killed people and women faced humiliation before death (*TC* 33). Thus this sermon clearly reflects anti-Indian-occupation and pro- Resistance discourse, not without consequences. The protagonist quite conscious of the narrative built up by the Imam hints at the possible effect and

says, “Something new, strange powerful was going to happen sometime soon” (*TC* 32). This increased interest in religion resulted in the boys joining the Movement.

In addition to exploring rather revealing the general reasons for which more and more boys join the Movement, the narrator shares some biographical details of his friends too, who do the same. The portrayal of their personality traits and the evolution that they undergo in some cases give convincing reasons that may have been decisive in their choice of joining the Movement.

The protagonist, for instance, refers to Hussain’s allegiance to Imam and says that Hussain stayed in the mosque even after everyone else left (*TC* 35). Moreover, his father Khadim Hussain had religious inclinations as well. The narrator points out that most people of his age in the community worked hard for economic gains while he paid heed to his “spiritual life” and stayed for the most part of the day in the mosque, that he along with others had constructed (*TC* 29).

The protagonist shares how his best friend Hussain confided in him about his family being poverty-stricken and his father being strict. He told the protagonist how his father “scold[ed]” him and his “Mouji”, the Kashmiri equivalent of mother, protected him against it. Hussain had inherited the gift of melodious voice from his Mouji, who stopped singing after being married to his “piously minded” father (*TC* 23). Hussain, was the “the official entertainer” of his friends because of being musically possessed and having melodious voice (*TC* 20). But then he underwent evolution and under the impression of his father, acquired the role of “muezzin, his *sonorous* Allah-o-Akbar waking up even the most hard-boned, steadfast non-worshippers” (*TC* 37). Hussain is represented as a utopian character. For example, the narrator

shares Hussain's dream of always staying in Nogam and building a school with special emphasis on teaching "music and singing". But his friend Ashfaq gave him a reality check by saying that people were more interested in earning livelihood than becoming "sentimental singers". The memory of this very incident makes the protagonist question Hussain's departure from Nogam. He is perturbed about his transformation from an idealist to a realist who succumbed to the demands of the poignant surrounding reality. (*TC* 38-39).

The protagonist reveals the idealistic, introvert, and utopian aspects of Hussain's personality more than once. He shares his experience of accompanying Hussain to "Koh-i-Gham" searching for an exotic shepherd famous for his flute playing amongst other bewildering attractions. Hussian was allured by all the stories woven around Koh-i-Gham and thus wanted to experience them. The protagonist delineates that Hussain always derived strength from Nature. In this expedition too, he professed his response to the enchanting nature by saying "Wah Wah" (That's Great). He revealed to the protagonist how liberating it was for him to be away from home. His frustrating filial life resulted in his "dukh, his singular sadness" (*TC* 84).

The protagonist recalls, that the soothing Nature had such an influence on Hussain that he did not want to come back at all. So, he had to leave him there alone, reluctantly to go back home following his father's order. That night, he recapitulates, all the men of the village went searching for Hussain and the entire forest lit up with torches. He was found ultimately in a state of "trance". The protagonist juxtaposes the past absence of Hussain with the present one and pines for him, complaining that no one went searching for him this time (*TC* 82-88).

The protagonist shares the personality traits of his friend Muhammad too. He acknowledges that he possessed characteristics, suited to be the leader of the group and the

protagonist was only accidently the leader of his group, his father being the head of the tribe. He emphasizes the fact by saying that Muhammad was always there to guard the group because of being, "the strongest and the biggest.... and he was afraid of nothing". He confesses that despite being leader of the group he too felt safe in the company of Muhammad against the taunts and possible fight by the older boys and those from neighbouring villages (*TC* 104).

He also recapitulates a past experience that reflects Muhammad's bravery and strong sense of honour. He recounts that the whole group went to steal fruits from an orchard at the time of Friday prayers to avoid being stopped by the owner. But, to their dismay they found out that the owner had hired two guards. Whereas the protagonist considered it an impediment and contemplated change of plan, Muhammad was contrarily "emboldened". They somehow managed to steal the fruit but were spotted by one of the guards when they were about to cross the "barbed-wire fence". The protagonist endorses Muhammad by commenting, "True to character, he let everyone cross before beginning to do so himself". But, in doing so was targeted by the "club" hurled at him by one of the guards, which targeted him "with a wham in the middle of his back". While the rest of the friends were "froze[n]" by the experience, Muhammad laughed loudly and targeted the guard forcefully with the apples, without missing the target. Only then he fled. The protagonist asked him that why did he insist on hitting the guard instead of fleeing. He replied that, "It was a matter of *ghairat*..... the honour of the whole group ". The protagonist remembers witnessing a "deep purple mark" on Muhammad's back while swimming. (*TC* 104-106). This show of chivalry, keeping in mind Muhammad's future occupation, presents the whole adventure of "crossing the barbed-wire" protecting and valuing the honour of the group to be symbolic in nature. Over a period of time, he becomes a character who joins the

Movement for the honour of his people and is reluctant to be deterred by the magnitude of the opponents' force and ability.

Thus, the protagonist conscious of his own inability to join the Movement explores the reasons in retrospect, that enabled others in general and his friends in particular to instantly join the Movement, one after the other. He is although disenchanted by the fact that his friends did so without making him party to their decision at all.

Impact of the Armed Struggle:

Waheed in his novel delineates that the Kashmiri boys' choice of being part of the Movement changes the overall dynamics of Kashmir. Whereas, on one hand the active involvement of some of the characters in the Resistance Movement gives way to a dominant discourse of favouring and celebrating the resistance against the Indian state, it, on the other hand, invokes strict counter policies by the Indian government to encounter the Movement. Moreover, divergence can be witnessed even among the Kashmiris about the option of choosing the armed struggle to protest. So, in the fictional setting multiple reactions to the initiation and sustenance of the Movement give rise to multiple discourses reflecting the diverse subjective consciousness of those involved.

For example, the narrative resulting from the comments and actions of the Indian army is strictly anti-Movement. It is exemplified by the characters representing the state apparatus that is the governor of Kashmir and Captain Kadian. Mckee also hints at the clash of discourses in different cultures (100). In the fictional setting while the Movement stands as a freedom struggle for the majority Muslim Kashmiris , the Hindu Governor of Kashmir, who is representative of India condemned the same being "disruptive" and "anti- national" (*TC* 230). Similarly, while the

Kashmiris find the Indian army's presence in Kashmir as an infliction the governor claims that their presence is to ensure the safety and security of Kashmiris (*TC* 230).The hatred for the Movement can be witnessed in the character of Captain Kadian too.

Captain Kadian in his first meeting with the protagonist uses the language of oppression for the independence fighters. Moreover, he objectifies them reducing them to mere "dolls" that fall off the mountains after being targeted like "cardboard.... soldiers! One after the other, ping, ping" (*TC* 3). He further adds, that to him the whole affair is less exciting than playing " a computer game" as he merely supervises the " operation" rather than killing them himself (*TC* 5). The whole description reveals his callous attitude towards those involved in the Movement.

He confesses the fabrication of falsities by the Indian army regarding the Movement, suggesting, that the Movement is not internally engendered at all but is rather wholly an imported affair. He, for instance, after killing some people in a "skirmish" tells the protagonist that he will create a show in the "camp" and invite media both national and international claiming that they have successfully killed " foreign militants- how the ... do they know I am not lying?" He continues saying, that it is very easy to pass off dead people as "Afghan" because those killed cannot speak. In addition to that, Captain Kadian exhibits sinister humour while referring to the dead bodies of the Kashmiris who are first killed and then their bodies are transported to the valley on the border. He asserts that being Muslims burial is what they need and he has ensured that by providing them, "big, big open burials" i.e. leaving their bodies to rot in an open valley (*TC* 9). The protagonist feels disenchanted at the realization of what is done to the Kashmiri boys who "disappear" and go "missing" (*TC* 9). Being in Captain Kadian's company and forced to listen to his cathartic chatter he finds out that how anti Movement discourse is generated.

Captain Kadian further tells the protagonist that after brutal killings, a list is generated that is sent to the "police" and the "newspaper" and media is allowed visit only at the dictates of the Indian state. A similar description of the deformed bodies of Kashmiris is found in Malik Sajjad's graphic novel *Munnu* (2015). The protagonist being interested in drawing since childhood searches for images to imitate and ends up finding, "The photos of unrecognizable, disfigured" Kashmiris from the news paper (Sajjad 5). Waheed in his novel points out that these images are shown on TV too. He further says that, the innocent Kashmiris are killed in "fake" encounters and their faces are "mutilate[d]". Thereupon, images are taken and later on shown on TV (*TC* 11). After post "camera-work" the bodies are either sent to police or villagers for "mass nameless burials" or "kick[ed]... into the valley (*TC* 12).

The Governor of Kashmir serves as another example to project the discourse diametrically opposed to the one put forth by the majority Kashmiris. In a speech addressed to forced Kashmiri listeners in Nowgam, he rejects any possibility of the Indian army being hostile towards Kashmiris and ranks them as one of the most civilized armies in the world. He implies that all the measures in Kashmir are taken to make it safe and considers the Movement as "anti-national" (*TC* 230). His idea of nationalism with India at the centre and the Kashmiri sentiment on the periphery does not match with that of Kashmiris. They detest the occupation inflicted on them by India's use of power. The fact that can be supported by the example of the characters of Hussain, Gul, Ashfaq, Muhammad, and many other Kashmiris who opted to join the arm struggle. Though the Governor blames "External forces "to be solely responsible for the conflicted reality of Kashmir (*TC* 231).

The support rendered to the Independence fighters by Kashmiris puts forth an altogether different discourse that is undoubtedly pro-Resistance and anti-Indian in nature. Captain Kadian,

also confirms the support the Movement fighters got in Nowgam. He narrates that in one such incident they took refuge in the local mosque for more than thirty days. He confirms that the man killed by the Indian army as a suspect supporter, "alerted them, helped them escape". The protagonist clearly remembers the suspected supporter being Hussain's father Khadim Hussain. He also remembers his triumphant, "smile- he had died for something then, he had helped save some boys, [their] own boys perhaps" (*TC* 277). But, with respect to the Movement, this is not the only response available in Kashmir.

Waheed alludes to the intense inner complexities of the Kashmiri nation. It can be inferred from his novel that Kashmir being a conflict zone is a place, where individuals vary from each other on the basis of the way they identify and register reality; a multilayered phenomenon, defying uni-dimensionalism. Waheed, for instance, depicts Kashmiri fictional characters who glorify the Movement but exemplifies others who are critical of the armed struggle on the basis of their harsh experiences of its entailing effects. These details no doubt exhibit the Kashmiris' aspirations to get independence but the same forcefully render the cost for this aspiration in form of the loss suffered by them. The protagonist narrates all these details first as an informed reader and then as a result of personal experience. Living in the border area between India and Pakistan, he is initially away from the central Kashmir and thus the centre of the Movement. Mckee refers to the identification of such lack of representation through "structuring absences" (110). Waheed portrays the absence of the role of the bordering areas of Kashmir in the Movement initially. He tells that the Movement began in the centre of Kashmir and is in the beginning perceived as a distant echo in the bordering are of Nowgam. But then it reaches the bordering area too and thus the periphery gets also touched by what was happening in the centre. The echoes of the pre-Resistance anti-Indian discourse can readily be witnessed in

the life of fictional characters living in Nowgam too. The protagonist is not the only one in Nowgam to follow the Movement by reading newspaper but others do the same. He claims that for the very first time in his life it was an unusual experience to witness the "elders crouch around ... newspaper" (*TC 36*)**.** The people of Nowgam later on respond to the Movement in action too as the protagonist's friends join the Movement.

He acknowledges that contrary to his inability to "be at peace with" Hussain's choice of joining the Movement, "many reconcile" to the idea and "many even admire him for being the first one from the village" to do so (*TC* 57). Like the majority villagers Hussain's father is also proud of his son's choice of being "a freedom fighter". He claims that he would welcome his martyrdom as blessing too (*TC* 159). This sentiment manifests pro-Movement discourse.

But the protagonist gives some examples contrary to the aforementioned ones. He, for example, expresses the feeling of some of the villagers being "shocked" and "hurt" at Hussain's disappearance for varied reasons: Hussain being a "local celebrity" due to his melodious voice; his mother's last "hope" to ensure better future for the family; the protagonist's "soul mate"; and being favourite of the protagonist's mother among all his friends whom she always treated with love and affection (*TC* 39).

The criticism of the Movement is witnessed in the character of the protagonist's father too. He is critical about the Movement because it disrupts the social order of Nowgam. Ambivalence according to Bhabha haunts "the comfort of social belonging too" (307). Waheed skilfully depicts the strong social bond between the Nowgam dwellers. He does so by the narrator's detailed character sketches of the Nowgam dwellers and their preoccupations. He

communicates the strength of concern that they share for each other too. But, when challenged it is discarded and overthrown with the Nowgam dwellers leaving their village forever.

When Indian army executes strict strategies to counter the Movement, the villagers choose to leave Nowgam to avoid the wrath of the Indian army. The protagonist's father being the headman tries to convince the villagers against their decision to migrate. But they choose to do otherwise. Unlike, everybody else the headman decides to stay in Nowgam. The villagers' decision to leave comes as a challenge to the headman's sense of "order" that prevails in his life "inside" his home and "outside" in the village. He is used to the status where everyone approaches him, "for advice, loans, judgements and he [relishes] every bit of it... But [then] things seem to be slipping from his hands, [they get] beyond his grasp" (*TC* 182). He holds the protagonist's friends responsible for creating this situation. He is consequently critical of them telling his son, "Your friends [have done] this" (*TC* 252). So, he voices anti-Movement sentiments.

The choice of active involvement in the Movement by the Kashmiri boys bears brutal effects on their lives along with that of those associated to them. Captain Kadian confesses that "more and more" people join the Movement and the army "kills more and more and these sad heroes [keep] springing up from all the fringing villages and towns of Kashmir... seeking Azadi". He adds that some are savagely killed in "ambushes" while others insistently fight "till the end" but ultimately get killed and then their "punctured bodies" are "rolled ...down" in the Kashmir valley that borders India and Pakistan (*TC* 294). The protagonist's friend's choice of involvement in the Movement affects the state of life in Nowgam too. The family members are persecuted and targeted culminating the departure of Nowgam dwellers.

The protagonist, for example narrates the heart-rendering tragedy that befalls Gull's family. Farooq, Gull's elder brother is taken by the " commandos" in front of the villagers despite his parents imploring and resistance (*TC* 185).He does come back but after being tortured and consequently becomes a "tourist site" and his house being a "shrine" where all the villagers go to see him (*TC* 186). They are in fact grateful and thankful to God that their sons did not meet the same fate (*TC* 187). This clearly reveals the apprehensions that ruled the involvement in the Movement.

During imprisonment, being subjected to interrogation and torture, Farooq returns with, "black pits all over his pubic area" and develops a "stink" (*TC* 186). He is the "living martyr" of the village (*TC* 189). The persecution of Gull's family does not end here as his elder brother is "arrested" again "in less than a month" (*TC* 190). The protagonist agrees with his mother's claim that Farooq is targeted because of being Gull's brother. The protagonist thinks that this persecution is intended to be symbolic for those who nurture the idea of facilitation or joining the Movement (*TC* 191). The protagonist's mother believes that the whole family suffers because of Gull's involvement in the Movement (*TC* 191). Farooq's mother keeps crying and his father seems to be "made of dust" (*TC* 193). The protagonist reports that, "Three days later, Farooq's head [is] hurled over the fence" of his home with the body missing, which is searched for by the villagers and is found later on (*TC* 194). It is taken as a "message" by the villagers to check their anti-Indian pro-Resistance activities (*TC* 195). Bhabha is of the view that ambivalence rules quality of justice in national narratives (Bhabha 307). In the fictional setting, Indian army, for instance, considers it just to brutalize Kashmiris for the sake of their national integrity and Kashmiris fight against them for the same reason.

The protagonist continues to tell that Farooq is buried twice. First only his head and later on his headless body (*TC* 197). Since then, "normality" becomes an "illusion" in Nowgam. The villagers' opinion is divided. While some curs Hussain, Gull, Ashfaq, Muhammad, for being responsible for this persecution, "some [defend] them [saying] there will always be a cost" (*TC* 199). Alan Mckee is of the view that even the individuals of the same nation differ from each other on the basis of divergent "sense making practices" i.e. their idea of reality may originate from diverse sources (14). This can be seen in case of the diverse response of the Nowgam dwellers.

The protagonist is particular about revealing even the impact of the whole situation on Muhammad's pet dog Rakhu. He contrasts his life with and without Muhammad being around. He states that unlike its past busy life as "a cricket-player" dog because of its abilities of fielding, he now lives an idle life and, "a short stream of greyish fluid had dried up below his left eye [which appears] like a permanent, discoloured teardrop" (*TC* 101). He also refers to the aggrieved mothers of his friends who while leaving Nowgam follow each other, forming "mothers-of-disappeared-sons band", being fellow sufferers (*TC* 249). Thus, the primary text reveals that in late 80s and early 90s, Kashmiri boys become part of the Movement to challenge India's occupation of Kashmir and sacrifice even their lives for the cause of freedom.

In the fictional setting under discussion Waheed exemplifies various collaborative networks. One being the complex association between the protagonist and the Indian army, the other being between the active strugglers and their facilitators. Waheed refers to the tourist guides that facilitate the movement of the Movement fighters through the "treacherous" passes. The protagonist reveals the identity of the guides saying that, "some of … the local boys, the Gujjar boys, children of former nomads" facilitate the active strugglers (*TC* 17). It's pointed out

in the course of novel that the motive of the guides is purely financial. Their collaboration with the Movement fighters, "earns them good money" (*TC* 56). Waheed not only refers to the guides generally but exemplifies this category of Kashmiri identity through the character of Shabban Khattana and his son Rehman. When the protagonist is inquisitive about investigating the whereabouts of his friend Husssain, he seeks help from Shabban Khattana, whose sons are known to be guides (*TC* 57).When the protagonist meets him to inquire about his friend Hussain; he is mistaken to be a Movement fighter too. Shabban Khattana hints that if he is a Movement fighter he should, 'come back after a week or so.[As his] boys are not [t]here'" He further adds that Shabban Khattana, "was probably used to young visitors turning up at his door any time of the day…"(*TC* 60).

Shabban acknowledges that his sons are actively involved in the process by helping the fighters to reach the training camps. He tells that his sons are given money for guiding the Movement fighters through the way (*TC* 63). But, once they come back from the training camps, the guides don't welcome the fighters at their house. They are left in the "forest. After that they are on their own" (*TC* 64).When the protagonist inquires about Hussain from Khattan's son Rehman, he replies that he is an ordinary guide. He doesn't know the details. He adds that most of the time the boys simply "follow at the back" (*TC* 123). But being a guide is not easy as there is always a risk of being targeted by the Indian army. Shabban is quoted to be apprehensive about his sons' occupation "being too public a knowledge" (*TC* 67). Thus risk rules the life not only of the Movement fighters but all those who were related to them or facilitate them.

So, the primary text reveals late 80s and 90s to be an era in Kashmir when people of all the areas, both central and the bordering areas of Kashmir, actively resist against the Indian army and face hardships, even, martyrdom. Their choice to do so clearly results in pro-Resistance and

anti-Indian discourse. Roy beautifully comments on the state of affairs in Kashmir in the era and points out that, “Dying became just another way of living” (314). It reveals the dominant choice of majority Kashmiris to join and celebrate the Freedom Movement.

CHAPTER: 5

LIFE; A WAY OF DYING

The novel under discussion undoubtedly serves as an invaluable source for exploring the diversity of the national discourse in Kashmir, as a result of repercussions of the conflict between the Indian army and Kashmiris in the 90s.While the previous chapter is predominantly about the Kashmiris who challenged the Indian occupation of Kashmir through active Resistance, this chapter primarily deals with Waheed's portrayal of the conflicted character of the eponymous protagonist. It comprises of his choices of association, their underlying reasons and ensuing impact; his divided, contemplating self. The protagonist is revealed more through his thoughts rather than his actions. It also deals with the Kashmiris' choice of leaving Kashmir for India and with the choice of others being collaborator of the Indian army. Waheed highlights the divergence in Kashmiri society in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) too. He observes that there is a group that wants freedom; another that wants to join Pakistan and there is yet another that is interested in joining India (115). So, Kashmir is represented as a nation with divergent views.

Interruptive Interiority; A Marginal National Identity:

Homi Bhabha's views about nationalism reveal that purity is a myth with respect to nationalism. That's why he uses the metaphor of "Janus" for nationalism, having two faces directed towards opposing sides (307). In the fictional setting it is evident that the characters have opposing views about the indispensability of the national Movement for freedom of Kashmir. The difference of opinion of Hussains' father and the parents of the protagonist serves an example. Bhabha, also does not believe in the fixation of national identity (101). He mentions

the opposition between "pedagogy" and "performance". The " performative identity" is in opposition to the "pedagogical identity" as it represents "anxieties" and differences in contrast to "certainities" prevalent in a nation (Huddart 108). He believes that fixated ideas in a nation lead to elitist tendencies that prefer to exclude all those who differ or dissent (Huddart 106). Bhabha thus celebrates "differences" between the individuals of the same nation (Huddart 106). He in fact challenges the notion of "certainty" and definitive character associated with nations (140). Bhabha alludes to the possibility of "slippage of categories" defying being bound (140). Bhabha identifies the dictum of "interruptive interiority," that trespasses boundaries and challenges unification (310). He refers to differences and interruptions that exist within a nation.

Of all the characters in the fictional setting, the protagonist has a unique bearing with respect to the choices Kashmiris were subjected to during the 90s. By including his voice in the national narrative Waheed voices the narrative of the minority groups in Kashmir in 90s.

Bhabha associates the idea of "ambivalence" with nationalism (306). The simultaneous feeling of attraction and repulsion towards the idea of nationalism can be witnessed in the character of the protagonist too. He keeps oscillating between the options regarding joining the Kashmiri Freedom Movement because of the complexity of his national life. He is a character who does not represent the central mode of Resistance. He thinks and acts differently because of his multilayered and conflicted personality. That's why, rather than his actions the novel is in fact densely based upon his convulsive contemplation. For instance, after his friends' choice of joining active resistance, he is divided between the thoughts of carving the possibility and mode of fulfilling his wishes to follow his friends and avoiding " aggrieve[ing]" his parents (*TC* 67).

While the protagonist of *The Collaborator* (2012), procrastinates about the choice of active involvement in the Movement that of *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) named Faiz arrives at this decision with indubitable clarity. He firmly believes that joining the "Tehreek" is the obvious thing to be done and is indispensible for the collective good as opposed to personal concerns, doubts and restrictions. He questions, "If everyone decides to remain in their own small worlds, how will it end?" (Waheed108). For him getting rid of the collective misery is a priority.

Unlike Faiz's quick decision, the alteration of feeling of the protagonist in Waheed's first novel is represented in the novel abundantly. He, for example, says that the concern for his mother is an obstacle in his way of his decision to join the Movement. But, he also believes that in testing times collective responsibility is to be chosen over the individual one, the way his friends did (TC 114). He also says that although he is troubled by the people's departure from Nowgam to fight against the Indian army, "part of" him desires to replicate their choice (TC 68). He further adds that he keeps "alternating between a fierce, self-willed resolve" to follow his friends and discarding the whole thought and resultantly "tucking [himself] in Baba's chadar on Ma's chowki in [their] always-warm kitchen" (*TC* 118). He thus chooses the comfort of the hearth. Bhabha traces "ambivalence" in the "Narratives … that signify a sense of nationness" (307). In the novel under discussion "ambivalence" can be witnessed regarding "the Heimlich" i.e. the warmth and connectivity provided by the hearth (Bhabha 307). But the same feeling seems to evaporate from the life of the protagonist, due to the Exodus of Nowgam dwellers. The protagonist confesses that the pleasure of homeliness is one of the obstacles in joining the Movement. But the very feeling eventually ceases to exist, despite his presence at home. Thus, the political and national transition affects the family life of the protagonist too. After the

departure of the Nowgam dwellers, his mother becomes really quiet and doesn't "say a word beyond a few syllables" (*TC* 50). In fact the family communication reduces to mere gazes. He refers to the exchange of gazes being an occasional occurrence. He says his father watches him and his mother, he watches his mother and his father watches him doing so. He asks, [H]ow's that for family conversation?" (*TC* 51).

He shares another family moment that lacks the warmth of being home. The protagonist takes dinner with his family in the kitchen with his mother sitting at her usual position i.e. on a "chowki near the hearth". He tells that he tries to figure out the shapes on the glowing "embers". He further mentions noticing his mother's "flushed" face because of the proximity of the hearth. Despite the fact of all the family members being there, "[n]o one says anything" (*TC* 81).

He asserts that the hollow feeling of the absence of connectivity rules his family. He seems to emphasize on the absence of the soul from his family life. After the departure of the Nowgam dwellers his mother feels alone and he is disturbed too because of his job. He recollects that he used to demand his favourite dishes from his mother but things change and he loses his appetite (*TC* 111).

He emphasizes that his mother's conversation is reduced to "just nods" as being the only lady in the village, she misses company. He comments on her posture in kitchen and states that she looks like "a chief matriarch … Only there is no clan now" (*TC* 112). He acknowledges that this transformation in her personality has deprived him of former pleasures like , "late-night tea", her "stories" etc (*TC* 113).So, change in the outside world challenges the harmony of the protagonist's family life too.

In the primary text, Kashmir is not presented as a homogeneous place. Waheed ensures to portray differences even within Kashmiris. Alan Mckee is also of the view that there can be different cultures even in a single nation (14). A fact that can be exemplified in the primary source with respect to the difference between the Gujjar community of Nowgam as compared to the people of the central Kashmir. Even Captain Kadian is smart enough to identify the cultural rift between the central Kashmir and Nowgam being on the border. When he senses hatred for himself in the eyes of the protagonist, he reminds him of his generosity in giving him the job. Moreover, he says that the protagonist is "not even proper Kashmiri" (*TC* 278). David Huddart refers to the contrasting nature of the "central and marginal identities" and associates it with the "heterogeneity of any national identity" (104). The protagonist also points out that during his school years the boys of Gujjar community were taunted by the boys of "villages down in the plains". Those boys did not approve of the presence of "children of goatherds" in their school (*TC* 104). They wanted to maintain the difference from the nomads.

But, when the Movement starts everybody joins the struggle irrespective of their origin. Those who join the Tehreek are not only the people of the volatile bordering areas , like his friends, but even city dwellers without having any slightest idea of the bordering areas choose to do the same (TC 17). In this situation, he feels himself to be out of the centre having peripheral existence. He thinks himself to be "left-out [and] unworthy" despite being the leader of his group (TC 52). After all of his friends leave one after another people suspect him to know everything in advance. He feels that it is in fact he, who is "betrayed" (TC 41). Moreover, he mentions feeling "guilty" facing his friends' mothers because it is popularly believed that he knew his friends' intentions and aspires to do the same (TC 109). Mckee refers to the idea of "exnomination" i.e. certain behavioral patterns in a culture that become dominant and attain the status of a standard

(106). It is revealed in novel that joining the Movement in 90s became one such standard. Although, the protagonist does not become part of the Movement even after being the only boy left in Nowgam.

Performative Identity; The Stimuli For The Passive Resistance:

The protagonist's situatedness creates the possibility of his collaboration with the Indian army. He is unique because of being the only young boy left in the fictional setting of the novel. The rest either join the Movement, like his friends, or migrate to comparatively peaceful areas like the rest of his villagers. But, unlike his friends Hussain, Ashfaq, Muhammad and Gul, the protagonist is unable to resist actively against the oppression of the Indian army. He keeps contemplating the options life offers him and lingers the decision to join the Movement and suffers consequently. He does not follow the standard set by others. His unique choice against the standard behavior reflects his "performative identity" which empowers the individuals to be the "subjects" of their choices rather than being objects of the dominant practices. (Bhabh 145). This uniqueness according to Bhabha leads to the possibility of difference between "self" and "the other" even with respect to individuals belonging to the same nation and this leads to the "discourses of minorities" (148). This projection in turn overthrows the idea of "essentialist identities" (Bhabha 149). The character of the protagonist serves as an example by staying in Nowgam.

It is in this scenario that the protagonist is offered the job of collaboration with the Indian army. He is given the task of collecting "ID cards and weapons" in "no-man's-land" after the Independence fighters are killed by the Indian army in the area that borders between India and Pakistan. When the protagonist resists against the idea Captain Kadian raises his voice to

give the issue a touch of finality (*TC* 3). He further asserts that the money he would get in return is attractive i.e. "[f]ive hundred per trip and a small bonus for every ID and weapon" that is found (*TC* 4). This job lands him in to an ugly affair where he has to deal with corpses and that too of his own people. Thus, he has to deal with a macabre job.

Impact of The Passive Struggle:

Right from the beginning the protagonist is, "horrified at the prospects" of his job (*TC* 7). He has to deal with the corpses that lay in heaps in the valley near the brook. He shares his experience of encountering the dead bodies for the first time. They are in multitude and that to with, "ugly grins, unbelievable, almost inhuman, postures and a grotesque intermingling of broken limbs" (*TC* 8). He elaborates the impact of his experience. This sight makes him bit his "fists" and groan helplessly as he has become part of a process in which human beings are reduced to "litter…in various stages of decay" (*TC* 8).

His job entails sever consequences. It miserably affects his life. He finds the over whelming, "stench [of the dead bodies]… strangl[ing]" him internally (*TC* 8). And it's just "like a second skin" to him (*TC* 259). He confesses the unease of his first day of picking stuff on dead bodies and says that he, "bathe[d] twice … with scalding hot water and a copious amount of soup, scrubbing and scratching [himself] into rashes and red nail-slashes all over his chest and arms" (*TC* 8) . Moreover, his eating habits change too under the impact of nauseating sights and smells. He, for instance, skips lunch to avoid "throwing up" while in valley dealing with the dead and prefers to rely on dinner (*TC* 45). Besides that feverish nights become a routine (*TC* 43). He also starts having bizarre "wakeful dreams" in which he would communicate or thinks that he communicated with the dead trying to trace their stories. In one such instance he reveals the

details about a dead person claiming to be Rouf Ahmad Qadari, hailing from Sopore. Walking among the dead he compares himself to "King Ashoka who once wandered spectre-like through the killing fields of Kalinga" and "renounced" the pursuits of wars forever (*TC* 74). He also wishes to get rid of his job forever.

Throughout this collaboration he resists but only passively, by means of mere contemplation and wishful thinking. In one of the many instances, when the protagonist is Captain Kadian's captive audience, he boasts about giving the Movement fighters "open burials" by letting their bodies rot in the valley. To this the protagonist thinks that in a different situation he would have objected to the statistical figure 1:6 that is one Indian army personnel to six Kashmiris. But in this subjugated situation he can only "wish" to propose ironically that with such as large number they can even "bury" all of them "alive" over a period of time (*TC* 10). So his subjugated status deprives him of voicing out his frustration about the Indian presence in Kashmir. Though, his thoughts reveal his anti-Indian sentiment.

Similarly, in a crackdown, when everyone in Nowgam is assembled in a ground he feels a sense of collective humiliation and wishes that instead of being "trapped" like that he should have fought actively against the Indian army, "relieving [his] people of this misery" (*TC* 235). Though he never joins the Movement, he ends up working for Indian army and in another crack down sides with them against his own people, though reluctantly. He explains how Capt. Kadian wants him to witness an act for "experience". He strongly hates the idea of this "experience" of witnessing people being "nabbed, beaten up, taken away" forever. But the protagonist has to agree as he believes he does not have any other option but to conform to what he is instructed to do. He nonetheless gets restless at the idea of how this experience will make him a "traitor", "gaddaar", "turncoat", "mukhbir". When he has to finally join Capt. Kadian he painfully prays

for the safety of his own people with the words "God save them!" (*TC* 271). Using objective third person pronoun for his own nation puts him at a distance from them. He witnesses the disdain his people are subjected to and "hold[s] back half-throttled tears" while he tries to eat and swallow the food given to him by the Indian Army (*TC* 276). This incident clearly communicates the uneasy collaboration between the protagonist and the Indian army.

Being part of the Indian army that targets the Movement fighter has a disillusioning and disheartening impact on him. He considers the Indian's atrocities towards Kashmir to be, "a human rights catastrophe, waiting to be noticed" and consequently repents not joining the Movement during "the big rush and chicken[ing] out at the last minute" (*TC* 16). He refers to the scattered dead bodies of the fighters in the bordering areas as, "[w]retched human remains" (*TC* 8). And he can not figure out what to use the money for that he gets from his job, as his mother did not need it and father still had much. He wants to give it all to the family of his best friend, Hussain. But then is embarrassed at the thought that it is earned over the dead bodies of the likes of Hussain (*TC* 44). During his collaboration with the Indian army he always dreads witnessing the dead body of any of his friends.

He keeps following Captain Kadian's dictates and the routine set for him by the same but essentially detests his job. He "curses" his fate to side him with the tormentors of his people (*TC* 272). He shares his routine of bounded slavery. He is bound to carry a "rucksack" and a "string" and is always conscious of being under surveillance as Captain Kadian keeps inspecting using his binoculars (*TC* 45). In this uneasy collaboration he either has to "muster up the courage" to ask Captain Kadian any question (*TC* 9). Or could dare to talk to him only after making hesitant, meek "false starts… and establish[ing] his mood" (*TC* 69). He reveals his frustration at his inability to give way to his genuine response. He, for example, has to have "a straight face" even

when he is really "agitated, or angry". He wishes to shriek in such situations (*TC* 70). But he could not and suffers resultantly.

The protagonist is restless in this new role that is carved out for him by Capt. Kadian. He wants to get rid of his new role forever. He juxtaposes his situation and reality with those who are killed by the Indian army. He says "[H]ere I am, in my valley, and here are those poor fellows, lost forever, murdered, beyond grief, beyond redemption, beyond brutality. Here I still am, unable to decide what to do now" (*TC* 259). He detests Captain Kadian for turning his valley into a "putrid trench", and wishes if only he would come to visit "his crops, his harvest of human remains" (*TC* 13). He laments the fact that the bodies of fighters are "dispersed rubbish-like" (*TC* 299). He is severely critical of Captain Kadian for "amass[ing]", "splintered human furniture" in his valley and making him its "munshi", "journal keeper" (*TC* 300). He angrily uses multiple expressions to describe his disgusting collaboration with the Indian army. He considers himself, "the official accountant of the dead" (*TC* 11). On one of his visits to the valley bees move around him and then leave. This makes him question his identity. He asks, "What do I smell of? Dead people, soap, hunger, mother's silence, bad dreams, [his] fever, lost friends, father's looks, Kadian's whisky, tea?" (*TC* 45). He finds it unbelievable that he is faced with circumstance where he is "a part, however indirectly, however reluctantly" of a process that has caused people's death and that too of Kashmiris (*TC* 138). So, he loathes his association with Captain Kadian.

But, there are other occasions when he is treated by Capt. Kadian as his teammate, "as if he were a long-serving counter-insurgent, a loyal servant of the Indian army…" (*TC* 268). He mentions that with the passage of time Captain Kadian treats himlike "a hopeful, promising pupil". He contemplates that the Indians must be having people like him in mind when it is said

that, Kashmiris, "must join the "national mainstream. As if it were a placid river in [his] neighborhood" (*TC* 266). By making this statement the protagonist clearly hints that he is an individual, with whom not a lot of Kashmiris would identify with or feel sympathetic to.

Waheed emphatically and repeatedly juxtaposes the transformation of a relatively peaceful setting to brutal one. The protagonist keeps mourning the loss of his childhood playing area to a grotesque setting of death and decomposing dead bodies. Being the valley that lies at border between India and Pakistan, it is the place "where most of the action" happens (*TC* 4). He recalls that, earlier it used to be his friend circle's "private patch". Al though, check posts of both India and Pakistan existed before 90s but the presence was non-interfering at least for the protagonist and his friend's activities (*TC* 4). He further recollects how in his childhood their presence could easily be "ignore[d]". The protagonist and his friends did not need an excuse to be in the valley and "assumed full ownership of the place and did not care who was or was not peering at [them] from some ugly check post out there on the mountain side" (*TC* 7). But that happened in the protagonist childhood and now it was turned into a dumping side for the dead bodies of young Kashmiri boys who actively challenged the Indian occupation.

On another occasion Waheed mixes the idyllic with the brutal and achieves and grotesque effect. He mentions the abundance of yellow flowers, around the scattered parts of the dead bodies saying that the flowers make, "bright yellow outlines of human forms enclosing darkness inside" (*TC* 14). He creates an image where death is surrounded by something really beautiful.

On every visit to the same place that belonged to his childhood but underwent diametrical change, makes him nostalgic. He comments on the movement of the water being "lazy, as if pausing now and then to reflect on the macabre change in the scenery around it (*TC* 19).

According to him, the very river that witnessed the innocent acts of a generation some years ago witnesses same generation's young flesh being plucked by crows and dogs (*TC* 49). The juxtaposition of innocence versus brutality intensifies the miserable plight of those killed in the valley.

The protagonist is a victim but under the impression of perpetrators, reflects and imitates their behaviour. He, for example, after having pistol from Captain Kadian practices shooting, targeting the dead bodies near the river. He tries to justify the choice of his target saying that they are merely "corpses" and "dead any way" (*TC* 97).So, he aims and the bullet pierces through a skull, "an unknown skull" that he deems "just a target".

His action nevertheless makes him restless and he is unsure about "what to make of the situation" he is in. He is unable to register the experience of "shoot[ing] at the human form, dead or living" (*TC* 98). This experience makes him reflect about the range of the presence of diverse entities under the "same firmament" including "the valley, the river, the corpses, Kadian, [himself] - *[his] lost friends maybe around somewhere too.* Baba and Ma…, the Pakistani soldiers…, the militant boys hiding somewhere in hollow tree trunks and caves, the crows … and the dogs" (*TC* 99). Bhabha, quotes Michal Foucault and states that, "the most individuated are those subjects who are placed on the margins" of the society (151). So, in the fictional setting, he is the sole witness where all these worlds come together or rather collide against each other. He is in a way just like the scavenging dogs, lurking on periphery of the place with dead bodies, with predating intentions over the remains of the Movement fighters. While they get away with flesh, he with money. He is not one of those who celebrate and embrace death . He rather chooses to live. But, he finds his traumatic life even worse than death and suffers endlessly.

Although, his collaboration puts him opposed to the world of the Movement fighters, he feels sympathetic for the fighters for being killed and denied their due final rites. He first tries to bury them and makes "[f]ive pretended graves in three days" but soon understands that he will never be able to finish it and thus cremates their bodies (*TC* 289). Waheed juxtaposes the act of lighting a fire. The protagonist reveals how in childhood it was a place where the protagonist would enjoy the "alaaw" i.e. bonfire along with his friends (*TC* 299).But in the later years everything changed with more and more boys taking up arms against the Indian army and being killed in the process in the bordering valley. The protagonist tries to ensure the provision of burials for the dead bodies but he confesses "being alone" it is impossible. However, he is not ready to leave them decomposing in their scattered postures either (*TC* 302). So, he lights a fire in the valley to at least stop the process of decomposition of dead bodies. This is his, "only decision in years, [his] fire" (*TC* 298). Setting fire seems to be his only option to show his concern for those who got killed by the Indian arm. So, he burns everything to clean the site of scattered, decomposed body parts (*TC* 300). He addresses the dead man and confesses that, "[He] know[s that they] deserve better, surely last rites according to [Islam], but what can a lone man do?" (*TC* 302).He lights the fire and "offers fateha" and thus pays respect to "hundreds of unknown dead, to [the] unsung, unrecorded martyrs, to [the] disappeared sons" and apologizes for cremating them (*TC* 303). This is how he puts an end to his sole company in the valley.

Palimpsest; A Metaphor of Self-Definition:

Waheed provides ample details that serve as a source to reflect the protagonist personality. It is revealed either through his contemplation and self-analysis or through the other characters' comments about him. Waheed suggests that being the headman's son he always lived a luxurious life as compared to rest of his friends. The protagonist confesses that he is

undoubtedly the only one in his locality to have "a proper bed", the one that he got because of complaining about his inability to read while lying down on the floor (*TC* 43). This rich depiction provides both the internal and external factors determining the protagonist choices in life. So he has got elitist tendencies owing to his father's superior position as compared to other Nowgam dwellers.

In addition to that he is revealed to have no "interest" and "courage" to aspire for and attain "heroism or martyrdom" in teenage. He shares his friends' opinion about him. They believed that reading books had "compromised his ability to rebel, to take up arms" and thus rendering him coward (*TC* 17). His failed attempt to follow his friends further reveals his personality. In the course of the novel, when the protagonist finally decides to follow his friends, he consults Rehman- a guide, seeking help to do so. He tells him that the pre-requisite to join the Movement needs allegiance to any group (*TC* 140). In his next meeting with Rehman he is startled to find a group of Kashmiri active strugglers headed by Khadim Husssain, Hussain's father. Mere sight of him answers a lot of his questions. He becomes very emotional, cries and asks him why he is the only one who is rejected and how he could influence and facilitate his son in undertaking such a perilous choice (TC 160). Khadim Hussain explains that this is the very reason the protagonist is not chosen as he does not understand the gravity of the situation and lacks the valour and dedication required for the Movement (TC 160). The narrator confesses that after his interaction with Khadim Hussain his "pursuit finished" (TC 164). Thus, for him the whole pursuit was more about his sense of inquisitiveness with respect to his friends rather than being part of the Movement.

In addition to protagonist's own critical ponderings about his inability to join the central mode of resistance, Khadim Hussain, also criticizes him for the same reason. He exemplifies the factors that cause his exclusion of the dominant national narrative.

The protagonist is presented as a being with various dimensions to his personality. In the offset of the Movement he seems to be confused about the factors that determine a person's inclusion in the dominant mode of resistance. He keeps wondering, alternating between a battle of self verses the other. He questions whether it's individual who joins or somebody approaches to take him in the center of the bigger circle. He feels like that because he is left on the margins by no one else but his friends, who leave one after another without confiding in him. Roy in her novel portrays a character named Ijaz who chooses to join the armed struggle and ends up being a torture victim in an interrogation cell of the Indian army. When given a chance, he shares his views regarding the impetus for his choice. He explains that he joined the struggle for "Azadi" (freedom) and "Islam" and really honors those who trained him. He further explains that it's not they who came searching for him but just the otherwise. He further shares his sense of reverence for them by saying that he values them even more than his parents (Roy 227). Ijaz seems to have the answer to dispel the confusion of the protagonist of the primary text.

Though he finally gets a chance to find answers to those questions upon meeting Khadim Hussain. Although he ultimately does not join the Movement. He asks him that why is he left out while all his friends are selected. He finally gushes out the tormenting "why" (*TC* 157). Khadim Hussain tells him that he is left out because he lacks what is required to fight for big causes. He explains that he is, "rather soft", "reading books" having "silly, little ideas" (*TC* 158). He further adds that as for his son Hussain he is different because, "when he sets his heart on something, he won't let go" (*TC* 163). He very proudly calls him a "Freedom fighter" (*TC* 163). The

protagonist considers him cruel to make his son join the Movement where death is indispensable. This further aggravates Khadim Hussain's anger who is convinced of protagonist's cowardice. He blurts out that for a person like him, "there is no chance of valor" because he does not have even slightest idea about the importance and stature of martyrdom (*TC* 160). In Kashmir while everyone else wishes to bask in the glory of martyrdom the protagonist is an exception.

Khadim Hussain further highlights the contrast of his teenage life experiences with that of the protagonist. He tells him that luxurious life has deprived him of having a sense of "purpose" in life (*TC* 162). He convicts him of being ignorant about the gravity of situation, "cry[ing]" for the departed friends because of being a "weakling". This interaction pacifies the protagonist convincing him that he is "in reality, not up to it [the active mode of Resistance]" (*TC* 163). He admits his inability to gauge the indispensability and range of the Movement. He admits his nativity in thinking about the Movement being significant only for the central parts of Kashmir in contrast to Nowgam which he thought; being on the border would not be affected. He believed that his Gujjar community, with its popularly believed nomadic way of life would not be affected. But he is proved wrong with people leaving Nowgam to join the Movement (*TC* 27).

In addition to the instances mentioned above, the novel is replete with examples where the protagonist is represented as an individual forced to live his life largely, under the impression of his father and an overwhelming concern for his mother. His dominating father with his headman's status also seems to be the obstacle in the way of his choice of active involvement in the Movement. So, in addition to his intrinsic personality traits, he is shown to be a son who does not dare to challenge or disobey the rules set by his father. He for instance leaves Hussain his soul mate alone in Koh-i-Gham to be on time for his father's "teatime curfew" (*TC* 82). Al though he is initially hesitant to leave his friend alone in jungle but then ultimately does so.

Moreover, his father's world view influences his choice too. His father is dismissive of the Movement and considers it "non-sense". He believes that those who joined it would be unable to endure pain and affliction that is inflicted on those who join such Movements (*TC* 26).

Moreover, his new role as the collaborator of Indian army is also the result of his father's insistence on staying in Nowgam when everyone else leaves for safer places (*TC* 6). Khadim Hussain reveals to the protagonist that it's not only him but his father too who had been collaborating with the Indian army. His father's anti-freedom tendencies are also revealed by Khadim Hussain. He tells the protagonist that his father fought even "against the tribals" who tried to liberate the Kashmiris. Moreover he takes "grants from government" something that is despised by the independence fighters and is seen as collaboration with India against them (*TC* 158). The same is confirmed by Captain Kadian when he clarifies the reason why his father does not leave Nowgam while everybody else did. He tells that it is because they do not want, "a hundred percent exodus" to ensure the continuity of financial aid reserved for this bordering village (*TC* 294). Bhabha associates ambivalence with respect to "terror of …the race of the other" (307). The presence of the Indian army in Kashmir in the primary text is terrifying for majority of the people in the fictional world. They are depicted being suffered as a consequence of the Indian occupation but a small minority, nonetheless, lives on the benefits provided by them. It's only the protagonist and his family who live on the benefits provided by the Indian army. Though, they too have a very uneasy relation with the Indian army that is predominantly marked with subservience.

Waheed portrays the Indian army as intruders – intruding upon the rights of Kashmiris even upon their right to live. The protagonist is portrayed as the captive audience of Captain Kadian and has to bear his nasty moods in "painful, long sit-in[s]" (*TC* 94). In one such meeting

Captain Kadian tells the protagonist that when they are asked by the higher authorities to, "[s]how some results. Breakthrough . Success" , they kill people to maintain statistics and even kill, "some random guys" (*TC* 94).

The protagonist mourns the brutal killing of scores of Kashmiris on Gaw Kadal Bridge. He tries to approach the situation defying subjectivity and says that he tries hard to convince himself that "maybe all of India was not evil" and did not want to kill all the Kashmiris but it surely did "seem to terminate" those who challenged its reign in Kashmir and exhibited protest and dissent (*TC* 117). Noor Chacha, a Nowgam dweller, refers to another way the Indian army encroaches upon the rights of Kashmiris and that is through " crackdowns". During the notorious crackdowns people are made to walk in a line , and a person hiding in the Indian army vehicle, usually a local informer, identifies the Kashmiri fighters. The identified people are picked and taken away. He emphasizes that even women are not safe in those crack downs (*TC* 167). The protagonist shares the details of a crackdown too. He narrates that in such crackdowns people naturally feel nervous but they are "whisked off for the flimsiest of excuses", sometimes even for people's inability to respond quickly or for having a heart beat faster than normal (*TC* 221). Although it is a natural phenomenon in a stressful situation.

With reference to the decade of the 90s, Roy also comments on the hazardous situations in which Kashmiris found themselves. For instance, a fictional character, Musa observes that it's the era in Kashmir where mere survival can be a reason enough for being killed (Roy 268). In another instance, it is mentioned that in Kashmir death and grief prevail and thus "'Good Morning'" in fact means "'Good Mourning'" (Roy 279). It is further pointed out innocent civilians are arrested, merely at the irregularity of their heart beat during frisking (Roy 325). Roy

refers to the decade of 90s and says that it was the time in Kashmir when, "Death was everything. Career. Desire. Dream. Poetry. Love. Youth itself" (314).

In the primary text the protagonist reveals his anger regarding the attitude of India and Pakistan towards Kashmir. He laments the harm that is caused to Kashmir and Kashmiris because of the animosity between India and Pakistan. He refers to the "fire exchange" between the two and says that the use of weaponry presents "a fireworks exhibition", engulfing Kashmir and Kashmiris (*TC* 129). He ironically suggests that both the countries should have a proper war instead of using Kashmir as a testing site for weapons that sound like a "rocket, missile" etc (*TC* 130).This reflects that he is critical of the role of Pakistan too regarding the issue of Kashmir. Kamila Shamsie, in her review acknowledges the primary text's success in challenging and defying, "the rhetorical posturing of India and Pakistan" with respect to Kashmir. She believes that Waheed carves an image of Kashmir that is reflective of his "sensitivity" and "anger" rooted in "compassion". She finds the narrative to be peculiarly impressive despite being woven around the memories of the protagonist living a life of solitude; a life where the dead and rotten corpses are the only company he has. She emphasizes the fact that although the story is "concentrated around" a single character, it is not "myopic" at all (Kamila Shamsie, The Collaborator by Mirza Waheed –review, guardian .com).

Thus protagonist exhibits multiple identities. David Huddart is of the view that "palimpsest" serves as an appropriate metaphor for multiple identities. Palimpsest refers to layers of inscribing, erasure and reinscribing. It's not only an overwritten reality but the one in which the earlier written is still visible (Huddart 107). The multiple layers of the protagonist's personality can best be described by the metaphor of palimpsest. He is unique in terms of belonging both to the oppressed and the oppressor. Bhabha emphasizes on the importance of

representing one's nation through a written account. He believes that it leads to "social consciousness" (307). He is of the view that through narration the hegemonic tendencies prevailing in a nation can be challenged (Bhabha, The Right to Narrate, Harvard Design Magazine). The protagonist serves as an example in this regard. His personal story of living in the conflict zone of Kashmir comprises of witnessing the willingness of Kashmiris to fight against the Indian army, witnessing the recruitment process, sympathizing with aggrieving relatives of freedom fighters and eventually collaborating with the Indian army against the Movement. Suffering in all roles, nonetheless.

In addition to stating the uneasy collaboration of the protagonist with the Indian army, Waheed elaborates the possibility of another identity in Kashmir's national spectrum. He refers to the fact that among Kashmiris, some choose to work as informers of the Indian army, against their own people. Peer also refers to the same in his memoire and states that some Kashmiris chose to be a, "mukhbir, a Kashmiri man who had become a collaborator and identified militants and their supporters" (Peer 51) .Peer, recounts various reasons for which people collaborated with the Indian army. Some of the collaborators, for example, were militants who surrendered after being severely beaten by the Indian army. Some "were volunteers" who collaborated for money. There were others who turned mukhbirs, "to seek revenge on militants" for the killing of a family member (51, 52). Waheed in *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014) portrays character of an informer named Robin Razor, who assures the army officer of the authenticity of the information that he communicates and loyalty of the sources of the information (110).

The protagonist in the primary text, shares his experience of visiting a forest which being at a height gives him a view of the whole area. He mentions that he sits there to enjoy the solitude" (*TC* 119). It is then that he hears some people talking and hides behind a tree, being

uncertain about the identity of the passer byes and having to explain his presence to them. He mentions that the group is led by, "[t]wo men, in heavy clothes and Castro caps,…[with one] carrying a wireless set ." He adds that they are followed by a group of "fifteen to twenty men, with huge rifles". The protagonist gets surprised to see, "militants face to face for the first time ever". Based on the looks of some people he understands that they are not Kashmiris and considers them, "Guest Mujahideen" (*TC* 120). The protagonist feels uneasy in their presence and does not want to be seen by them. He dreads that , " They'd grill [him],even kill [him], thinking [he] was some kind of mukhbir [an informer]" (*TC* 121). So the uneasy relation between the freedom fighters and those collaborating with the Indian army is evident.

Although, the protagonist earlier dreads being considered a collaborator of the Indian army he ends up being one. He shares the loathsome experience of witnessing a crackdown. Despite being a Kashmiri, he is in the Indian army's vehicle with Captain Kadian. He is with the man who makes Kashmiris parade in a cue to be identified as suspected fighters or their facilitators, against the Indian army. He loathes the experience of accompanying Indian army against his own people (*TC* 275). He recollects the horror of seeing Ashfaq, his friend who joined the Movement, among the parading Kashmiris. He points out that, he disappeared, "as quickly as he had appeared, like an apparition" (*TC* 275).This incident clearly reveals the diverse choices of Kashmiris. Two friends in same situation represent two opposing ideologies. While Ashfaq stands for freedom of Kashmir, the protagonist is part of Indian army that opposes the Movement and wants to curb it.

In addition to the collaborators of the Indian army there is a group in Kashmir that chooses to leave it in 90s.The narrator comments on the changing dynamics of Kashmir in 90s and refers to the people who leave Kashmir for the sake of getting education in "Delhi, Aligarh

and Banglore in India". He refers to his college experience and mentions the absence of students saying, "There was hardly anyone left there" (*TC* 212).Another villager from Nowgam reinforces the fact that those who could manage and afford followed the choice of leaving Kashmir. He adds that, "Bag and baggage, sir, disappearing overnight to save their children's lives. Everywhere… and why shouldn't they? Why should they see their sons' throats slit…" (*TC* 24). Waheed passingly refers to the migration of Pandits from Kashmir too saying that they are, "forced to leave Kashmir altogether" (*TC* 175). Shashi Tharror criticizes Waheed for not discussing the torments suffered by the Pundits in Kashmir at length. Moreover, he is critical of him for not creating even "a single sympathetic Hindu character". He strongly misses mentioning the role of the arm struggle in absolving the " syncretic non-sectarian" element that according to him was a defining principle in the spirit of " Kashmiriyat". He believes it to be a political novel full of "assumptions" and having a sense of "righteousness" about those claims. A trait that he considers "beguiling" and harmful (Shashi Tharoor, What the Brook Saw: outlookindia.com). His review of the novel stems more from his political identity rather than the literary one. Yet, Waheed seems to have taken his review seriously as in his second novel he is careful about few things pointed out in this review. He, for example, carves "sympathetic" Hindu characters. He portrays learned and scholarly Hindu individuals and explores the varied human dimensions of the Indian army officer instead of reducing him just to his job description and its demands.

Despite, the hatred expressed by Kashmiris for the Indian army in Waheed's first fictional piece, there are instances in the second one when they are represented sympathetically. Waheed shows Kashmiri characters acknowledging the limitations of the Indian army and thus feeling compassion and sympathy towards them. By doing so the army personnel are not reduced just to their profession and are treated in totality as human beings. In *The Book of Gold Leaves*

(2014), Faiz's sister Shahida, for example, argues with him that it is in fact not the army but the government that is to be blamed for the Indian army's presence in Kashmir; they are simply following orders and are not in Kashmir of their own accord (Waheed 46).Rohi, Faiz's beloved feels sympathy for them too. She is of the view that they find the winters of Kashmir harsh as they tremble with cold in their "pickets" and says they should not have been in Kashmir having to face the unfamiliar and hostile weather (Waheed 210). Moreover, Waheed does not only show an Indian officer, Major Sumit Kumar as a perpetrator but gives a glimpse of his humane side too. He, for instance, loses sleep and is pressed hard by questions stinging his moral imagination, after an attack in which innocent kids and an old lady die. He feels "regret", "sadness" and "anger" and thinks about his intimate family life in past (Waheed 90). So, Waheed's depiction of the Indian army officials varies in his first and second novel.

In addition to pointing out various divisions in the Kashmiri society the narrator provides glimpses of the Kashmiri culture too. He, for example, shares the winter ritual of storing and enjoying dry fruits like "almonds, walnuts, dried apricots" etc (*TC* 23).He also refers to the morning ritual of enjoying salt tea. He refers to its abundance, saying his mother would make "a full samovar" as it is relished by everyone (*TC* 43). He recapitulates hosting the Moulvi and his pupils for the recitation of the Holy verses. He tells, their visit always followed by steamy, aromatic almond and saffron kehwa followed by at least a five-course dinner" (*TC* 49). Just like his first novel, Waheed's second novel is a cultural document too. The glimpses of Kashmiri culture are widespread in the fictional world created by Waheed. "Chillum," for instance is prepared by Faiz, the protagonist for his brother, Mir Zafar Ali (Waheed 13). The food relished in Kashmiri culture is represented too. The characters are represented serving tea, even after traumatic situations befall them. On one such occasion when Mir Zafar Ali is brutally injured

and brought to Mir Manzil, those who bring him are offered tea, despite the grotesque injuries with which the hosts receive their eldest brother (Waheed 100). The guests who visit Mir Manzil, later on, also discuss the tense situation over, “salt tea” (Waheed 103). Outside Kashmir, Faiz repeatedly misses the “red beans and rice” (Waheed 218). In addition to food Waheed refers to the “winter rituals” in Kashmir, like the use of “the kangri [i.e.] the warm ... wicker brazier” (207). So, Waheed’s fictional world serves as a rich source of Kashmiri culture.

So, Waheed successfully represents Kashmiri culture with its beauty. But, highlights the fact that the power exercised by India against Kashmiris influences their lives in all domains. He gives a detailed description of the possibilities of choices for Kashmiris in 90s and highlights the fact that no matter whichever route they took; all landed them into misery.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The thesis deals with the transitory dynamics i.e. history in the making with respect to Kashmir in the late 80s and 90s as represented in Waheed's *TC* (2012). The study demonstrates the exhibition of diverse national identity of the fictional characters and highlights the opposition of the varying forms. The dwellers of Nowgam are divided by their choices, despite belonging to the same nation . Their choices of association among the possible options are deeply rooted in their sense of reality and determine their national identity. All the young Kashmiri boys in the protagonist's friend's circle, for example, become part of the Active Resistance Movement and face hardships becoming Independence Fighters. Hussain, Gull, Muhammad and Ashfaq represent young Kashmiris who disappear to actively participate in the Movement. The study also identifies the personality of the characters who join the Movement. Hussain, for instance, is shown as an individual who believes in an idealistic and utopian world. Moreover, his father praises him as a strong freedom fighter because of his strong sense of determination. Similarly, Muhammad is represented as a brave character with a strong sense of honour since childhood.

The text is filled with examples of the route taken by the active strugglers. These details include their preparation to leave home, their journey through rough terrains and the description of their deformed dead bodies scattered like debris in the bordering valley of Kashmir. The choice of joining the Armed Struggle of Kashmir against the Indian occupation reflects their pro-Resistance and anti-Indian discourse. Waheed also shares their pro-Pakistani sentiments. The group that exhibits pro-Resistance and anti-Indian discourse comprises of those who either

actively participate in the Movement or facilitate this struggle along with others who only support and celebrate this cause.

But, the study highlights the fact of some fictional characters being opposed to the Resistance Movement too, owing to the counter policies it ensues by the Indian army causing serious harm to Kashmiris. It is opposed because of causing death, destruction and relocation of people. The protagonist's father is depicted as the chief opponent of the Movement. The protagonist on the other hand is divided in his opinion about the Movement. He at times considers it indispensible and thinks about joining it to register active resistance against the atrocities of the Indian army. But, then fails to do so dreading the effects of confronting the Indian army.

This study highlights the tussle between the centre and the margin. The text reveals India marginalising Kashmir. The Indian forces are depicted controlling the life and death of Kashmiris through the imposition of crackdowns, curfews and brutal methods of violence. India is shown exercising power even over corpses of Kashmiris by denying them burial rites.

The difference between the centre and the margin exists among the Kashmiris too. Waheed depicts that the freedom struggle starts in central Kashmir and the Nowgam dwellers, being in a border area perceive it as a distant phenomenon. Then the effect of the struggle permeates and touches the life of inhabitants of Nowgam too. The whole novel revolves around their perception, internalization and rejection of the Movement. So, Nowgam is depicted as Kashmir in miniature.

The tension between the centre and margin is identified within Nowgam too as its inhabitants are divided in their response to the Movement. The effect of the Movement in

Nowgam is evident with the disappearance of young boys to join the armed struggle. But the narrator does not join the struggle. Because of his palimpsestical identity he keeps contemplating and thus procrastinates his decision to join the Movement.

The study also highlights some Kashmiris' choice of collaborating with the Indian army against their own people. The protagonist belongs to the same group. His collaboration is in strict contrast to the choice of his friends and its supporters. In his collaboration with the Indian army he witnesses the outcome faced by those who join the Movement. His sense of compassion for them is clearly rooted in his national consciousness. Despite, his collaboration with the Indian army, the protagonist's anti – Indian discourse is reflected through his choice of words and contemplation. Unlike the Independence fighters, who are shown exhibiting love for Pakistan, the protagonist is critical of the role of Pakistan in case of Kashmir.

The study also identifies a minority that leaves turbulent areas of Kashmir for peaceful life. The movement of the entire Nowgam dwellers from Nowgam serves as an example. So, the study takes in to account the divergent options that Kashmiris choose in 90s, which resultantly determine their future.

The study also highlights the importance of narrating the national reality of the conflict zone of Kashmir by indigenous writers. It celebrates the primary text as a rich resource of national and cultural details with respect to Indian Occupied Kashmir. It also values the importance of addressing the atrocities faced by Kashmiris.

The primary text is a rich document and its various domains can be explored through multiple perspectives. For example, a study of comparison and contrast between the primary text and Peer's memoire *Curfewed N*ight (2008) can lead to identification of the limitations and

potential of various genres in commenting on the conflict zones. Moreover, Waheed's first and second novel can be contrasted to highlight the difference in the intensity and technique of handling the theme of people caught up in a similar situation. The primary text can also be explored through the perspective of eco-criticism and psychoanalysis.

In addition to that, *TC* (2012) in combination with the writings of other Kashmiri Diaspora writers can be explored to comment on the importance of narrating their subjective consciousness regarding the conflict of Kashmir.

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