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## Impasse of Kashmir and Recurring Pretexts: A Historiographical Analysis

Rabiya Aamir\*

#### **Abstract**

The relevance of undertaking a historiographic analysis in the context of historically disputed territory of Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IOJ&K) cannot be denied in the wake of revocation of Article 370 and 35A by India on August 5, 2019. This arbitrary decision has opened a recurring dimension of the dispute, which needs to be addressed in a wider perspective. This paper, therefore, calls for environmental justice or eco-postcolonial ethic for IOJ&K - a perspective, which is important by virtue of its definition only. Eco-postcolonial ethic, defined as a standpoint that brings forth the need to understand the expression of resistance against the oppression of colonizing powers in this postcolonial age, can be one possible way of determining a future course of action vis-a-vis Kashmir dispute. While the context of studying Kashmir in an Indian Pakistani conflict holds its own importance, shifting some frames of reference that incorporate the eco-postcolonial ethic of Kashmir, this paper examines the dispute from the perspective of 'deceptions' or interpellations in the context of Kashmir's history. This historiographic study of some old as well as contemporary texts, besides providing a basic understanding of Kashmir's background and the recurring pattern of its strategic political moves, also helps us belie all the fabricated rhetoric and propaganda that has been lobbied for three quarters of a century.

**Keywords:** Kashmir, South Asia's Palestine, Environmental Ethics, Environmental Justice, Historiography.

#### Introduction

The heady, rebellious Kashmir I left as a teenager was now a land of brutalized, exhausted and uncertain people...The Conflict might leave the streets, but it will not leave the soul.<sup>2</sup>

Freud calls Repudiation (Verwerjung) unusually strong defense mechanism.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947-1948* (Hertingfordbury: Roxford Books, 1997), 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Basharat Peer, *Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 217.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 3}$  Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Attention: Postcolonialism!" Journal of Caribbean Studies (1997): 159- 170 (166).

Many modern Kashmiri writers like Basharat Peer (as quoted above) offer an interruption to the continued vilification, rejection, and exclusion of voices raised for describing the plight of Kashmiris. This expression of resistance against the oppressors has surfaced in many contemporary writings vis-a-vis Kashmir, though, Kashmiris have been subjected to persecution since the partition of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent in 1947 and even before it. This oppression, which has reached a fearsome crescendo in the wake of August 5, 2019, needs to be surveyed. Therefore, in order to study whether there may be any justification in various narratives on Kashmir dispute of resistance against oppression, and to trace some recurring patterns of 'deceptions' in the history of this region of strategic importance also called 'South Asia's Palestine,' 4 this paper primarily examines the facts stated in three historical texts by Alastair Lamb, a renowned British historian, as primary sources: Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966 (1966), Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990 (1991), and Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948 (1997). Belonging to neither of the two contenders, India and Pakistan, Lamb is one of the earliest historians on the Kashmir issue whose research is based on independent sources. Although, there are many historians on both sides of the border, who may or may not have partisan leanings, 5 Lamb's narration of historical facts is validated by many historians, namely Josef Korbel, Victoria Schofield, William Baker, and several others. Additionally, there is a big body of political, anthropological, and life narratives of writers including Pankaj Mishra, Arundhati Roy, Gautam Navlakha, Shubh Mathur, Sanjay Kak, Iftikhar Gilani, Shahnaz Bashir, Nayeema Mahjoor who problematize the Indian narratives proliferating in the world, may they be from Western academia or from Indian media itself.

In the wake of the 'unconstitutional'<sup>6</sup> act of August 5, 2019, this research paper studies four recurring aspects of Kashmir dispute. These patterns need to be studied in order to explore any future options for IOJ&K. The first aspect in this paper is the historiographic analysis of Lamb's texts, which indicates the lapses and stratagems of the Kashmiri leadership. The study of this aspect leads us to understand the elements of 'economic expansion,'<sup>7</sup> a common denominator in all colonial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Front Line Club, "Kashmir-South Asia's Palestine," Front Line Club, youtube, July 27, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pY49WDtdYtc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See for instance, Prem Shankar Jha, *The Origins of a Dispute: Kashmir 1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and M.G. Chiktara, *Kashmir Crisis* (New Delhi: A P Publishing, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Fakhar-Un-Nisa Khokhar, "Abrogation of Article 370 and 35A by India", *News*, September 7, 2019, https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/523121-abrogation-of-article-370-and-35a-by-india.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ramachandra Guha, "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Perservation: A Third World Critique," *Environmental Ethics* 11, no. 1 (1989): 71-83, https://doi.org/10.5840/enviroethics198911123.

enterprises. This expansionist aspect ropes in the discussion for an environmental justice as was suggested by Ramachandra Guha in 1989 in his article titled "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique." Just as the blanket assertions of Radical American environmentalism did not account for the local differences, the unmitigated Indian aggression especially after August 5, 2019 calls for a study that highlights the *postcolonial environmental ethic* of this place, which is the fourth aspect that this paper will look into. In other words, the study and analysis of the recurring patterns of Indian State's deceptions and interpellations that continue to this day will enable us to question them. This would lead to articulating the environmental ethic of Kashmir where war crimes are being perpetrated.

Environmental ethic, as defined by Deane Curtin is a postcolonial concern about 'environmental justice, social justice, and economic justice as parts of the same whole, not as dissonant competitors.' Following discussion would reveal how any concerns and efforts for seeking peace, reconciliation or justice in IOJ&K have been disregarded because of the social, economic, legal, political, and consequently, environmental injustices meted out towards this land and its people. While its leadership or its lack thereof (if we may say so), which led to strategic profligacy is also a recurrent phenomenon. It, therefore, calls for stating a postcolonial environmental ethic of Kashmir, an umbrella term, that addresses all kinds of injustices mentioned above.

Postcolonial environmental ethic or ethics of resistance or ecopostcolonial justice are synonymous terms defined as one of the many 'indigenous environmental resistance movements that are emerging around the globe.'10 Curtin defines and justifies this term in the context of Dalit resistance movement (1927) of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar against the caste system in India as well as Gandhi's resistance movement of civil disobedience (1930). It is argued that what holds true for Gandhi's and Ambedkar's resistance movements, also holds relevant for IOJ&K. This aspect needs to be explored to attain any meaningful peace and reconciliation in the region, which is possible only after substantive measures for justice.

Thus, an indepth historiographic analysis of aforementioned historical texts about the Princely State of Kashmir is carried out in this study. The paper evaluates the postcolonial environmental ethic and strategic essentialism, the economic expansionist designs of the Indian

<sup>8</sup> Thid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Deane Curtin, Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World (Nature's Meaning) (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 5.
<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 13.

colonial power, the need for environmental justice for Kashmir, and ecopostcolonial future of Kashmir as a way out of this stalemate.

## Postcolonial Environmental Ethic and Strategic Essentialism

For this historiographic analysis, Curtin's concept of Postcolonial Environmental Ethic, as discussed above and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak Spivak's concept of strategic essentialism<sup>11</sup> helps me state my positionality right in the beginning of this paper. I position my critique from the standpoint of Spivak, as she states in her article, "Attention Postcolonialism!":

When the British Indian Empire was dissolved, for example, the subcontinent was divided. It was the part that is today called 'India' that inherited the administrative structures from the Empire, including the Indian Army. The other nation states—Pakistan, the subcolonial state of Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka—do not therefore emerge in the same space in terms of the old colonial history.<sup>12</sup>

Spivak's clear indication of India inheriting the 'administrative structures of the Empire' and her subsequent comment about the nation states of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, not emerging with the similar baggage of colonial history as India, allows for understanding India as a possible beholder of Empire's administrative traits, something discussed on historical and political levels<sup>13</sup> by many critics and historians, including William W. Baker, Victoria Schofield, Sumantra Bose, Alastair Lamb.

Spivak explains the concept of administrative traits at a personal level, with the use of the phrases like, 'interpellated in diverse ways,' 'excoriated' with 'failed metalepsis' because she refused to situate herself

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  The term as Spivak proposed it in the 1980s has been used for the strategies that people of different groups, nationalities, and ethnicities may engage in to present themselves against pervasive global culture in spite of strong differences among themselves. Whereas, Spivak strongly objects to the contemporary use of the term in the meanings of essentialism only.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Spivak, "Attention: Postcolonialism!" 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Alastair Lamb, Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966 (London: Routledge, 1966); ——, Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990 (Hertingfordbury: Roxford Books, 1991); ———, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948; William W. Baker, Kashmir: Happy Valley, Valley of Death (Las Vegas: Defenders Publications, 1994); Victoria Schofield, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003); and Sumantra Bose, Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007). Bose is a Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics.

in 'global migrancy.'<sup>14</sup> She positions herself with the Bangladeshi poet, Farhad Mazhar, for he experienced the same marginalization. Questioning the '*Third World Literature* that is rewarded internationally,' Spivak sides with Mazhar's views when he "rages at the complicity between the capital and the religion"<sup>15</sup> and views herself, likewise, in the marginalized space of a Bangali and not an Indian. She exhorts postcolonialism to be vigilant of any instance of trying to frame postcolonialism in a global frame. Spivak is critical of the colonizing traits that India had adopted after the supposed decline of the British Empire. In her article, she points out the exploitations by India in the context of Bangladesh, however, I extend it to all forms of marginalization of Kashmiri people.

# Problematizing Economic Expansionist Designs of the Indian Colonial Power

In this section, the historiographic analysis of the selected texts would help in understanding the possible economic expansionism— a feature common to all colonial enterprises. In this context it may be seen that the excoriation that Spivak experienced, dovetails with what Ashcroft defines as the 'exoticizing the native,'16 two phenomena, that may be observed in IOJ&K. These phenomena of excoriation and exoticizing may be seen in the recurring Strategic maneuvers of leadership in the context of Kashmir. The study of these recurring patterns helps us understand the lacunas in understanding of history. It is important to understand the implications of these gaps, in order to comprehend the strategic profligacy in the context of IOJ&K.

Consequently, the validity of views of some historians needs to be evaluated, when they critique the pre-decided acrimony against Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, no matter how principled that may have been. They view this hostility due to a constructed 'mythology of Kashmir dispute.' Alastair Lamb's first book, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966* (1966) gives a lucid description of the issue closest to partition, in terms of time, i.e. only after nineteen years. Addressing the first 'absence' in our general comprehension, Lamb's statement about Gilgit Baltistan area clears the myths<sup>17</sup> surrounding these areas when he writes that 'the Gilgit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Spivak, "Attention: Postcolonialism!" 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routeledge 2000), 55. Navnita Chadha Behera, *Demystifying Kashmir* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006). Behera's book, may be cited as an example of exoticizing the native.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See for instance, Navnita Chadha Behera, "Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas: The Forgotten Frontiers," in *Demystifying Kashmir* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006), 170-207.

region threw off all vestige [sic] of Dogra rule and declared for Pakistan.' This was because Gilgit region never succumbed to Dogra power, and resultantly, 'Dogras were never able to establish the kind of power they enjoyed in the Vale of Kashmir or, even, in Ladakh.' [See Fig.  $1\ \&\ 2$ ]

With the help of the map (Figure 1), Lamb contests the 'tendency to treat the whole State as if it were a homogenous unit.' He maintains that Gilgit area has 'no long historical tradition for the existence of Kashmir as the term is now understood.' Figure 2 indicates the status of Kashmir valley and its adjoining areas in 1966, with almost the same demography today. It, therefore, comes to light, that since Gilgit independently declared for Pakistan long before Kashmir became a dispute, there can be, and are, serious reservations for any modern discourses that make it a point to problematize the facts about this area.

GILGIT AGENCY 1864 - Dogra effort to gain foothold in Southern Sinkiang Gilgit o Attempts to establish Dogra control BALTISTAN C 1850-1890 o Skardu Kashmir by the British Conquered 1840 LADAKH VALE OF KASHMIR Srinagar 184 Attempted Dogra invasion <sub>o</sub>Leh Purchased from the of Western Tibet British 1846 A Buddhist kingdom conquered by the Dogras in 1834 POONCH Dogra Heartland AMMU o Jammu

Figure 1: Stages in the Creation of Jammu and Kashmir State

Source: Lamb, Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966, 18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 26, 17-18.

[88]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*, 51.

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Figure 2: Jammu and Kashmir State

Source: Lamb, Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966.

While, for Jammu and Kashmir, Lamb indicates, that neither 'the Jammu massacres can be laid to the door of Indian Congress leaders' nor the Pathan uprising in the Poonch sector is something in which 'Muslim League participated.'<sup>20</sup> However, he also tells us that the two nation states had developed attitudes and policies towards Kashmir right after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 38.

the partition in 1947. Therefore, if 'Indian attitude might harden'<sup>21</sup> was a concern of the British in 1948, there is hardly any change in Indian Leadership till the present.

Narrating historical facts, Lamb problematizes Kashmir's popular leader, Sheikh Abdullah's, <sup>22</sup> commitment for Jawaharlal Nehru because of both leaders' secular and Marxist leanings, in sharp contrast to M. A. Jinnah's support for 'the revival of Muslim Conference under the leadership of Ghulam Abbas.' Lamb acknowledges Jinnah's principled<sup>23</sup> stance for letting Kashmir settle its internal political strife, and states that Jinnah and other leaders of the Pakistan Movement 'did not see the need (and subsequently), took no significant part in Kashmiri politics.'<sup>24</sup> This fact is also supported in a slightly different context by Rakesh Ankit, an academic. Quoting George Mallam in his book, *The Kashmir Conflict: From Empire to the Cold War, 1945-*66 (2016), Ankit states that the former considered majority of Khans and Muslim League as 'the most stable, pro-British element in the country.'<sup>25</sup>

The study of the factors leading to partition would also help evaluate 'one nation' and 'two nation theory. Proponents of one nation theory, Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah, as Lamb argues, were not in favor of the idea of Pakistan, as he writes, Nehru saw accession [of Kashmir], just as he saw the very idea of Pakistan, as a challenge to his secular concepts.' He argued, some factions of 'Hindu extremists...[who] saw partition in terms of religious war and felt it their duty to defend the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir against the forces of Islam.'26 In other words, as Arundhati Roy argues it was 'a battle between an inclusive secular democracy and radical Islamists.'27 Thus, Lamb's accounts of heavy involvement of India in the quest for acquisition of Kashmir at all costs is also discussed by contemporary critics like Roy, Kak, Navlakha, Mathur, and many others.

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  Recently released reports of the Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom which were top secret till 2009: 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. Though this popularity can be contested on several grounds. See for instance, Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*; ——, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990*; and ———, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948.* Also see works of Korbel, Schofield, Bose, and Hakeem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See also 12, Josef Korbel, "The Kashmir Dispute and the United Nations," *International Organization* 3, no. 2 (1949):278-287.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Rakesh Ankit, *The Kashmir Conflict: From Empire to the Cold War, 1945-66*, Routledge Series in South Asian History (London: Routledge, 2016), 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Arundhati Roy, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (Chicago: Haymarket Books 2014), 91.

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

Nehru had developed a definite policy for the future of the State of Jammu & Kashmir once the British had departed. Under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah it was to be made into an anti-Pakistani (whatever shape Pakistan might eventually assume) zone to the north of Punjab. [The] special relationship [of Nehru and Lord and Lady Mountbatten] was to infect everything which Nehru told Mountbatten about the State of Jammu and Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah's special position there as the voice of the Kashmiri people. [And the] policies of both Mountbatten and Nehru [had] common underlying objective, the eventual incorporation of the State of Jammu & Kashmir in India.<sup>28</sup>

Lamb describes the 'covert, almost subliminal, campaign' and maneuvers of securing those parts of Gurdaspur that would safeguard India's interests. He believes that these clandestine tactics 'made an utter nonsense of [Mountbatten's] claim to have had absolutely no control over what Sir Cyril Radcliffe might or might not decide.'<sup>29</sup> Lamb also charts out the interpellative measures that were carried out by Hari Singh's 'guile,' and Indian equivocations, in the wake of the 'Standstill Agreements.' Hari Singh telegrammed both India and Pakistan on August 12; to which Pakistan 'lost no time in replying,' whereas India's 'prevarication...amounted to rejection.'<sup>30</sup> The accession of Kashmir (though, Hari Singh, naively, considering it to be temporary) was an open violation of the Standstill Agreements, as Lamb notes.

His account is similar to what Rakesh Ankit cites as the state of affairs on February 11, 1948, when Douglas Gracey took over as Pakistan Army Chief from Frank Messervy. 'His first challenge,' writes Ankit, 'was India's spring offensive, expected in March 1948, which was looked upon in London as a 'fait accompli' against Pakistan as well as UN.'<sup>31</sup> Ankit, investigates the 'Kashmir's journey from being a residual irritant of the British Indian Empire, to becoming a Commonwealth embarrassment and its eventual metamorphosis into a security concern in the cold war

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Lamb, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948, 101, 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid., 111-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ankit, The Kashmir Conflict: From Empire to the Cold War, 1945-66, 48.

climate(s).'32 Sumantra Bose also considers that Indian military success was only made possible due to the help of National Conference and Sheikh Abdullah, when he and his colleagues chose to throw in their lot with India.<sup>33</sup> Citations from these historical records provided in different texts give a fair idea of the state of affairs at the time of the partition and even before partition.

In order to study these gaps in the contemporary common knowledge, it is interesting to examine some other political maneuvers as narrated in Victoria Schofield's historical account, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War (2003). She narrates an incident where the Maharaja avoided meeting with the Viceroy when Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir. Though in a brief meeting time that Maharaja afforded him, Mountbatten gives him a sound advice that he was not to join either of the constituent assemblies until the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been set up and the situation was a bit clearer. The viceroy also advised the Maharaja to sign 'standstill agreements with both India and Pakistan.'34 Nehru disapproves of this visit and writes to the former, 'There was considerable disappointment at the lack of results of vour visit.'35

Thus, it may be seen that on October 25, 1947, two months after the transfer of power, and (important to note) only "one day before the Maharaja of Kashmir's accession to India" (which is also argued as a fake document in Lamb's other book), the Indian Foreign Department writes a telegram to the British Government, that

> ...[T]he Maharaja be supported against the invading Pathan tribesmen on the following grounds: ... Security of Kashmir, which must depend on internal tranquility and existence of stable government, is vital to security of India, especially since part of the southern boundary of Kashmir and India are common. Helping Kashmir, therefore, is an obligation of national interest to India.<sup>36</sup>

Lamb considers this line of reasoning cogent with the observations of many critics for the very concept of 'Pakistan.' Like Indian Foreign department, many others believed in the inevitable collapse of this Islamic State, especially if the existing chaos at the time of partition

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Sumantra Bose, Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka, 168.

<sup>34</sup> Lamb, Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966, 43; and Schofield, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Schofield, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*, 40.

was 'allowed to extend to Kashmir and the strategic borderlands.'<sup>37</sup> Thus Lamb views extending the partition's existing chaos to the borderland of Kashmir as an effective strategy of India.

Therefore, visit to Kashmir by Acharya Kripalani, a leading figure of the Congress movement, on the eve of partition; removal of a Hindu Prime Minister of Kashmir, Pandit Kak, on the suspicion of having some leanings towards Pakistan; and the release of Sheikh Abdullah from jail are all, as seen by Alastair Lamb, point towards the premeditated maneuvers by Indian establishment. Likewise, Sir Claude Auchinleck, commander of the Indian Army, alluded to the fact that India sought to prevent establishing the state of Pakistan. In his secret correspondence to his superiors in London he wrote:

I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the present India Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis. In this I am supported by the unanimous opinion of my senior officers, and indeed by all responsible British officers cognizant of the situation.<sup>38</sup>

This quote, besides the obvious inference of Indian involvement in securing Kashmir (with almost negligible ruse from Pakistan's side) reminds us of the Indian establishment inheriting the administrative structures of the British Empire that Spivak warns of in her article, when she is making postcolonialism aware of such pitfalls. These pitfalls are what Ashcroft calls double colonization. One manifestation of this double colonization may be seen in Lamb's words, when he writes about M.C. Mahajan and guotes from Mahajan's book:

M. C. Mahajan, in late September 1947 after he had been offered the Prime Ministership of Kashmir, had discussions in New Delhi with Patel, Baldev Singh and Nehru on the terms on which the Maharaja of Kashmir might accede to India. Mahajan reports that on 11 October 1947, the day after he had formally become the Prime Minister of Kashmir, V. P. Menon advised him to bring about Kashmir's accession to India if he possibly could. On the same day Lord Mountbatten, while evidently thinking it probable that Kashmir would in fact go to Pakistan, yet 'said that as Governor General of India he would be very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Claude Auchinleck, quoted in Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*, 41.

happy if I [Mahajan] advised the Maharaja to accede to India'. M. C. Mahajan's account makes it clear that, before the tribal invasion, negotiations at a high level were in progress over Kashmir's accession to India.<sup>39</sup>

The dates mentioned in this quote and earlier quotes need to be noted. When M. C. Mahajan is being offered Prime Ministership of Kashmir in later September 1947, or when he is advised by V. P. Menon to bring about the accession of Kashmir even after October 11, 1947, indicate that the instrument of accession was clearly concocted document. It is strongly contested and even proved as fake by Lamb in his three books on Kashmir.

Lamb's question still holds valid, after seventy-three years: What is to be the future of this region where, by a chapter of historical accidents, a Muslim majority entered the age of Asian independence under the leadership of a Hindu ruler?<sup>40</sup> To answer, Lamb gives the history of the three Princely states in India. Though nothing comparable to British monarchs, he explains, these states 'were allies of the British Crown rather than the subjects of the British Indian Government' who proved a useful bulwark against Indian Nationalism. But soon these states proved to become a 'liability'41 after the British decision to devolve the power to the dominions. Forsaking power to grant full authority for Indian self-governance was something, Lamb suggests, 'unthinkable,' with all its implications for the British Crown, therefore, this granting of power was 'grudging and slow.'42 He considers the Kashmir problem to be a British lapse as he emphasizes on the need for the British to have ensured 'workable representative governments.' He clearly indicates that a 'popular Kashmir Government could have made decisions about its future which both India and Pakistan would have respected.' He argues that an autocratic and unpopular Maharaja was hardly in a 'position to make such decisions'43 for the people of that land.

Although he does not go into its minute details, but another important point that Lamb makes, is the linking of the question of Kashmir with the two princely states of Junagadh and Hyderabad. He questions the separate modus operandi being carried out in the three States:

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid., 44-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., 12.

...where a plebiscite has suited the Indian policy, a plebiscite has been held: in Kashmir, where plebiscite has not suited Indian policy, a plebiscite has not been held. In Hyderabad, where the use of military force by India has been expedient, so that force has been declared to be morally justified. By the same token, in Kashmir where the use of Pakistani military force has not suited Indian policy, so also has it been condemned on moral grounds.<sup>44</sup>

The only explanation for this canonical invisibility (to borrow Rob Nixon's words) of this social, moral, and environmental justice for the land of Kashmir and its identity can only be the economic imperative of India, because of being one of the great markets for international trade with its 'protocapitalist'<sup>45</sup> centers, a term Curtin uses for a one time European capitalism.

Many historians are critical of Mountbatten's disregard of pragmatic and sensible advice of senior British officers<sup>46</sup> like Sir Conrad Corfield. In his 1998 book, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948, Lamb writes about the suggestion of Sir Conrad Corfield, who believed that 'an Indo-Pakistani exchange might be devised over Hyderabad and Jammu & Kashmir, in which Hyderabad went with India and Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan (an idea which had, indeed, already been circulating during Lord Wavell's Viceroyalty), but he was ignored.' This was followed by the consequence of the two states of Hyderabad and Junagadh being 'swallowed up by India.' This phenomenon was convoluted further by the office of V.P. Menon's State Department, who never gave any importance to Pakistani factor except for an irritant. And, as Lamb puts it, Menon's policies were a 'structural organizational distortion which confused the Kashmir issue from the outset and to which due weight has never subsequently been assigned by observers within and without the subcontinent.' He regards V.P. Menon as 'a masterly confuser of issues, a true follower in the footsteps of the great Kautiyala, Chandra Gupta Maurya's minister (c.300 BC) and reputed author of the Arthasastra, a political text which in so many respects anticipated the thoughts on statecraft of Machiavelli. 47

This double colonizing factor can also be traced from Lamb's clear indication in the imbroglio of the 1965 war, over The Rann of Kutch.<sup>48</sup> He

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Curtin, Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World (Nature's Meaning), 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Lamb, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid., 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-*1966, 115. Alastair Lamb gives a background about The Rann of Kutch that separates Sind in Pakistan from Kutch State in India. The Rann,

writes about the 'bellicose nature' of the speeches made in *Lok Sabha*, as well as the allegations of the 'Pindi-Peking conspiracy against India.' However, Lamb warns that these expressions of Indian outrage should not lead one to believe 'that this process of infiltration represented some kind of clandestine invasion'<sup>49</sup> from Pakistan's side. Thus, the propagated Indian rhetoric about the Pathan invasion is a concocted narrative imbibed even in some factions of Kashmiri subconscious. This historical stratagem, which is working to this day, speaks for the deception and interpellations that Indian propagandist lobbies have been carrying out ever since.

The Kargil episode (1999) is still fresh; however, Lamb reminds us of the 1947 'Indian attack on Pakistani positions in the Kargil sector' as early as August 14 or 15, without any official announcement until August 24, about 'the intention to cross the cease-fire line.' Lamb justifies Pakistan's retaliation at this time as a defensive strategy, when 'Pakistan was forced to attack because India had already attacked.' However, he sees it as keeping the 'Kashmir issue diplomatically alive'<sup>50</sup> from Pakistan's side, especially when both, Indian and Pakistani side were eager to obtain ceasefire without appearing to have surrendered and lost in the eyes of their respective publics.

Nevertheless, scholars like Suvir Kaul, a Professor in the American academia, believe that the fate of Kashmir could have been avoided if 'the principles supposedly applied by Cyril Radcliffe and the Boundary Commission to the determination of the boundaries of India and Pakistan had been extended to this princely state.' Kaul maintains that, 'either the entire state, being Muslim-majority, should have gone to Pakistan or, if the unit of division was to be the district, then Muslimmajority border districts and contiguous territories should have become Pakistani.' However, he views the entry of 'Pakistani-sponsored raiders, whose brief success caused the fearful maharaja to accede to India as the price for Indian troops entering the fray. '51 This, Kaul believes, proved detrimental to the 'Quit Kashmir' movement that Sheikh Abdullah was directing towards the Maharaja (despite his otherwise balanced analysis, Kaul's narrative also shows that he has internalized the narrative theory of Pakistan's aggression which is not supported through historical facts). However, whether it was really a fearful maharaja phenomenon or yet

which means a 'desolate place' which got flooded in Monsoon season. Lamb writes that "During British rule there had been a number of disputes between Sind and Kutch State over the Rann, which appears to have had some slight economic value, mainly as a source of salt."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid., 117, 118, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966*, 121, 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Suvir Kaul, *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 40.

another concocted episode of history, is what Lamb contests (as we saw above and, also, shall see as follows). He challenges the legitimacy of this instrument of accession in the first place.

In his third book on Kashmir issue, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of Kashmir Dispute 1947- 1948 (1997), Lamb subverts the contemporary mythologizing about the Poonch revolt (1947), popularly insinuated with the possible connections with Pakistan's involvement. According to him, there is hardly any similarity between the Poonch revolt of the 1830s against Dogra atrocities to the Poonch revolt of 1947. The 'unrest and spasmodic violence in Poonch' turning into 'an organized opposition to the Dogra Dynasty,'52 can hardly be validated as per the factual accounts of Lamb and many others including Schofield and Bose. On the contrary, there is enough discourse by impartial writers<sup>53</sup> who inform about many instances like 'direct Indian military intervention in the State of Jammu & Kashmir' as early as May 5, 1947 with the result that when 'India overtly intervened in Kashmir on 27 October 1947, the Maharaja of Patiala lost no time in joining his men, some already in the field in Jammu and Kashmir. '54 Thus the appropriation of land, resources, and Kashmiri life is a phenomenon that commenced even before partition.

Josef Korbel, former Czechoslovak Ambassador to Yugoslavia and who served as his country's representative in the United Nations (UN) as well as Chairman of the Commission for India and Pakistan, has also traced the failed attempts of the UN commission in his article, "The Kashmir Dispute and the United Nations," published in 1949 Korbel asserts that the UN planned a commission that 'came to realize that the Kashmir question was packed with dynamite which not only endangered the lives of the peace-loving Kashmiris but poisoned deeply the relations between the two young dominions of India and Pakistan.'55 He clearly indicates the interpellative stance of India, when it refuses to allow the Security Council being in the role of a Public Administrator. However, Korbel commends Pakistan's principled stance, in this instance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Lamb, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948, 123. 
<sup>53</sup> See for instance Lamb, Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966; ——, Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990; ——, Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948; Baker, Kashmir: Happy Valley, Valley of Death; and Korbel, "The Kashmir Dispute and the United Nations." Also see the written records of British Foreign Office, Indian independence partition sources, works of Sumantra Bose, and Victoria Schofield, among many others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Lamb, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute: 1947- 1948*, 130-131.

<sup>55</sup> Korbel, "The Kashmir Dispute and the United Nations."

Korbel asserts that Pakistan's interest was to have the fate of the majority of Kashmiris decided on the strength of their votes. India's interest, on the other hand, was to delay the action as much as possible so that the fate of the plebiscite is molded in their favor, either by buying time for their propaganda, or genocide. History has borne a witness to this policy of mass murder being carried out in the IOJ&K till today.

Gul Muhammad Wani, a Professor of Political science at the Kashmir University quotes Robert Thorp, a young British historian who was murdered at a young age of thirty by the Dogras when he recorded their atrocities. Wani notes, 'Robert Thorp writes, Towards the people of Cashmeer we have committed a wanton outrage, gross injustice, and an act of tyrannical oppression which violates every human and honourable sentiment which is opposed to the whole sprit of modern civilization and is in direct opposition to every tenet of religion we profess.'<sup>56</sup> If we take a break to analyze these facts objectively, it can be seen that the geopolitical, economic, cultural, and ecological demographics of this part of the world could have been so much improved if the social and environmental justice was taken into consideration rather than the recolonization culminating into the blood bath that is witnessed in Kashmir till today.

American Professor of Ancient History and Sacred Literature, William Baker, also gives an argument against Indian government's constant line of reasoning that 'if they permit the State of Kashmir to have their plebiscite, then many other States will seek the same privilege.' Baker, however, negates this analogy that Sikhs and others, suffering from oppression of the Indian Government will openly voice their desire to secede from India to create their own independent states. He argues against this analogy which the Indian establishment gives, he notes:

...the other Indian states voted to be a part of India, and the people of Kashmir have yet to exercise that prerogative! KASHMIR HAS NEVER BEEN A PART OF INDIA. THUS IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE KASHMIRI PEOPLE TO SECEDE FROM THAT WHICH THEY HAVE NEVER JOINED! [sic] Thus the argument that 'India will disintegrate' if it permits Kashmir to 'escape' rings hollow. In point of fact, the Indian state will disintegrate if they continue to attempt to rule their own citizens and states

57 Baker, Kashmir: Happy Valley, Valley of Death, 138.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Gull Mohammad Wani, "Political Assertion of Kashmiri Identity," in *The Parchment of Kashmir: History, Society, and Polity*, ed. Nyla Ali Khan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 125-152 (126).

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with such a prejudiced and corrupt government [even, and also because over their] so-called 'lower caste' and 'untouchables.' 58

Therefore, Baker opines that it is the autocratic factor in a governing system that weakens its foundations, so is the case with Indian state. Baker's statement could not be more right in the present unjudicial, unethical, dictatorial, and fascist move of Modi. The aftermath of the revocation of Articles 370 and 35A and developments after August 5, 2019 confirm the recurring pattern of strategic lapses of Indian leadership, may that be in history or today. The postponement and prevarication on the part of the Indian leadership from Nehru to Modi help it continue its occupation in the IOJK.

## Stating the Environmental Justice for Kashmir

The study of the selected historical texts with their recorded factual history and the recent events post August 5, 2019, underscores the need to state the environmental ethic for Kashmir for any future course of action. In the context of Gandhi and Ambedkar's indigenous environmental resistance movements, this part of the essay establishes the need to take into account Kashmiris' right to state their ethic of resistance.

Baker's point that the Kashmiri identity has never been granted the right to secede belies the usual assertions of rightist BJP sympathizers like M.G Chiktara, in his book, *Kashmir Crisis* (2003), with the reiterative claims that 'Kashmir is the test symbol of India's secular polity. If Kashmir is separated from the rest of India today because it has a Muslim majority, what happens to the 150 million Muslims in the rest of India?'<sup>59</sup> Chiktara's claims counterintuitively prove what Baker says, as it is seen that India's (so called) secular policies have miserably failed in post August 5 scenario, not only in IOJ&K but also in India itself. Besides, these claims of 'integral, not negotiable'<sup>60</sup> have the dominant tropes of 'moral and historical amnesia'<sup>61</sup> as Deane Curtin suggests in his book, *Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (2005). These lacunas are challenged by many historians, political analysts, and critics like Baker, declaring, that the question of Kashmir separation does not arise, as Kashmir never seceded to India in the first place.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Chiktara, *Kashmir Crisis*, 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>61</sup> Curtin, Environmental Ethics for a Postcolonial World (Nature's Meaning), 26.

The genocide against Kashmiris is also an absence or historical amnesia. 'The genocide committed against the original inhabitants of North America,' as Curtin reminds us, 'was so thorough that we can escape thinking about these problems in our own 'backvards"<sup>62</sup>. Our historical 'absences' in the context of Kashmir are manifold likewise. Recalling the Jammu massacres would be helpful for our understanding, when the Muslims all over Kashmir valley, including the ones already in Jammu, were asked to come to Jammu to arrange for them to go to Pakistan, and then were ruthlessly massacred in September 1947. Official figures starting from two lacs to the unofficial figures of five lacs, 63 is a genocide of Kashmiri Muslims that changed the demographics of the Jammu for all times to come, not that it has stopped in the present times. As reported by Umer Beigh in a recent article titled, "The Massacre that Widened the Communal Gap" (2017):

> 'No less than 2, 00,000 Muslim men, women and children were killed. The number was put in The Spectator. At least 27,000 women were abducted, and many were raped.' The incident in September reportedly happened just five days before Pakistan irregulars' attack in J&K, and nine days before the Maharaja accession to India. Ian Stephens, an editor of The Statesman, suggests that the large-scale massacre of Muslims happened with the approval of Maharaja Hari Singh.64

Thus, this quote clearly indicates Jammu massacre happening before the alleged attack of Pakistan's irregulars. This massacre also happened before even Maharaja's accession to India. Jammu Massacre was declared as 'mad orgy of Dogra violence against unarmed Muslims, an episode (that) should put any self-respecting human being to shame.'65 Restating this mad orgy is, in fact, stating the environmental ethic of resistance of Kashmiris.

Contemporary Kashmiri writer Basharat Peer articulates the need for environmental ethic of Kashmir by raising questions of social justice when he says, 'Prague had protested and won; Berlin had protested and won; Kashmir too had believed that our protests would win Kashmir its freedom.'66 He expresses the frustrations of the early nineties calling it a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Ibid., 88.

 $<sup>^{63}</sup>$  India Today Conclave, "Dr. Farooq Abdullah Speaks on Indian Democracy and Kashmir Issue," Youtube, February 27, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= frm1I0kD5qs.

<sup>64</sup> Umer Beigh, "The Massacre That Widened the Communal Gap," News Click, November 4, 2017, https://www.newsclick.in/massacre-widened-communal-gap.

<sup>66</sup> Peer, Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir.

'naïve, heady time,' and points out that Kashmiri demonstrations faded after the Kashmiris' massacres of the 1990s. However, he observes that the conflict in the 1990s would not have become so bloody if 'India had allowed those [justified] peaceful demonstrations' of the early 1990s. Instead the world witnessed a barricade of interpellative measures strategically extended by this 'local despotism'<sup>67</sup> of Indian rule. 'Firing on protestors, arrests, disappearances, custodial killings, kidnappings, assassinations, and torture dominated Kashmir'<sup>68</sup> labeling the innocent civilians as militants and criminals.

As cited above, Victoria Schofield's book, Kashmir in Conflict: India Pakistan and the Unending War (2003), a well-respected and authentic contemporary voice, is not only an enlightening read, a reconfirmation of Lamb's objective historical records, but also a candid subversion of the confusion surrounding the issue of Kashmir. She does an in depth analysis of the puppet regimes of Sheikh Abdullah and Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi for safeguarding their respective belts of control, along with detailed accounts of 'Rann of kuch,' 'Operation Gibralter,' 'Operation Grand Slam,' and 'Tashkent Declaration.'69 Schofield's graphic descriptions of the unspeakable atrocities being committed against civilians in Kashmir are numbing. In her book, she questions the possibility of normalcy in the wake of traumatic torture carried out by Border Security Force (BSF) on Kashmiris, lack of 'legal redress' and the retaliations of the militants because of the horrifying carnages, 'electric shocks, beatings, and the use of heavy roller on leg muscles...sexual molestations...stretching the legs apart and burning the skin... raping of women even tourists by 'army officers." There are similarities between these accounts and the ones narrated by Basharat Peer . It, therefore, calls for looking at this scenario from the perspective of environmental justice.

## **An Eco-Postcolonial Future**

As discussed above, the deceptions and interpellations that go back into the history of Kashmir, are responsible for this deadlock in IOJ&K. Consequently, modern Kashmiri writers including Peer, Shamim, Bashir, Shah, Mahjoor, Kak, Kaul, Waheed and many others call for the environmental ethic for a sustained eco-postcolonial Kashmir. Gilani's My Days in Prison (2005) and Peer's memoir, Curfewed Night: A Frontline

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 92.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Peer, Curfewed Night: A Frontline Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir,132.
 <sup>69</sup> Schofield, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War, 107, 108, 109, 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ibid., 186, 169-170.

Memoir of Life, Love and War in Kashmir (2010) may be the first written records of the Indian atrocities in Kashmir in the first decade of twenty-first century. Today, when this Indian aggression and persecution in IOJ&K is crossing all levels and has left behind Jewish persecution and holocaust, voices of resistance raised by Kashmiri writers are being joined by an array of writings including critical, personal, political, and fictional writings, whose numbers are growing day by day.<sup>71</sup>

Latest anthological writings like, *Buried Evidence: Unknown, Unmarked and Mass Graves* (2009) by Angana P. Chatterji; *Until My Freedom has Come: The New Intifada in Kashmir* (22011) by a Hindu Pandit activist, Sanjay Kak are followed by *Of Occupation and Resistance: Writings from Kashmir* (2013) edited by a young journalist and reporter, Fahad Shah. Anthologies like *Everyday Occupations: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013) by Kamala Visweswaran are enriched by academics like Muhammad Junaid. Similarly, anthropological writings like *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016) by Shubh Mathur, and *Of Gardens and Graves: Kashmir, Poetry, Politics* (2017) by Suvir Kaul defy belligerent Indian stance. These writers stress the need for postcolonial environmental ethic for IOJ&K in the face of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's 'militant nationalism.'<sup>72</sup>

Many writers and political analysts have been drawing parallels between Indian and Israeli war strategies over their respective occupied lands. Tariq Ali in his article, "Not Crushed, Merely Ignored," maintains that 'Israeli military officers were invited to visit Akhnur military base in the province and advise on counter-terrorism measures.'<sup>73</sup> It is a similar phenomenon to what Sumantra Bose states in his book, *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (2007):

Between 2002 and 2004 the Indian army erected a multitiered fencing system along 734 kilometers of the 742 kilometer LOC to deter cross-LOC movement by

[102]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Mirza Waheed's novels, *The Collaborator* (2011) and *The Book of Gold Leaves* (2014), Shahnaz Bashir's *The Half Mother* (2014) and *Scattered Souls* (2016), Nayeema Mahjoor's *Lost in Terror* (2016), and many other writings are further supplemented by works like, *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011) with a number of critical essays by eminent writers like, Pankaj Mishra, Tariq Ali, Hilal Bhatt, Angana P. ChatterJi, and Arundhati Roy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See, among many other writers, Basharat Peer, *A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen* (New York: Columbia Global Reports, 2017), 14.

<sup>73</sup> Tariq Ali, "Not Crushed, Merely Ignored," *London Review of Books* 32, no. 14 (2010), https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v32/n14/tariq-ali/not-crushed-merely-ignored; and Tariq Ali, "The Story of Kashmir," in *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom,* Tariq Ali, Hilal Bhatt, Angana P. ChatterJi, Habbah Khatun, Pankaj Mishra and Arundhati Roy (London: Verso, 2011): 132-138 (133).

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insurgents. This fencing system comprises 'two or three rows of concertina wire, about three meters or ten feet high, electrified and connected to a network of motion sensors, thermal imaging devices and alarms acquired from the United States and Israel,' and was built without a fraction of the publicity attending Israel's construction of its controversial 'security barrier' with the West Bank, labeled the 'Great Wall of Palestine' by skeptics.<sup>74</sup>

In the wake of what transpired in IOJ&K, after August 5, 2019; the Indian Government's act of revoking the special status; or limited autonomy, granted under Article 370; and that of 35A of the Indian Constitution to Jammu and Kashmir and the complete lockdown ever since is a highly questionable move in terms of its legitimacy. All strata of society of not only in Kashmir and Pakistan but the Kashmiri diaspora irrespective of their religion, the Indian conscientious intelligentsia, and the International community at large are demanding Environmental ethic and justice in IOJ&K by challenging Indian State's modus operandi. Gautam Navlakha, Sanjay Kak, Shubh Mathur, Mona Bhan, Suvir Kaul, Pankaj Mishra, Angana P. Chatterji, Sumantra Bose, and last but not the least, Arundhati Roy represent scrupulous segments of humanity supporting Kashmir's environmental ethic/ ethic of resistance.

This ongoing plight of Kashmir has taken a sharp turn for the worse post August 5, 2019 in IOJ&K. However, by bringing forth the historical (proverbial) behavior of Indian leadership along with its other aiding factors, which may be listed as the Maharajas, Sheikh Abdullah, Nehru, the Gandhi, and the British, this research has attempted to underscore the strategic lapses, maneuvers, stratagems, and dictatorial methods that have been levied against Kashmir to continue Indian occupation. Outlining the historical economic expansionist designs that started by India inheriting the administrative traits of the British Empire is also a statement of resistance in the prevailing scenario.

Environmental ethic or the ethic of resistance of Kashmir is a challenge to the Indian treacherous interpellation and oppression. It also subverts the continued and recurring pattern of Indian aggression and occupation of Kashmir, its propagandist and unscrupulous actions, belligerent rhetoric and aggressive posture which continue to pose a grave risk to regional and international peace and security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Bose, Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka, 160-161.

## **Conclusion**

The terms of postcolonial environmental ethic/eco-postcolonial ethic with their definitions and implications as validated from Gandhi and Ambedkar's standpoint, are discussed in detail. This environmental justice will determine our future course of action. Following recommendations may be helpful for a sustainable future of Kashmir:

- The international community must take serious cognizance of the evolving situation and the enormity of the humanitarian crisis in IOJ&K. Kashmiris' right to self-determination is their legitimate right that should be granted to them before it is too late.
- Kashmir has become one of the the worst nightmares of human history, the modern day holocaust, and yet, never given any name in this capacity, nor the massacres going on in this land, are ever brought to light of justice as the Nuremberg trials. The scale and nature of military violence and war crimes call for the international judicial tribunal, if there is one, to bring even a retrospective justice to the crimes committed against humanity in Kashmir.
- The future direction for any peace, reconciliation, and justice in the context of Kashmir, needs to account for the shocking realities that Special Rapporteurs keep releasing. It is time for a clear declaration of the environmental ethic of this postcolonial region for a sustainable and peaceful future of not only this region but the world at large.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> For details of the legal pursuit of the human injustices being carried out by these paramilitary forces in Kashmir, see Shubh Mathur, *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) in which she has recorded these abortive attempts and tried to record these gross human violations and injustices against humanity. It is not a surprise, that there is very little data available about these writers themselves on the internet, and that too without pictures mostly.