***KASHMIR INTRACTABILITY:***

***An Unheard Cry across Socio-Political and Human Crises***

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**INTRODUCTION**

**Kashmir: Social, Political cum National Tendencies**

Since the times immemorial, it has been found that any piece of land or any region gets various twists as per its environmental prospectives and the related ethical standards. This means a particular piece of land is not considered in isolation but in consonance with all the other national, geographical, political, national and the other aspects around. So, these numerous social, linguistic, religious, political national and cultural propensities are responsible factors under which the people of that very region have to live in. This pace of various transitions has to be measured time after time via the changes that occur thereof in the above mentioned fields. For instance, the social set-up of any region is detetmined with the composition of population in terms of their emotional interactions and the exchange of their psychological leanings. There are always minipractices that are very pivotal in the integration of any social structure. These minipractices are responsible either for the consolidation and determination of any society or the disintegration and destruction of the same. Linguistic aspect of any region is determined with the store of thoughts that are relevant to the making of psyches of all the people. That means any language has its thought-processes that are responsible for develoment of any region or any nation in varied social twists. Religious perspectives in terms of their faith and belief has a greater contribution in the behaviour of people and the nature of any region and nation related to those people. Since people are very much commited to the sentiments attached to religion and the related rituals, this value is always at work in the backdrop of social processes. Various metaphysical convictions are heavily controlling the behaviours of common people. The lot of people loaded with such convictions are not ready at all to listen to the view-points of others.

No doubt, the natural and divine enforcements have always been a greater contribution in the making of the nature of any region, the social crises along with the politico-national movements really make a greater difference in the development of that very region and the other relevant leanings. The national and political intrigues, that are usually being exercised in any particuar region, have an assertive role in making of psyche of any community over there. These national cum political intrigues are usually motivated and backed-up by religious sentiments and cultural claims thereof. History pays witness to it that how various regions across the world have been surprisingly changed to totally different set of living with the sudden and shocking transformation with the thrust of various foreign modes of living. Thus, we must keep in mind that any region or set of regions that are around us have their own history of transitions and tranformations.

Since every region within a nation and every nation across the global scenario is always subject to changes that may be unexpected to her. With these changes that really disturb the mundane mchanism of these respective regions or the nations. This really means a lot for any sensetive observor and an intellectual scholar for not being commited and compartmentalised in their opinion to tag any region with certain ethical as well as ethnic essentialism. This may lead to a conflictual situation. All across the world, various transitions have come into force to enforce varied changes either in terms of population composition or in terms of the behaviour of respective regions cum nations. For instance, to give referential evidence of these changes, there are various shifts that have enforced in different regions. History pays witness to it as per the eventuality therein -- After the focible removal of Saddam Hussain, a Permanent Constitution of Iraq following Iraq war in 2005, thereafter many many political changes occurred there that affected psyche of the inhabitants thereof; Nepal become republic on 28 May, 2008 that has also defrosts the rights of people in genral;Cabinet of Jordan is made elected body on 12th of June, 2011, when king appoints prime minister who inturn becomes free to choose his own cabinet. Myanmar overthrows the elected govt on 1st of Feb, 2021 to give a shocking view of social change therein; Contitution of Kyrgystan introduces parliamentary system where there is historical shift with regard to presidential powers on 11th of April, 2021; In view of Palestine-Israel conflict--- public claims to be Jewish homeland in palestine including the culmination in 1947 of UNO Partition plan for Palestine, and subsequently, in May 2021, Israil-Palestenian crises created war crises in both Gaza and Israel that leads to much human rights violation; and in recent transition, Fall of Kabul to re-establishment of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan on 15 August 2021 as an imminent change in the democratic world. So, it is proved that there are always chances of tansitions along the timeline that entices the social, political, psychological, religious and above all cultural changes along with such trasitions in that particular region. This means that cultural notions of any region or nation are determinant factors for the shaping of their thought-processes and motivating their behaviour. As we know that the cultural making of any society is attributed to the various other fields of knowlegde and numerous walks of life. Culture is a dominant factor even at times more assertive than religion. So, the cultural characteristics of any region or nation has a lasting impact on the making of general population over there.

Moreover, there is a natural factor responsible for the shifting and re-shifting of any region or the nation, for instance, if there occurs any sort of natural disaster like Earth quake, pendamic, drought, famine or any war like situation. Therefore, these all factors are fully taken into consideration while defining the nature, significance and tendencies of any region or nation. Under all such tendencies of power politics, the vallley of Kashmir has been synthesised, analysed, inyerpreted and communicated in various perspectives. This is indicated in the relevance of the following qoute,

On the surface,it is easy to see why Kashmir is typically understood as a territorial dispute between two belligerent neighbors in South Asia.Jammu and Kashmir is a former princely state partitioned since 1949,yet still regarded as a homogeneous entity. India and Pakistan control almost half of its territory (a small portion is occupied by China), with both claiming jurisdiction over the whole. The line of demarcation is called the Line of Control (see map 1). Nevertheless, developments in the Pakistani part (made up of Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas) simply do not figure in the debates on Kashmir,while stories of Kashmiris seeking to break away from the part administered by India distort reality by overlooking the region’s complexities.The political construct of a Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir state pitted against a majoritarian Hindu India—or of an Islamic bond cementing the relationship between Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas with Pakistan—is,at best,misleading. (Demystifying Kashmir, 1-2)

Thus, the nature of any geographical set-up in terms of over-all political, cultural, humantistic and other related values have to be taken into consideration while defining the significance of that very region. The valley of Kashmir has a very complicated history across the world political cum social records. This dead-end knot that is intervoven across the multifaceted complicacies has been consolidated across the decades together through the contemporary times. So, this indicates that the people of Kashmir have been alienatedacors the claims as well as blames of democratic structures in the world of the human rights and actross the institutions of justice.

**CHAPTER 1:**

**HISTORICAL EMERGENCE OF KASHMIR**

Jammu and Kashmir, which is hailed as the crown of India, manifests a diversified geographical location and is located on the northern fringes of Indian subcontinent with rich and enchating topography. On the map of India, the State of Jammu and Kashmir looks like a crown. The region shares its borders with China in the East, Pakistan in the West, Afghanistan in the North and plains of Punjab and Himachal in the South and South-east. The region is rich in natural resources and its beauty enchants everyone with its lush green meadows, forest-clad mountains, crystalline streams and babbling brooks. Its charming beauty, salubrious climate, sacred shrines of different religions and submissive nature of the people have truly made it more fascinating.

The valley of Kashmir is located in the bosom of Himalayas surrounded by the mighty mountains that make it more attractive and give it a glamorous look at an elevation of 6000ft. The landscapes are so attractive that it bestows the valley a unique title i.e *paradise* *on* *Earth*. The valley with its inland scenery is famous all over the world at the height of 1850 meters above the sea level. Besides, the high rocky mountains across the valley are surrounded by a wide range of mountains having altitude 3000-4000 ft from the Northern, eastern and western side. The mountains not only nourishes the beauty of Kashmir but also guard the valley from the outer world as a natural guardian.

The physical topography of Kashmir has strongly affected the history, habits and agricultural setup of Kashmir. The art and culture, natural beauty and panoramic landscapes of the Kashmir are famous all over the world. Besides this of its geography, military, and political set is illustrious in this whole world.

The etymological meaning of the word ‘Kashmir’ is *Desiccated* *land* and in Sanskrit language the word ‘Kashmir’ is compound word *Ka* and *Shimeera* which means *Water* *desiccate*. There are many evidences found about the origin and meaning of the word Kashmir, in the literary treatises entitled Rajtarangi and Nilamatpurana. These literary treatises clarify that in antiquity the valley was a lake called as Satisar. In Hindu mythology, the Satisar is said to be the lake of goddess Sati who is also called as the goddess Durga. The mythology further ascertain that the water from the lake was drained by a Reshi called as Kashyapa. Kashyapa, the son of Mirichi and grandson of Brahma with his religious fervor made a gap in the hills of Baramullah in order to drain the water out from the Satisar lake. In the previous times the present day Baramullah was called as Varaha-mula. When Kashapa got succeeded in draining the water out from the lake, he then asked the Brahmans to settle down in the lake. The Brahmans began to live peacefully in the new dry lake and named their first dwelling as kashapa-pura in order to make the name of the saint immortal and memorable. The treatise by Kalhana witnesses that the village name later was known as present day Kashmir. But many historians are of the view that “kash” basically was one of the ‘cast’ dominant among the inhabitants who were living in the plains. The dominance of the ‘kash’ cast later was called as Kashmir. In spite of above evidences penned in Rajtrangi and Nilamatpurana, there exists many stories about the origin of the word Kashmir. The Greek texts assert that the Kashmir word has been originated from the word Kaspeiria. In Greek literature, Kashmir is written as Kaspeiria while as the Chinese named Kashmir as Shie-in or Kia-Shi-Lo, Tibetans called it Kashart. The geologists further strengthened the concept of Kashapa and found many evidences which have clarified that the valley in the previous times was a lake. Kalhana further adds in his book entitled Rajtarangi that, ‘history of Kashmir started just before the great Mahabharat war’ (15).

. The ancient history of Jammu and Kashmir is known through many different sources such as, literary teats, archeological remains, ancient structures, etc. The valley had been ruled by many rulers and remained under the control of many dynasties like Mauryas, Kushanas, Karkota and so on. The earliest traces of the history of Kashmir are found in the epic entitled Mahabharata which discloses that the valley was under the control of Republican system of Kambojas. Rajapura was the central city of the Kambojas which in the present times is known as Rajouri. Later, after the decline of Kambojas, this region came into the control of Panchala. Pir Panjal mountain range is the true evidence about the existence of Panchalas.

Kalhana who is hailed as the first authentic historian of Kashmir, was a 12th century AD poet- jotted the Rajtarangi during 1148-1150 AD. The book is considered as the earliest source on Kashmir history and had been labeled as a reliable and authentic ‘historical text’ about the region. Nilamata Purana which was believed to be written by some Kashmiri Brahmins between 6th and 7th century A.D. is also earliest known source of Kashmir history. It is a written evidence about the sacred legends regarding the development and origin of the Kashmir valley. But while comparing with Kalhana’s Rajtarangi, it is not considered much reliable treatise about the history of Kashmir. However, Kalhana has used the book as a secondary source to jot the history of Kashmir.

**Dynasties that Change Kashmir**

Whwn we look back into the history of Kashmir, wefind various ruling dynasties have put some peculiar effects on the socio-cultural and political reflections of the region. In the context, Ancient Historical Empires in Jammu and Kashmir have played a major role in the future making of this region. The historical study of Kashmir reveals that the state witnessed the emergence of many empires I terms of their dynasties. The first evidence which we find in the historical pages was Mauryan Empire. According to Kalhana, Kashmir was ruled by the Great Mauryan ruler Ashoka, during 304-232 BC who was a staunch follower of Buddhism. During his rule, the city of Srinagari (now as Pandrethan, old city of Srinagar) was founded. Many viharas, temples, Shrines, Stupas, etc were also built by this Mauryan ruler in order to preach the teachings of Buddha in the valley, Ashoka appointed Majjhantika, a Buddhist missionary to Kashmir and Urvasa. According to Hiuen Tsang about 500 Monks arrived to Kashmir to convert the people towards Buddhism and settled in the valley. Later, with the efforts of these monks and policies adopted by the ruler, the people started to embrace Buddhism. Thus, during his rule, Buddhism was introduced in Kashmir. After the death of Ashoka, his son Jaluka became king who defeated the Malecchas (foreign tribes) and restored peace in the region. He was succeeded by his son Damodar-II who was a Shaivite (i.e believer of Shiva, the supreme God). According to many scholars, the Kashmir region was ruled by Indo-Greek kings for a period of 200 years.

**The Kushan Dynasty**: This dynasty came in existance after the fall off Mauryas when Kashmir was under the control of three Kushana rulers. According to Kalhana’s account of Turushka kings, these three rulers were Hushka (established a town of Hushkapura), Jushka (established a town of Jushkapura) and Kanishka (established a town of Kanishkapura). Kanishka (127-150 CE) built many temples and viharas (monasteries) in Kashmir. According to historians, the 4th Buddhist Council was held by Kanishka at Kundalvana (Harwan) in Kashmir which was headed by Vasumitra. Ashvaghosa and Nagarjuna. In this council, Buddhism was divided into 2 sects, i.e. Mahayana and Hinayana.

It was the period of 4th century when Kashmir became a highest seat of learning for Buddhism as well as Hinduism. Buddhism was spread to Tibet, China and other parts of India by the Kashmiri Buddhist missionaries. The Important Kashmiri Buddhist missionaries were Kumarjiva, Yasa, Gautam Sangha, Dharamputra, Shyama Bhata, etc.

Hepthalites Huns were the people of Central Asian also known as ‘White Huns’ who with their untiring efforts and under the towering leadership of Taramanda conquered Northern and Central India including Kashmir. His son Mihirakula (502-530 CE) was a courageous and notorious Hun invader who wished with his zeal to conquer all of North India but was defeated by Yasodharman in Malwa. After the defeat, Mihirakula moved to Kashmir and conquered Gandhar where he destroyed many shrines and committed atrocities. After his death, the influence of Huns remained naught.

**Gonanda Dynasty**:- Kalhana in his treatise clearly mentions that Gonanda-I was the first important ruler of this dynasty along with Meghavahana, Pravarasena and Pravarasena-II. Pravarasena-II was a anxious ruler who with his wit and power extended the boundaries of the state as far as Saurashtra and subdued many other kings. He is the person who is supposed to be the founder of Pravarasenpura (modern city of Srinagar). Another noteworthy and ablest ruler of this dynasty was Meghavahana who has totally prohibited the hunting of animals and birds in his reign.

**Karkota Dynasty**:- This dynasty which has a strong threshold in the historical pages of Kashmir was founded by Durlabhavardhana (598-634 AD). During the rule of Durlabhavardhana, the famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang visited the Kashmir valley and stayed in the valley for atleast 2 years. Hiuen Tsang was a voracious reader and studied Sanskrit and Hindu scriptures from learned scholars. The greatest ruler of Karkota dynasty was Lalitaditya Muktapida (724-760 AD), who was also entitled as Samudragupta of Kashmir. He with his powerful army conquered many regions in Asia and India like , Badakshan, Iran, Bihar, Gauda (Bengal), Punjab, Kannauj, Tibet, Ladakh, Kalinga (Odisha), South India, Gujarat, Malwa, Marwar and Sindh. He also got succeed to curb the power of Arabs in Sindh. He built Parihaspur (City of Pleasure) as his capital near the shrine of Kheer-Bhawani along with the other world famous Sun temple (Martand), built on Mattan Karewa. The other great ruler or this dynasty was Jayatida (grandson of Lalitapida) who in many respects was similar to Lalitapida and has a great desire for learning. After the death of Jayapida, the foundations of Kakrota dynasty shook down and gradually declined due to weak rulers. The territories who were under the control of this dynasty took advantage of this weakness resisted back and regained their independence.

**Kashmiri Shaivism**:- The history evidences that Kashmiri Shaivism prospered in Kashmir during 800 CE. It is a religious fervor and zeal that believes in basic ritual practices, patterns of meditation, chakrodaya and asanas. Kashmir Shavism teaches that a person must have unity of the soul with Lord Shiva who is the one, indivisible, absolute self and the highest reality. The beginning of Kashmir Shaivism is marked by the treatise entitled ‘Shivasutra’, which is a collection of seventy seven aphorism attributed to the Kashmiri sage known as Vasugupta. According to the literary sources it is evident to mention here that Lord Shiva himself conceded the knowledge of Shaivism to the sage namely Vasugupta.

Medieval History of Jammu and Kashmir marks the entry of many dynamic rulers and dynasties in to the territory of Kashmir . This period marked the entry of many Hindu, Muslim and Mughal rulers who with their power did unpredictable changes in the valley of Kashmir . After the end of the Karkota dynasty (around 855-856 AD) paved their way in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Utpala Dynasty** (855-939 AD):- Avantivarman was the founder of this dynasty who reigned the valley from (855-883 AD). He was the most important ruler of this dynasty who with his wit and able leadership restored peace back in Kashmir from Utter political upheaval and economic turmoil. Rajtarangi witnesses that Avantivarman built many towns and temples and strengthened the administration in Kashmir. He built his capital city at Avantipora and established two famous temples dedicated to Shiva and Vishnu. During his reign, ‘Suya’ was said to be as the best engineers of Kashmir whose architectural design still exist in the form of Suyyapur (present named as Sopore town a tehsil in Baramulla district). After the death of Avantivarman (883 AD), his son Shankarvarman succeeded the throne to strengthen the fabric of his dynasty.

**Brahminic Rule (939-948 AD):-** Brahmins (a religious community of Hindus) became powerful after the downfall of Utpala dynasty and nominated Yashaskara as the king of Kashmir in 939 AD. He was very clever, brave and witty ruler who restored peace in Kashmir and was able to end the long term Civil War enslaved during the Utpala dynasty. Later, Sangramadeva (948 AD) became the king but was mercilessly murdered by the minister Parvagupta, which abruptly ended the Brahminic rule.

**Gupta Rule (948-1003 AD):-** Parvagupta after murdering Sangramdeva became the ruler of Kashmir in 948 AD but ruled only for 2 years. After his death, his son Kshenagupta (950-958 AD) ascended the throne. He married the daughter of Lohara King, Princess Didda who later became the ablest ruler of Gupta Dynasty. She has a strong tendency towards architecture and built many temples, monasteries in the state and provided an able administration. She ascended the throne in 980 AD after the death of her husband. She was an able ruler who firmly ruled the Kashmir valley. Before her death she handed the kingdom of Kashmir to the Lohara ruler Sangram Raj, in 1003 AD. Mahmud Ghaznavi the Afghan ruler waged many wars against her but could not succeed in his mission.

**Lohara Dynasty (1003-117 AD):-** This dynasty was situated at Lohran and was founded by Sangram Raj (1003-28 AD). Another ruler of this dynasty was Harsha (1089-1101 AD) who was a great patron of art and literature. He and his son, Bhoja were strong rulers who had strong and powerful administration but were treacherously killed by their Generals Uchchala and Sussala and the throne was passed into their hands. Jaisimha (1128-55 AD) is said to be the last great ruler of this dynasty and during his period Kalhana was able to complete his historical treatise entitled Rajatarangini (1148-50AD). Jaisinha used all his tactics and firmly ruled for 27 years and established peace in Kashmir. Vanitadeva was the last ruler of this dynasty who died in 1171 AD. After his death there was political unrest, chaos and confusion in the valley.

**Deva Dynasty (1171-1339 AD):-** The Deva dynasty ruled over Kashmir from 1171 to 1371 AD. under the towering kingship of Sangramdev and Sahdev. During the rule of Sahdev (1301-1320 AD), Kashmir has to face many derogatory wars by Tratar Chief (Mongol), Dulucha, who were coming from Central Asia and were responsible for many types of misfortunes, torments and atrocities in Kashmir. Sehdev could not bear these derogatory attacks and got compelled to leave the country . On the other hand Rinchan (1320-23 AD), a Ladakhi prince, got succeded to seize the throne and in turn willingly was reverted to Islam. Thus he became the first Muslim conquer of Kashmir and changed his name from Rinchen to Sultan Sadruddin. He later died as a muslim in 1323 AD. Soon after his death, his Queen Kota Rani married the Deva ruler Udayanadeva. Kota Rani ruled the dynasty bravely and with courage but due to an uprising against her by Shah Mir (Minister of Rinchan) the dynasty came to an end in 1339 AD and paved the way for the establishment of Shah Mir dynasty in Kashmir.

**Shah Mir Dynasty (1339-1555 AD):-** Shah Mir who became ruler of Kashmir (1339-1342 AD) assumed the title ‘Sultan Shams-ud-din is hailed as the founder of the dynasty. During his reign and regim Islam got flourish in every nook and corner of Kashmir. Sultan Shihab-ud-din was a great and energetic ruler who along with his army led many successful campaigns and was able to conquere many regions like Sindh, Kabul, Ghazni, Kandhar, Pakhali, Swat, Multan, Badakhshan, Dardistan, Gilgit, Balochistan and Ladakh. Shah Mir though having strong army faced an invasion of the ruler of Kashgar (Central Asia) as was defeated which resulted the loss of Ladakh and Baltistan. Sultan of Kashmir led many expeditions to flourish his empire and sent his army towards Delhi in order to conquer Kangra. He was ultimately successful in his mission but has to face the strong army of Ferozshah Tughlaq on the banks of Sutlej. Later, with the mutual understanding of both the kings, it was decided that all the territory from Sirhind to Kashmir was part of Kashmir. Sultan Shihab-ud-din was an able administrator who founded Shihab-ud-din Pora (now Shadipur) and due to his genriousity and braveness is hailed as the Lalitaditya of Medieval Kashmir.

**Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin:-** He took the reign of Kashmir from 1420-1470 AD and was a great Muslim ruler. He with the help of his huge army was able to re-conquer Punjab, Western Tibet, Ladakh, Balti region, Kulu and Ohind (Hazara) regions. He had a strong and cordial bonding with his neighboring rulers of Sindh, Bengal, Tibet, Gujarat, Malwa Macca, Jilan, Egypt, Gwalior, and Delhi. Jonaraja was a Kashmiri historian and poet who along with his disciple Srivara Pandita wrote Dvitiya Rajatarangini and Jaina or Tritiya Rajatarangini respectively during his period. Zain-ul-Abiding had a secularistic mind and opened a decent Kitchen for Hindu pilgrims at Rainawari which nowadays is known as Jogi Lanker (Srinagar). He has founded the towns of Zainapur, Zainakut and Zainagir and built the first wooden bridge located in Srinagar popularly known as ‘Zainakadal’. The dynasty during the reign of Zain-Ul-Abidin began to flourish with leaps and bounds but started to decline after the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in the year (1470 AD). The last ruler Habib-Shah (1555 AD) was overthrow by his own commander Ghazi Chak and established the new dynasty known as Chak Dynasty.

**Chak Dynasty (1555-1586 AD):-** This dynasty got its foundation by Mohammad Ghazi Shah Chak in 1555 AD. He entered in to Kashmir during the reign of Sahdev and was the scion of Lankar Chak. Chak rulers many a times prevented themselves by the attacks of Mughal rulers like Babur and Humayun to save Kashmir. Yusuf Shah Chak annex the throne after the death of Ali Shah Chak from 1579 to 1586 AD. He was invited to Delhi for talks with Akbar but was imprisoned by Akber in Bihar where he at last died. After the death of Yousuf Shan, his son Yaqub Shah Chak became the ruler of Kashmir. He tried his best to resist the Mughal army attacks but was defeated by the army, under the leadership of Qasim Khan, at Haripura. Thus, this defeat in 1587 AD marks the start of Mughal Rule in Kashmir.

Mughal Rule in Jammu and Kashmir:- The Mughal Emperor Akbar established the foundation of Mughal rule in Kashmir in 1586 AD. During the reign of Akbar there were many policies introduced in the administrative set up of Kashmir. Revenue settlement of the valley was emancipated by Raja Todermal, the great Finance and Revenue Minister in the administration of Akbar. In 1590 AD, Akbar built the Hari Parbat Fort in Srinagar and established a new town near it called as Nagar-Magar.

Jahangir:- Soon after Akbar, Kashmir came under the control of Jahangir in 1605 AD. He was an art lover who visited the Kashmir valley 13 times in his carrier. He has worked much more to decorate Kashmir and had built many famous gardens in Kashmir, like. Nishat Bagh, Shalimar Bagh on the banks of Dal lake. He Achabal and Verinag gardens located in Anantnag ddistrict of Kashmir are also built by Jahangir in order to decorate the landscapes of Kashmir valley.

Shahjahan: Kashmir came into the hands of the art lover Shahjahan in 1628 AD who too tried his best to beautify scenery of Kashmir and Chashme Shahi garden through his Governor Ali Mardan Khan in 1632 AD. shahjahan also renovated some of the portions of Shalimar garden and Verinag Garden

**Aurangzeb:- Kashmir came under the rule of Aurangzeb, in 1658 AD**. His reign was a period of revolts, anarchy and disorder in the country. The same happened in Kashmir where Mughal Governors began to loot people and many people started a policy of religious intolerance and fanaticism. According to Francis Bernier, a French traveller, who accompanied the Emperor during his journey, Aurangzeb visited Kashmir only once in 1665 AD. The Mughal rulers after Aurangzeb were incapable and thus, lost their huge empire along with Kashmir.

Modern period of Jammu and Kashmir was the time when all three regions i.e. Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh were united and became a complete Princely State namely, the state of Jammu and Kashmir. After the end of Mughal rule in Jammu and Kashmir in Medieval period, the modern period of Jammu and Kashmir proved to be a great transition period for the state. The state remained in hands of the Afghan rulers, Sikh rulers, Dogra rulers and finally became a part of Indian Union through the Instrument of Accession.

Afghan/Pathan Rule in Kashmir During the reign of later Mughals i.e. after Aurangzeb, Kashmir faced great Chaos. The later Mughals ruled Kashmir through 14 Governors who looted and plundered people and showed religious intolerance. Due to this misrule, two Kashmiri noblemen, Miri Muquim Kant and Khwaja Zahir Didmari, invited Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani of Kabul (Commander of Nadir Shah), who was at Lahore in 1752 AD to capture Kashmir. He agreed and sent an Afghan army to occupy Kashmir. With the defeat of Mughal Governors, Afghan rule was established in the state in 1752 AD till 1819 AD. The 67 years of Afghan rule is known as the Darkest Period in the history of Jammu and Kashmir. The rulers and subedars (Governors) showed cruelty towards its people. The first Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Abdullah Khan Aqasi started a reign of terror. People began to be looted by Afghan soldiers, they even were not safe in their houses. Even during this dark period, a Hindu Governor Raja Sukh Jivan was able to restore peace in Kashmir but only for sometime (1754-1762 AD) as he was defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani. After the death of Abdali (1772 AD) Amirs (subedars) were changed rapidly. In 67 years of Afghan rule, 28 subedars were changed. This uncertain dismissal made the situation even worse as the subedars became ruthless looted people mercilessly. Thus, the Pathan rule in Kashmir is remembered only for its cruel rulers.

Due to terror of Afghan rule, two Kashmiri, Pandit Birbal Dhar and his son Pandit Rajakak Dhar, went to Lahore and requested Maharaja Ranjit Singh to conquer Kashmir. Thus, Maharaja sent 30000 Sikh soldiers in 1819 AD to conquer Kashmir.

**Sikh Rule in Kashmir** With the defeat of Afghan rulers, the state became a part of Sikh empire from 1819 to 1846 AD. The Sikh ruled Kashmir for only 27 years through its ten Governors. The first Sikh Governor of Kashmir was Diwan Moti Ram. The Sikh rulers were too far from Kashmir as they were seated at Lahore so they paid very little attention towards Kashmir. Natural calamities i.e. premature snowfall famine and neglect of the rulers made the condition even worse. During this period, two British officials of the East India Company visited Kashmir i.e. Mr William Moorcroft (1822 AD) and Mr Reynell Taylor (1846 AD). They found the condition of Kashmir and its people very miserable. Poverty and starvation were everywhere in the state, villages were half deserted and the remaining people were fighting with severe illnesses. After the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 A D Punjab faced mutiny of Sikh Army and a period of confusion started. During first Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846 AD), Lahore was captured by the East India Company. After the downfall of Sikh empire in Punjab in 1846 the position of governors in Kashmir also weakened. The last Sikh Governor of Kashmir was Sheikh Imam-ud-din. Sikh Army Chief Gulab Singh Dogra decided to annex Kashmir thus starting a new rule in the valley.

Dogra rule was marked by a strong regional bias against Kashmiris and religious discrimination against Muslims. Kashmiris were subjugated and denied the right to possess arms. The lot of Muslims was even worse: they were excluded from state services,the Muslim peasantry and industrial workers were heavily taxed,and trade,business,and banking were monopolized by Punjabis and Dogras.Without access to modern education,Muslims sank into a deep distrust of rule under the Hindu Dogras. (Demystifying Kashmir, 14)

In Dogra Rule of Kashmir, Sikh Army Chief Gulab Singh (title given of Raja by Maharaja Ranjit Singh) joined hands with the British Government to annex Kashmir. The Treaty of Amritsar motoriously known as ‘Sale of Kashmir’ was signed between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on 16th March, 1846 AD. According to this treaty, Kashmir was sold to Maharaja Gulab Singh for ` 75 lakh and provided independent possession to him and his male heirs. He got all the hilly areas, Eastward of Indus river and Westward of the Ravi river, including Chamba. But still Maharaja was bound to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government and was supposed to pay a token tribute annually and join the British troops whenever employed. After defeating the last Sikh Governor of Kashmir who still was unwilling to surrender the province, Maharaja Gulab Singh finally acquired the possession on Kashmir on 9th November, 1846 AD. He politically united the three regions i.e. Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh and established a princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. He remained in power till 1857 AD and established a sound system of administration and once again established peace in the region.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh ascended the throne in 1857 AD and remained on the seat till 1885 AD. He was the son of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Both these Maharajas built the Raghunath temple complex at Jammu. This temple complex became the centre of Sanskrit teachings for Brahmin students. During his reign, the Trans-Himalayan territories of Gilgit, Astore, Hunza-Nagar were annexed and became a part of Jammu and Kashmir. He also built Ranbireshvaram temple, the biggest Shiva temple in North India, and other temples at Jammu and Utter Behani. Dharmartha Trust was also established by him to look after these temples. He established a Research and Translation Bureau called ‘Daarul Tarjunah’, a great Pathshala and Modern schools in the state. He also started the work on the Banihal-cart road (now Jammu-Srinagar Highway).

Maharaja Pratap Singh He ascended the throne in 1885AD. He was the son of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. During his reign a British resident was appointed to advise Maharaja on important matters. He built Jhelum valley road and completed Banihal cart road. He constructed a bridge on the Tawi river and Jammu was linked with a railway line to Sialkot. He also dug two canals namely Ranbir canal and Pratap canal in the state. During his reign, the state got its first Hydro-electric project at Mohra about 22.5 km from Baramulla towards Uri. For the cities of Jammu and Srinagar, Municipal committees were also formed.

Maharaja Hari Singh He ascended the throne in 1925 AD. He was the nephew of Maharaja Pratap Singh. He did many reforms in the state like made primary education compulsory, introduced laws prohibiting child marriage and opened places of worship for the low castes. He set up the first legislature of Jammu and Kashmir in 1934 under the Constitution Act of 1934 AD. This legislature consisted of the Council comprising of the Prime Minister and Ministers appointed by him and the Assembly comprising of 75 members and known as ‘Praja Sabha’.

Emergence of Jammu and Kashmir as an State of Indian Union India gained independence from British rule and divided into two independent countries, namely, India and Pakistan in 1947.

Before 1846, 3 Kashmir was a part of the Sikh empire. Kashmir was sold to Maharaja Gulab Singh in that year under the Treaty of Amritsar16. Maharaja Gulab Singh ruled Kashmir in a ruthless way. Oppressed people of Kashmir resisted against the cruel ruler Maharaja Hari Singh as they had been in the past. During partition of the sub continent, states were given the choice to accede to either India or Pakistan or to remain independent as per the Indian independence Act of 1947. The Maharaja Hari Singh was indolent and quixotic. He did not possess the wisdom of take timely decisions which were constantly involved Kashmir in the present tangle. Those who fail to feel the pulse of time and take the right decision on the crucial turning points of history are punished by history. As a result, Kashmir has become a bone of contention between India and Pakistan since 1947 .

In August 1947, the British left the Indian subcontinent after partitioning the Indian subcontinent into two independent nation states, India and Pakistan on religious and communal lines. There were more than 56218 princely states in British Indian Empire, which were ruled by Maharajas, Nawabs, and Rajas under the sovereignty of the British crown. On the lapse of British paramountancy, these rulers were legally free to decide whether to join either of the two new states or to remain independent, according to Indian Independence Act 1947 . However this legal choice of independence was essentially a hypothetical one as the religious composition of the subjects and geographical location of the princely states dictated the merger with the newly emerged successor’s nation states of India and Pakistan. No princely state could become independent. The Maharaja Hari Singh, the Hindu ruler of the Jammu and Kashmir state, however was anxious for Independence. Neither India nor Pakistan was ready to accept an independent Jammu and Kashmir. They kept on pressing the Maharaja to accede to either of the new states. Pakistan claimed this territory as 77% of Maharajas subjects were Muslims while as India wanted the Muslim majority of Kashmir as an emblem of her secularism. 4 On 12th August, 1947 meanwhile, the Maharaja’s regime had concluded a so called “standstill agreement” with India and Pakistan, under this agreement the Pakistan government assumed charge of Jammu and Kashmir’s post and telegraph system and undertook to supply the state with food stuffs and other essential commodities20. The Pakistan signed the agreement on 15th August 1947, but India asked the state to send representatives to Delhi for negotiations21, but no standstill agreement was ever signed. As the Maharaja continued to dither, violence brooks in the Jammu and Poonch where sections of local Muslims wanted to merge with Pakistan. There was a similar revolt in the northern hill territory of Gilgit. In violating the standstill agreement, Pakistan stopped the passage of food and other essential commodities to Jammu and Kashmir through her territory. Therefore the standstill agreements which the state was trying simultaneously to conclude with the two countries were interrupted22 . The lull in Kashmir was broken in the spring of 1947 when an uprising against the Maharaja broke out in Poonch, an area in north-western Jammu sandwiched between the Kashmir valley to the east and Rawalpindi division of north-western Punjab to the west. Poonch had been an autonomous principality within the state of Jammu and Kashmir and ruled by its own raja until World War II, when the local ruler was disposed by the Dogra kingship. The Maharaja’s administration then started levying punitive taxes on Poonch’s Muslim peasantry. The local revolt began in protest against this taxation policy, and the regimes of Sikh and Dogra troops reacted with severe reprisals against the population. This was a grave error; Poonch along with neighbouring west Punjab and NWFP districts was a prime recruiting ground for soldiers of imperial Britain’s army. Indeed, of a total of 71,667 men from Jammu and Kashmir who had served in British forces during World War II, 60,402 were Poonch Muslims. The area was thus full of recently demobilized soldiers, who responded to the reprisals by evacuating their families to west Punjab areas beyond the boundaries of the princely state, then returning to confront the regimes forces. The revolt was removed in the aftermath of partition in August 1947, this time with a definite pro Pakistan character. By early October the rebels had gained control of almost the 5 entire Poonch district except the town of Poonch, garrisoned by a government forces flush with the success in the Poonch fighting, the pro Pakistan chieftains of western Jammu districts – Muzaffarabad, Poonch, Mirpur – proclaimed the formation of a provincial Azad Jammu and Kashmir government in Rawalpindi Pakistan on 3rd October 194723 . Khwaja Ghulam Nabi Gilkar under the assumed name Mr. Anwar issued a proclamation in the name of the provisional government in Muzaffarabad. However, this government quickly fizzled out with the arrest of Anwar in Srinagar. On 24th October, a second provisional government of Azad Kashmir was established at Palandri under the leadership of Sardar Ibrahim24 . On 22nd October 1947 thousands of Pashtun tribesmen, began an offensive into Jammu and Kashmir from the sprawling Hazara district of NWFP, located North and North West of the Princely state. The incursion showed clear signs of organization and planning, however, although many of the raiders were motivated by the prospect of loot and rape, they were led by experienced military leaders, after taking the town of Muzaffarabad on the Pakistan Jammu and Kashmir border, the raiders headed straight for the heart of Kashmir valley. Meeting almost no resistance from the Maharaja’s forces as they rapidly captured the town of Baramulla, just 20 miles North West of Srinagar. On October 24th 1947, the Maharaja’s administration sent an urgent request to New Delhi for military assistance to repulse the raiders25 After a quick assessment of the crises, the top Indian leaders were made to oblige, however Nehru, Patel and others were advised by Lord Mountbatten, governor general of the Indian dominion not to send in troops without first securing the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. Accordingly the beleaguered Maharaja signed the formal “instrument of accession” to India-ceding to federal government as per normal practice, jurisdiction over defence, foreign affairs, and communications – and handed it over to an emissary of the Indian government in Jammu city, who flew back to Delhi with all important documents. The following day 27th October, Mountbatten replied to the Maharaja accepting accession, but noted that once law and order had been restored and the invader expelled the accession should be ratified by “a reference of people”. On the 6 morning of 27th October the first Indian airborne units landed at Srinagar airport and were warmly greeted by top National Conference leaders. On hearing the India’s intervention, Ali Mohammad Jinnah immediately asked the British general commanding the Pakistani army to deploy regular Pakistani troops in Kashmir, only to be told by the generals counsel that since the territory was now legally and constitutionally part of India, such a deployment would amount to a declaration of war on India, inviting a border India – Pakistan war26 .

The Security Council deliberations on Kashmir in early 1948 revolved around four interrelated issues: the control of Kashmir’s administration during the plebiscite (Pakistan wanted this in UN hands, whereas India insisted that Sheikh Abdullah remain in charge);the nature and pace of the withdrawal of Indian and Azad Kashmir forces; India’s desire to label Pakistan an aggressor; and Pakistan’s wish to condemn the overall treatment it received from India. Noel-Baker succeeded in securing Western support for the Pakistani position on three of these issues: Pakistan would not have to take effective action to stop the invaders into Kashmir until a formula was found to resolve the dispute that was acceptable to Pakistan, the Abdullah government would have to be replaced by an “impartial”interim administration,and the United Nations should not merely observe the plebiscite but actually hold it under UN authority. (Demystifying Kashmir, 1-2).

In January 1948 India appealed to Security Council of the United Nations to restore peace in Kashmir. On 20th January 1948, the UN Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was constituted27. In April 1948 the UN adopted the first plebiscite resolution. This resolution called upon Pakistan, “to withdraw all its armed personals including the tribesmen from the territory of Jammu and Kashmir” it asked India, “to reduce its armed forces to the level needed to maintain minimum law and order” and to hold a plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan. The plebiscite administration was to be nominated by the UN Secretary General28 . In August 1948 UNCIP adopted a resolution calling on Indian and Pakistan to reach a ceasefire agreement in Kashmir by which, “the future status of state Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of people.” The ceasefire finally came into effect on 1st January 1949, and rended the state into two parts, one is administered by India by the virtue of Instrument of Accession and other occupied and administered by Pakistan29. UNCIP adopted another resolution on 5th January 1949 announcing that, “the Secretary General of the United Nations will in agreement with the commission nominated a plebiscite administrator who shall be a person of high international standing”30. That the plebiscite was never held is regarded by Pakistani and pro Pakistani as well as pre independence people in Jammu and Kashmir as proof of Indian perfidy. The typical Indian rejoinder is that since Pakistani forces never vacated the areas of Jammu and Kashmir under their control, the first condition specified by the United Nations for holding the plebiscite was not fulfilled and the blame lies with Pakistan. India and Pakistan establish their political control over the territories of 7 Jammu and Kashmir under their respective control. Thus the two separate political territories were created on the disputed territory, “government of Jammu and Kashmir on Indian side” and “government of Azad Kashmir on the Pakistani side”. This created a havoc in the unnarural divide of this territory.

The present study is related to Kashmir valley of Indian administrative Jammu and Kashmir. The book is an attempt to highlight the Socio- Economic and Political aspects of Kashmir. When the Indian administration in Kashmir was taken over by Indians, lot of changes happened. To cherish this ambition specific attention was paid by the Indian government in general and states in particular for the upliftment of the people of Kashmir. The below qoute from,  *The Human Rights Crisis in Kashmir a Pattern of Impunity*, is indicative of this hiostorical incident as,

The origins of the conflict in Kashmir lie in the subcontinent's partition in 1947 which created the independent states of India and Pakistan. As a result of the partition, hundreds of nominally independent "princely states"20 were absorbed into the two new nations. However, Kashmir's ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, refused to accede to either nation, apparently in the hope that the state might be permitted to remain independent. An invasion by Pakistani tribesmen 21 in August and September 1947 and an uprising among Kashmiri Muslims in the state's western regions ultimately compelled the maharaja to seek the assistance of Prime Minister Nehru of India, who agreed to send troops only if Kashmir formally acceded to India. On October 27, 1947, the maharaja agreed to Kashmir's accession to India, on the condition that Kashmir be permitted to retain its own constitution.22 Indian troops succeeded in halting the Pakistani forces, driving them back to the western third of the state, which then acceded to Pakistan as "Azad" (free) Kashmir. (20)

Therefore, the above inforamtion is evident of the fact that there had been various governing periods acorss the prvinces of Jammu and Kashmir. This changed the mentality of the subjects by undergoing the repressions cum subjugation. So, with the passage of time, these Dynasties have the impressionable influences on the psyches of Kashmirisin the vatoius perspectives. These changes that has been undergoing in such historical transitions across the cultural as well as scoial structures of Kashmir are proved very disasterous for the thinking tendemcies of the those people in their future..

**CHAPTER 2:**

**GEO-POLITICAL ARENA OF KASHMIR**

Across the nuances of political complicacies and transitions that have been there with the rise and fall of varoius dynasties. In this way the situaion in this province has the volcanic consequences. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is having its own geopolitical importance across the global arena. Since with one pre-suppositions that the way this region has been fixed in the three nuclear powers and has the very tough chanlllege to survive as an independent state thereof. This is very much evident in the contemporary situation where all the three countries have their terms of proxy wars strategies with regard to the volatile situation that has surfaced in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In this regard, various writers have expressed their minds in the fields of literature and politics with regard to Kashmir.

Once Jammu and Kashmir joined the Union of India in October 1947, Congress’s perspective on the state changed. Its focus shifted from geographic consolidation to shaping the political character of the Indian state,with Nehru as the principal architect. The below mentioned quote indicate to the conflict as, “Three states, India, Pakistan, and China, control parts of Kashmir, which despite a large Muslim majority is host to important Hindu and Buddhist minorities and seven major language families (The Kashmir Conflict, 3.” The inclusion of Kashmir was central to Nehru’s battle to realize his modernist notion of a secular and plural India. This vision was challenged on two fronts: within by Hindu nationalism,and without by Pakistan’s two-nation theory, both a form of religious nationalism. In this context, there happens varioius changes in the making and breaking of empires and kingdoms, for instances,

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was the **creation in the first half of the 19th century of a Dogra** (hill Rajputs who were to be found both in Jammu and the neighbouring Kangra District) chieftain, Gulab Singh, who had won the favour of Ranjit Singh, the builder of the great Sikh Empire in the Punjab with its capital at Lahore. (KASHMIR A DISPUTED LEGACY 7)

This confirms that Gulab Singh has explored the state of Jammu as the base to move to the other parts of the province like Ladakh and the adjacent parts of Baltistan and Kashmir thereafter.

No doubt, there had been the instrument of accession that has made the state of Jammu and Kashmir bound to the governing structures of India; but the Muslim majority nation of Pakistan at the time of partition has the eye on the province of Jammu and Kashmir especially on the Muslim majority province of Kashmir. So, this game of power structures that has been played either overtly or covertly with regard to the possession of the governance of State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The reality, however, has been something very different. India and Pakistan since the very moment of their birth have grown ever further apart; and their policies both domestic and international have evolved in increasingly divergent ways. One underlying reason for this, perhaps, indeed, the most important, is undoubtedly to be found in the consequences of the dispute over possession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir' (Kashmir A Disputed Leagacy 1).

So, there is always a power game behind the national policies where nations fight each other for the power gains by playing conspiracies.

Since the state has the similar situation as of the other princely states across the the undivided India, but unlikely to the most of them, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been uniquly existed between the vulnerable location of India and Pakistan border. This has really worsened the situation time after time. Besides, the multiple existent population from the various lingusitic, political, religious, and other differences may be of the ideological tendencies thereby.

The North-West Frontier Province, with its strong Congress lobby, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, opposed partition and favoured India. The decision was therefore put to the people in a referendum. (The Congress Party boycotted the referendum since the option of an independent ‘Pashtunistan’ was not included, and the Muslim League won an overwhelming majority.) A referendum in the state of Jammu and Kashmir would, says Morris-Jones, have been ‘a carefully considered option – if only the States problem had been where it should have been in June, high on the Mountbatten agenda’ – which it was not. By the time Mountbatten put forward the idea of a reference to the people in October, it was too late. ‘He was no longer Viceroy and so no longer in a position to see it through as an integral part of the partition operation.’9 (Kashmir in Conflict, 28).

This is also misappropriation of the politically intriguing plan of partition process where other issues related to cummunal disharmony and religious controversies are at play. This intesifies social imbalances on the both sides of the country.

This has divided the general public that in turn divided the existing politicians on their thoughts and opinion. Bakhshi was considerd the pivotal enemy to the cause of state liberties and agent of Indian secret policies. While facing the theft of holy relic, there emerged the state of emergency in terms of law and order problem. This incident has enforced the communal disharmony and Muslims suspected of the Indian government along with the Hindu community. But ultimate people felt a sort of consensus on the collective effort to search for the Holy Relic. This social disturbance on the basis of religious sentiment had also made possible some developments in the form of Awami Action Committee with the intension to renew the Muslim consciousness, angry people ove the sacred theft demanded the release of Sheikh Abdullah. After the release of Sheikh, it is in the first week of May, 1964, he was called by Nehru for talks.Nehru even suggested him to act like a medial party between India and Pakistan in order to reach a final resolution to the problem of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. With this internsion, Sheikh went to Pakistan to see president Ayoun Khan and on the way he heard the sad news of Nehru’s death. This had given a ill-omen delay to the talks. Later, the same talks with Lal Bahadur Shastri had given no solid results. This led to the ill- ties between the state and the Indian government. Under such circumstances, the government planned to send off Sheikh to the holy pilgrimage and then arrested the main members of the Plebiscite Front in the meantime. On this news, Sheikh felt sad and even he did not condemn the Pakistan-China ties that really angered India that then cancelled the passpot of Sheikh and directed him to return.

The Pakistani intelligence had given Sheikh a platform to change his stand on the notions of accession to India. In June 1970, Sheikh in Srinagar while delibrating on the issue of plebicite has clarified that rather than to go with the accession to India, it was better to either have independence or to become a part of Pakistan. Then on the hopelessness immeditely after the defeeat of Pakistan in the 1971 war, Abdullah with the support of Mirza Afzal Beigh changed the scenario being the plebiscite to reach a consensus on the basis of Abdullah-Indira 1975 accord that has almost ended the Plebiscite Front. Under the accord, the most important link of the state with India on the basis of 370 of Indian constitution. Though Sheikh was given the offer to get merged with congress by Indira but this was rejected by him.

The NC won the elections in 1977 and Sheikh become the chief minister and the series of nepotism and corruption and the the majority of Abdullah family got the higher ranks in the governing structures. After the death of Sheikh Abdulla., immediately Farooq Abdullah was sworn in as the new chief minister who consolidated the demand for autonomy like hisfather. His casual behaviour and no interest in the enterprise of independence for the state. Though he has been given various offers by the Congress party but Farooq wanted to make the party stand by its own. He wanted to have elections and consequenly, in June 1983 Congress and N.C. contested on all 75 seats as the former won 24 and latter won 48 seats. Both the right wing BJP AND Jamat-I – Islami failed to gain any seat. The two wining parties failed to make any consensus as there was no agreement between autonomy and complete integration with India. Following the agreement 1986 between Farooq and Rajive, the president’s rule came to end and Farooq was mad chief minister.

The natural limitations of the province of Kashmir in tems of rivers and mountains has in a way compartmentalised the valley that has been sufacing as the greater source of econmy both for India and Pakistan. The valley also acts a smooth way of communication with the rest of the world at that time. If on the one side the river Jhelum acts as the main source of commuication to Kahmir and on the other side the valley of the upper Indus gave the way the tough spots of Gilgit of that times.

The line of the beds of the rivers which created links between tway he western part of the Punjab and Kashmir also made communications between the eastern part of the Punjab and Kashmir extremely difficult. The only road within the State of Jammu and Kashmir, for example, which linked Jammu (the winter capital of the State) with Srinagar (the summer capital) involved the crossing of the Pir Panjal range by means of the Banihal Pass, over 9,000 feet high and snowboi-nd in winter.13 The easiest route between Jammu and Srinagar lay through the West (Pakistani) Punjab by way of Sialkot and Rawalpindi. At the moment of Partition in 1947 there existed but one road from India to Jammu, by way of Pathankot; and this was then of the poorest quality and much of it unsurfaced. The only railway in the State in 1947 was a short branch line (opened in 1890) linking Sialkot in the Punjab with Jammu City. It was to be severed by the process of Partition in the Punjab which put Sialkot on the Pakistani side. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 11)

This unjust divide has with regard to the process of partion has made the social interaction more complicated.

The main source of dispute is the econmic incentives that lie deep in the natural resources of the State. This characteristic of the region has made it geo-politically more determinant and vulnerable across the south Asian powers. The main attraction is from the source of rivers and other economic sources.

Kashmir was also important to Pakistan’s agricultural economy. Four of the ﬁve rivers in West Pakistan (the Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, and Ravi) originated in and across the mountain reaches of Jammu and Kashmir,and the ﬁfth (Satluj and Beas combined) ﬂowed through Punjab, bordering Jammu and Kashmir on its southern flank. Rivers running into West Punjab, which depended on irrigation for its prosperity, also had their headwaters in Kashmir. (Demystifying Kashmir, 22-23).

This dependency of one region on the other is very much political in the comtemporary times and becomes the cause of interstate and international conflicts.

With the passage of time, youth from the state of Jammu and Kashmir has gone to the different states of India and gained compentence and qualifies degrees in the various fields of knowledge. This made them more conscious in the fields of politics and the ideas related to human and natural rights in their society.

During the 1920s, in part a consequence of the development of Muslim associations interested in educational reform, a number of young Kashmiri Muslims were able to leave the State to study in institutions of higher learning in British India such as the University of the Punjab and the Aligarh Muslim ~niversit~."~ the beginning of the 1936s the first Kashmiri graduates from Aligarh had returned to their native State, and to Srinagar in particular, where they rapidly assumed of dominant place in local political activity in collaboration, and also in competition, with the old Muslim leadership which was headed by the two Mirwaiz. Among the young graduates who came back to the Vale about this time were Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg, and G.M. Sadiq, men who in their various ways would dominate the internal politics of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for many decades. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy, 88-89)

The environs of the such autocratic attitude of the existing rulers and the maharajas has been rebelled by the various agencies in the society, particularly by the Islamic backed organisations and genrally by the other communities like Pandits and Sikhs. They, at that time, had actively participated in the dissent against the tyranny irrespective of their religion and and community with the tast of secularism. This has happened in the regions of Jammu, Poonch, Ladakh, Baltistan and other adjacent areas.

The instrument of accesssion is very much relevant here that it should have been an intrument of development for the detached lot of people that has been left over in the earlier clutches of tyranny and injustices. The Muslim population of the state has not been given the humane and sympathetic attention for the upliftment in the social,economic, political, and intellectual fields. This apparent and crude form of discrimination has created a gulf of trust deficit between the governing and the governed.

In the Hindu-Muslim paradigm usually applied to the Kashmir dispute, India’s secular credentials are at stake on one side and Pakistan’s founding two-nation principle on the other. Thus if India must prevail as a secular entity,what is the point of Pakistan’s existence? Alternatively,if the two-nation principle holds, how should India engage with its Muslim population, which more than ﬁfty years after partition is approximately the same as that of post1971 Pakistan. In other words, if conceived in communal terms, the dispute becomes a zero-sum game.This is not to say that ideological (religious),economic, military, and strategic factors played little or no role in the Kashmir conﬂict.Rather,political factors were of primary importance. (Demystifying Kashmir, 4)

This means that Kashmir problrm needs a political solution taking the socio human aspect into consideration.

The main cause of the trust deficit lies in the blank space that was their between the Maharaja of that time and the respected subjects. This has been to the extreme that even at the time of making such a historically pivotal decision of going with India, the then Maharaja did not mind to get the feedback from his ignorant subjects.

In this respect Jammu and Kashmir was no exception. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh's decision in October 1947 to join India was not referred to his subjects at the time; and subsequently it has never been ratified as such by a free and fair popular vote, though elaborate arguments have been advanced by the Indian side in the Indo-Pakistani Kashmir dispute in an attempt to demonstrate that other political processes within the State both before and since that date are an adequate substitute for a vote of this kind. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 83)

Theses events that widens the gulf between the governer and governed has leashed out many untrustworthy leaning of the genral public. This autocratic approach of any govening body leads to the weakening of the governance as it supresses the genral will of the population vis as via their representation in the decision making events.

Traditionally, Azad Kashmiris have been sympathetic to the Kashmiris of the valley where many still have relatives. A ‘liberation cell’ has been operating in Muzaffarabad since , which retains close links both with the AJK government in Muzaffarabad and Islamabad. Its representatives guide foreigners through the political issues at stake as well as the refugee camps which have been set up to accommodate those who ﬂed from the border towns of Kupwara, Handwara and Baramula in the early years of the insurgency. ‘We eat and are clothed,’ said one refugee from Ambore camp outside Muzaffarabad, ‘but everything gets distasteful when we remember our brothers and sisters in occupied Kashmir.’91 ‘We notice the need for women to have psychiatric help,’ said Nayyar Malik, who has worked as a voluntary social worker in the camps. ‘They have seen such terrible things and they need to talk.

The historical wrong that has initially been done by the then governor Mountbatten who has really suppreseec the natural rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It is the British governace of that time that should have thought about the dark destiny of the ignorant people.

After the end of British rule in 1947, when the dominions of Pakistan and India came into being, the Kashmir region was forced to choose between joining one of the two dominions. Under the Mountbatten plan, independence was not an option. The Partition had been on religious lines, according to which Kashmir as a Muslimmajority state would go with Pakistan. 3 Meanwhile the Dogra ruler signed a ‘standstill agreement’ with Pakistan to ensure that essential services, such as trade, travel and communication remained uninterrupted. Pakistan saw this as a forerunner to the accession and its indisputable claim to the region. The Indian leaders had started their diplomacy to acquire Kashmir long before 1947. 4 The majority of Kashmiris at that time preferred to stay independent and not join either of the two countries. (A Desolation Called Peace,8)

This means Britishers have not given the people of Jammu and Kashmir any democraric choice but to choose between the two fresh nations i.e. India and Pakistan. This indicates of the ironical division of the British India that let loose the series of violent events on the bases of religion, politics, communalism and other ideas related to nationalism.

Though there had been very congenial environment among the various comunities in the valley, the socio-political disturbances got intensified with the armed resistance therewith. The wide gap between the various communities had left the evil of trust deficit among them. Chief minister Farooq Abdullah resigned and in the crucial period of Governor Jagmohan there happened the tragic mass migration of Kashmiri Pandits. This has really worsened the situation with the disintegration within the social fabric of the Kashmir valley. This is followed with the huge and sudden deployment of army and other security forces to every nook and the corner of the valley on the one side ; and on the other side, there had been frequent joining of youth in the militant organisations. Both the changes had raised havoc across the social structures of the valley of Kashmir. The whole situation had created a vulnerable situation as is evident in the below mentioned quote,

However, a small section would ridicule the mujahideen and their armed struggle. One of my firebrand Muslim colleagues at work would speak openly against the armed struggle: 'If the gunmen think they can fight the government, they live in a fooľs paradise. A few charity guns cannot defeat the army.' … This was the first crackdown that I had encountered. Crackdown' was the local term for a cordon and search operation that the security forces would launch when they suspected there were militants in a particular area. They would place a cordon around a locality, ask all the people to come out of their houses, separate the men from the women and then search the houses for ‘militants'. The crackdown could continue from a few hours to a few days. No matter the weather or the situation—be it day or night, winter or summer, or whether one was old or sickevery single person had to behave like a meek lamb and obey orders of stripping naked or face harsh beating. (Lost in Terror,35)

The above qoute is indicative of the repression that the people of Kashmir has to face with none of their fault. They were innocent about the political nature of their land; so, became the scapegoat from either of the sides of the armed struggle.

The conditions after the partition both in India and Pakistan worsened especically with regard to the issue of Kashmir conflict. The surfacing of the issue leads India herself to take the same as a political problem to the administration of international governing bodies of peace and mutual understanding among the nations.

What distinguishes the Kashmir conﬂict from other regional disputes is that, in order to effect the ceaseﬁre, in 1948 the Indian government made a formal complaint to the Security Council of the United Nations against Pakistan’s ‘aggression’. The complaint against Pakistan in an international forum turned a dispute between two countries into an issue which demanded international attention. … All three resolutions recommended that India and Pakistan should proceed with holding a plebiscite, as already agreed by the Governments of India and Pakistan, so that the people themselves could decide their future (Kashmir in Conflict, xii).

This is possible when both the powers will approach the political problem on humanitarian grounds not on the power pursuits.

There had been no unanimity on the basesof going with either of the powers of India or Pakistan. Since the majority of the people in the stte of Jammu and Kashmir were ignorant and politically inexperienced and had no idea how to practive the power of democracy. The following is relevant in this context,

Kashmiri Muslims were divided into several small groups,each with a limited political agenda. Muslim silk factory workers, for instance, pressed for better working conditions.Educated Muslim youth in Srinagar formed the Reading Room Party to secure better educational facilities and jobs in the state administration, while the Muslim Young Men’s League at Jammu was engaged in underground activities to achieve economic and political independence of the state.36 Those early agitations were limited in their agenda and scope until growing discontent with the Dogra maharaja exploded in a massive Muslim agitation in 1931, which the Muslims called a religious war. It proved to be turning point in sharpening the external boundaries of the Kashmiri Muslim community in relation to the Dogra Hindus and Kashmiri Pandits,who supported the maharaja. When Maharaja Hari Singh appointed the Glancy Commission to address Muslim grievances, Pandits opposed it vehemently. The Kashmiri Pandit movement,however,soon lost its momentum and ceased to be an independent political force (Demystifying Kashmir, 15-16).

This means that there is a fractured public opinion among the people of that timen Jammu and Kashmir.

It is in the United Nations Organisation that has debated on the issue and motivated both the countries to make a consensus for the resolution of Kashmir conflict to the extent of involving the third part as an intrumental party to it. But more important that this is the will as well as the representation of the people in the the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Recently Pakistan has unofﬁcially modiﬁed its position in two signiﬁcant respects. Firstly, the government no longer realistically expects to include the whole of the state (including Ladakh and Jammu) within its borders; secondly, it has been obliged to recognise that a movement for independence does exist among the valley Kashmiris (Kashmir in Conflict, xiv).

This is obvious of the historical transition that take the move to the uprise of Kashmiris.

There has surfaced a complicated situation with regard to the relevancce of unanimous will of this very province in terms of varied communal approaches on the basis of language, religion, and other tendencies thereof as has ben referred in the following quote, ‘In addition, there is still no obvious ‘collective’ will amongst the heterogeneous inhabitants of the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir, whose state has now been divided for over half as long as it was ever a uniﬁed whole (Kashmir in Conflict, xv)’. The diversity that had been earlier unified as a social fabric but noe is disintegrating. The enforcing ideas had been put into the psyche of people. This is further illustrated as,

It was initially set up to publicise the development activities of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir government. But, said Masood Kashﬁ, the station director, ‘it was not possible to keep our eye shut on the situation in Occupied Kashmir, therefore, a fair proportion of its broadcast was reserved for broadcasting programmes on the subjects of freedom movement, freedom history and other relevant topics.’ After the insurgency began, Azad Kashmir Radio changed its programme schedules to eliminate the ‘entertaining aspects’ and concentrate on ‘inspiring’ programmes related to the freedom struggle, which also includes relaying some programmes from Radio Pakistan. ‘The stand of the Government of Pakistan on the Kashmir issue is projected and the reaction of the people on both sides of the control line is depicted in a fair and balanced way,’ said Kashﬁ. He believed that the Azad Kashmir radio is so popular in ‘occupied Kashmir’ that the Indian government imposed a ban on listening to the station and ‘was making her best efforts to jam the transmission.’93 (Kashmir in Conflict 179-80)

This political cum social disintegration has led the whole issue into the halt. The Indian could not fully separate the territory of the state from the militiant activities and the extreme militant actions backed overtly by Pakistan could not fight strongly with the Indian army. When the struggle movement has not been consolidated to any rational goal. This had put the people of the state into a conflict of ideological deadlock.

There is a military and political deadlock:“The militancy cannot throw out the army and the army cannot eradicate the militancy. Because of this, there has to be a political solution.”95 On that front,too,Kashmiris realize that they cannot secede forcibly,yet they have the power to deny political legitimacy to Indian rule unless their political aspirations are addressed. Pakistan knows it cannot liberate Kashmir by force, but continuation—at best, calibration—of the jihadi violence remains its only card to ensure a place at the negotiating table. Indian leaders realize that they have warded off the threat of secession, but peace will remain elusive without Pakistan’s consent and Kashmiris’ approval.The insurgency has reached a total stalemate. (Demystifying Kashmir, 169)

So this indicates to the neo-war strategies in the modern geo-political warfare.

There had occurred a shift in the strategies for feedom struggle as the rebel groups in one or the other way started searching newer ways of the struggle. They knew it well that this is not going to help us in the long run and modified their armed resistance into the civil resistance. This way, as they think, would widen the sphere of resistance in order to get the strong public support. This has been backed up by the fundamentalists of the times that allegedly had expedite the wave of terror with the popularity of communal polarisation on the basis of religion and other related siocial elements. The voices of social segregation and threats to the minority community have been resonating all across the state of jammu and Kashmir.

This move has turned the table ove and the issue of the Kahmir has been attach obvously with the religious cum holy war. In this period Kashmiri pandits had the tragic mass exodus from their homeland sue to the vulnerable environs at every inch of the valley. If we look to the causative factors responsible for the need of partition, we find there was already a smell of trust deficit that was lying deep into the psyches of various political as well as social organisations of the then India. Among such crises of opnions there had thoght that India is to be tragically divided broadly Muslim majority and Non-muslim i.e. Hindu and other minorities. This apparent solution to the problem led to the other numerous problems with the then British India.

When on 4 June 1947 Mountbatten announced that the British departure date would now be 15 August 1947, a day possibly symbolic as the second anniversary of the end of the War with Japan. he was certainly acting in the spirit of the British Cabinet decisions of February 1947, even though he may on his own initiative have accelerated somewhat the timetable.' It was also quite in keeping with this spirit that, it has been said, the basic final plan for the dividing up of the British Indian Empire was drawn up in four hours (by V.P. Menon) and accepted by the British Cabinet after a discussion lasting all of five minutes. Having failed to persuade the two challengers to their position in India, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, to accept any formula for continued unity, the British Government accepted that a particularly drastic partition of their Imperial legacy, into Muslim and non Muslim-majority sectors, offered the best way forward; and this would now be implemented by means of a crash programme. Partition was widely seen to be pre- ferable to the alternative of "Plan Balkan" and its variants, the break up of the British Indian Empire into its myriad component parts.' (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 101-102).

This wronged division on the basis of religion has led to numerous conflicts within the other minorities for their rights and share.

It was on the fateful day of 15th of August, 1947, Mountbatten has taken the historically crucial step to divide India unequally into the India and Pakistan and has let loose the reigns of socio-political and human crises. This way of dividing India has created so many conflicts and the human sufferings continues to last to the present scenario and propably will continue to be likewise in the future. Hence, this leaves the sense of human urgency in a pathetic mode.

At the national level,the National Conference coordinated its efforts closely with similar popular political movements elsewhere in the country under the rubric of the All-India States Peoples’ Conference. Sheikh Abdullah was fully conscious that “the struggle in Indian States [was] not as much against the Princes as against British imperialism,” and that Kashmiris alone could not stand up to the colonial hegemony. Therefore when the Cabinet Mission vested in the princes a state’s right to join independent India’s Constituent Assembly,the National Conference revolted.Sheikh Abdullah realized that such an eventuality would fragment India and perpetuate the Dogra maharaja’s despotism and subjugation of Kashmiris. The National Conference therefore demanded that the Treaty of Amritsar be repudiated, paramountcy dissolved, and Dogra rule liquidated.Sheikh Abdullah described the princely system as an outer ﬂank of British colonialism and the National Conference’s Quit Kashmir movement as a logical extension ofthe Indian struggle for freedom.The annual session of the National Conference in 1945 adopted a wider resolution recognizing the essential unity of India and demanded India’s independence and the right of self-determination for cultural nationalities in India. (Demystifying Kashmir, 18)

In the context of Jammu and Kashmir, the Maharaja was in the whirpool of confusion and indeterminacy regarding the state of taking the side. The mixed nature of his subjects in terms of the religion, language, culture and other ethnic characteristics has made him handicape in his decisiveness. If the muslim majority in Kashmir was willing to go with Pakistan on the basis of religion, but at the same time, the Hindu population in Jammu was reluctant to do it was willing to go with India, then the mixed population of Hindus, Muslims, and Budhists in Ladakh had made it more complicated. This hasmade Maharaja misre frustrated in his taking side with any of the dominion. The only option to safeguard the interests of the state was to remain independent and exercise the will of all the sections of the state.

The mundane moments of the society had been very much disturbed with the eventful situation and violent activities that had become a routine matter in the valley of Kashmir. The common people had been living in the atmosphere of fearsome truama. The following qoute in this context is relevant here as,

The Azadi struggle had made the majority of the population vulnerable, as we suffered humiliation every day at the hands of the security forces; but at the same time, it made some people arrogant. These people were not gunmen or the mujahideen, but their henchmen, who exploited the Azadi movement to make their own fortunes and empires. Asad did not become a gunman, but he was close. He did not make fortune, but displayed his power and influence to such an extent that he turned into a berserk elephant, trampling everybody who came in his way. Consequently, he jeopardized his own relationships, home and future. (Lost in Terror,72) 72

This means that every person is vulnerable across the socio-political disturbances in the valley of Kashmir. In the context of various socio-political and religious organisations, views varied as per their visions and missions thereof.

The Jamaat’s political mobilization in 1970 saw them venture forth and indulge in an experimental courtship with what was then popularly seen as a cynically manipulated polling exercise that won some seats, as well as the ire of the NC. Sheikh Abdullah, still vying for a plebiscite, never forgave them and as soon as he came to power, designated the Jamaat as Enemy No.1, proceeding to emasculate it by closing down its schools. When Bhutto was hanged in Pakistan, the NC cadres laid waste Jamaat-sympathizing villages in south Kashmir. (A Desolation Called Peace, 195).

In the arena of such circumstances, various regions in the undivided Indian had been feeling the crises of existence especially the muslim majority princely stateslike Nizam of Hyderabad who has the greatest population in his princedom. Since the Britishers had been governing all the Princely states and has given them the power of attorney to go with either of other of the powers of India or Pakistan.

Since, the people of the Jammu and Kashmir had to receive their natural and human rights to decide for their future, the governing bodies as well the intelligence agencies of both India and Pakistan had been possesive to the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. They tried to reach a sort of consensus with regard to governance of the state. In this connection, the following quote is relevant here, ‘Strong characters like M.A. Jinnah on the Pakistan side and Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (perhaps in some respects the toughest of them all) in India were certainly not going to abandon the Kashmiri prize without a fight.' (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 121).’ This stubbborn attitude from the existing powers of that times has unleashed the numberless crises of various types across the social set-up.

No doubt, there had been the existing rulers of Jammu and Kashmir of that time who has to deliberate on the future of the province. They had been in continuous contact with the other governers of the other princely states within the British India, but the nature and location of every state vary in terms of taking sides with either of the new nations.

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir during this crucial period was also in contact with the Rulers of a number of Indian States who, despite their own accession to India, may to some degree have been operating independent policies. The Sikh Maharaja of Patiala, for example, in the first two weeks of October 1947 ~rovided his colleague in the State of Jammu and Kashmir with a battalion of infantry and a battery of mountain artillery from his own State Armed Forces: perhaps this had been discussed when the Maharaja of Patiala visited Srinagar in July 1947. When Indian troops finally intervened in Jammu and Kashmir on 27 October 1947 they found, apparently to their surprise, Patiala gunners already guarding the vital Srinagar airfield, where they had been encamped since at least 17 October. The Patiala infantry were stationed in Jammu as reinforcements for the garrison of the Maharaja's winter capital." (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 131)

So, the historical transition that has taken its beginning with the arrival of Indian troops on the land. This has tempted the army of Pakistan to intervene in race of possesing the province of Kashmir and historically started the social and political disturbances in the region.

There has been abrupt increase in security forces that enhences the tension in the state, as mentioned in the following quote,

How these troops were transported is not known: it is possible that they were moved as part of the supply convoys despatched to Jammu and Srinagar by the Government of India in reply to the alleged Pakistani "blockade". Shortly after the formal intervention of the Indian Army the Maharaja of Patiala, Yadavindra Singh, came to Jammu to command his contingent in person.1 (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 131)

The princely states had been in connection with reagrd to certain matters. Though some of the princely states of undivided India had occupied least area of land with minimum population in terms of hundreds and thousands, but they received the power of liberty to take side only with their will and aspirations.

Since it was expected that the the muslim majority states had to go with Pakistan but that was not compatible as per their geographic location. The complicacy remains with the Hyderabad in South, Junagarh in the west and most exceptionally with the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the North of India. Among such states, Muslim ruler of Junagarh is having the Hindu subjects and was unble to go with Pakistan; then the Nizam of Hyderabad ruled the state and due to unfavourable geographic location, could not make the decision to go with Pakistan and think it better to finally go with India. This state of delimma that lied there in the think tanks of Muslim League with regard to integration and dissociation of the princely states of that very times. The truamatic situation of the post partition had horrifying consequences with regard to various communal, religious, and cultural prospectives.

Throughout the 1940s, the Muslim League focused primarily on British India. Its policies with regard to the princely states evolved in two phases,before and after the British conceded to the demand for partition. In the ﬁrst phase, the Muslim League concentrated on achieving its ultimate political goal—the creation of Pakistan.At this point,it viewed political realities in the subcontinent through a “Muslim lens.”Hence it supported “Muslim minority rights, Muslim Princes, and, in the case of Kashmir, the Muslim majority [populace].” (Demystifying Kashmir, 9)

There has been the regional bias that works in the internal fabric of Jammu and Kashmir based on the certain religious, linguistic and national perspectives.

The Hindu had been dominant in the Jammu region and the Muslims had been dominant in the region of Kashmir. This bipolar atittude has complicate the way todards the power of collective will and decisive tendencies at the time of partition.

Indeed, the Kashmir which Sheikh Abdullah hoped to create was really a reversal of the Dogra empire which Gulab Singh had founded. For the Dogras the Muslims of the Vale of Kashmir were to all intents and purposes colonial subjects ruled by a Hindu Jammu elite aided and abetted by the Pandit (Hindu) community. For Sheikh Abdullah the non-Muslims of Jammu were the colonial subjects of a Kashmiri elite recruited from the ranks of the National Conference with which some of the more enlightened Pandits collaborated. From time to time he even contemplated, so Mahajan reported, hiving off the non-Muslim bits by splitting the State into two, giving the Maharaja Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur (which were perceived to be predominantly Hindu and, in Sheikh Abd~~llah'~ eyes, culturally non-Kashmiri) to govern as a ~emi-autonorn~~~~ dependency of Srinagar, and turning the rest into an Islamic republic which he would rule in collaboration with the Muslim Conference. What Mahajan was referring to when he mentioned the Muslim Conference, of course, was problem of Azad Kashmir. In that this was to remain a component in the wider Kashmir problem, albeit usually latent rather thants description merits a digression here. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 187-88)

There had always been a political suspension even among the politicians.

The state of controversy that had taken the strong hold at the time of partition and put the mark of ego in both the leaders of present India and Pakistan with regard to their thoughts of governance. If on the one hand, Jinnah claimed that Muslims need to creat the land of pure, i.e. Pakistan for their better futurity; and on the other side, Nehru, with other leaders, have greater claims of democratic secularism with the congenial atmosphere for every sections of people especially the minorities.

Nehru saw accession as a means to challenge the Two Nation theory by creating a secular state within the Indian Union out of a Muslim-majority region through the efforts of Sheikh Abdullah. Be that as it may, dne possible interpretation of the events since 22 October which have been outlined above was that these two men, even if their motives differed in detail, were playing game of brinkmanship to create the best possible circumstances for both accession and Indian military domination of the situation. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy, 139)

Though the personality of Sheikh Abdullah has been a towering figure at that time either due to his state of having higher qualification of that times as he has been a post gradute from Aligarh Muslim University among the majority ignorant Kashmiris; or the glorifting comments about his character that had been highlighted by Nehru at that time.

The Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir has the continuous communication with the authority of both the nation; subsequently, was giving them the chance of diplomatic ties thereof. This has given the state of Jammu and Kashmir a oppurtunity to exercise its spirit of freedom. In the mean time, the intelignece of Pakistan has planed to launch raid on across the regions of Kashmir. It is on the 22nd of October 1947, a team of fighters from the various tribes of Pakistan including the warriors of Pathans who launched an invasion with the varied intensions- personal as well public. Loaded with the weopons, they moved across the line of control commanded by general Akbar Khan under the name of General Tariq. After getting the control over the premesis of Muzaffarabad on the 25th of October 1947, the enthusiatic army of fighters boosted to go along the Jehlum Valley road to the region of Srinagar and resonating the ways of their move with the death and destruction. They even has looted the areas and acted as if they were commited to rob the people of Kashmir as has been allegedly witnessed in Baramullah. It is with such move that the spirit of independence has been threatened and Maharaja felt emergency to call the support of Indian security forces against the invasion of Pakistan backed fighters.

The indifferent stance of United Nations Organisation is also the reason that the issue of Jammu and Kashmir had been put to the cold store. Had they seriously been taking interest in the complicated knots of the issue, it would have been solved with the consent of the common people withhout putting the much of the politics in the solution.

The result, perhaps, has been a trifle misleading. All the United Nations has been able to do in this kind of problem has been to devise formulae for a possible settlement and lend its good offices in attempts at arbitration or mediation. In the Kashmir dispute the United Nations has never possessed either the power or the mandate to enforce a settlement: it could only advise and recommend. Thus, many of its discussions have contained within them a powerful element of unreality. The essence of the Kashmir problem is not to be found, except by inference, in the debates of the Security Council: it lies in the internal politics of India and Pakistan. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy, 164)

This lingering of the issue of the region and supressing the mass will by entertaining the self stlyled politicians of the state has aggravated the situation in the long run.

It is this uncertainty that has enforced Mahraja to go for the immediate accession but as per the suggestions of the then governor general Lord Mountbaten to the Indian secret agency that they make strenghten the base of accession before their sending the full lot of forces to control the state of Jammu and Kashmir. As per the planning, Maharaja of the state signed the agreement of accession with India only in order to secure his state from the foreign invaders. Once the invaders will be expelled fully from the land with the normal law and order situation,the people of the state should be given opportunity to decide on the choice of their will with regard to the consolidation of the accession. It is on the historical day of 27th of October that the Indian airborne forces set their steps on the state of Jammu and Kashmir. They had been warmly welcomed by the then leaders like Sheikh Abdullah and others. From that days onwards, it became the utmost responsibility of Indian forces to secure the province of Jammu and Kashmir from any sort of foreign invasion.

The future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been overlooked by the existing powers time after. The reasons for this ignorance mayb be many but, it is at the end, the people of kashmir irrespective of religion or community who suffered with unfathomable pain and torture. The various historical issues and incidents that took the mass opinion of the state from one side to another side. This elasticity of the public opinion in the region frequently misrepresented the essence of the problem and has deeply marred the way for the resolution of the state.

The whole trend of political development in the State of Jammu and Kashmir encouraged this line of policy. In the early years of the dispute, once the Dogra dynasty had gone and Sheikh Abdullah was firmly in the saddle, it is quite likely, though one can never be sure, that a majority of the population of both Kashmir and Jammu Provinces would in fact, had they been given the chance to express their preferences, not have opted for union with Pakistan. It seems most probable that they would have accepted the view of Sheikh Abdullah that the State should enjoy a degree of internal autonomy amounting virtually to independence. … To the Muslim majority in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, particularly after the Moe-i-Mz~~addas crisis of ~ecember 1963 to February 1964 which emphasised with a vengeance the importance of Islam in Kashmiri politics, it could well have seemed preferable to be ruled by Muslims than Hindus. By the end of 1963 the majority of foreign observers of the Kashmir scene had little doubt that a plebiscite treating the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a single voting unit would lead to a clear call for the transfer of the entire State from India to Pakistan. In Indian-controlled Jammu and Kashmir only Ladakh and some Jammu districts would vote against Pakistan. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 210)

The volatile public opinion with its shifting and re-shifting in the numerous situations has its backword movement in the final resolution of the problem.

Upon hearing this shocking news of the Indian intervension on the state of Jammu and Kashmir, they got sensitised and think of making their hold more strong on the already provinces of Muzafarabad area of Jammu and Kashmir. Ali Mohammad Jinnah has raised voice but the Indian leaders claimed that Pakitanis have tried to control the state by force. In such matter of affairs that led to the state of emergency governance, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had taken the power of Prime Minister and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as the deput Prime Minister and rest of the party leaders as the key ministers to present a view of never face of the state with new democratic mode of governance and to claim the fresh moves to the all round welfare of the people of state.

Then, the governent of India directed by the then Intelligence Bureau Director, B. N. Mulllik, played a game of division and replacement of Sheikh is replaced by the then deputy Chief minister Bakshi. Bahkshi reign that was full of nepotism and corruption had been overloooked the then central Indian government only at the cost of his loyalty to Indian policies. This has responded with the repurcussion in the form of protest presided by the veryh loyal of Sheikh namely Mirza Afzal Beigh on 10 August 1955 inside the parliament for the genuine demand of the right of plebiscite in terms of self-determination called by the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front undet the U.N. supervision to withdraw armed forces and restore civil liberties.

Later assembly was immeditaly dissolved and fresh elections were announced on March 1987 where Congress-NC were contesting together agianst the Muslim United Front and BJP was contesting from Jammu. the National Conference bagged 38 seats all in Kashmir, Congress won 24 in Jammu, the BJP 2 and the MUF won only 4 seats in Kashmir. On 27 March Farooq Abdullah was once more sworn in as chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir, head of National Conference-Congress coalition government *In this unfortunate historical move where the balmes of rogging the elections had historically introduced the armed involvment of rebels acorss the border by Pakistani intllegence initially with establishment of JKLF with the attached tag of HAJI group and then the subsequent other terrorist organisation like HM, Harkat ul Ansar, Alfateh, Aljehad, Lashkar Tayiibah and other groups and glorified the slogan of jihad and the liberatiuon of Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir. They all heavily changed the scenario and threatened the people for election boycott. In response to it heavy of* Border Security Force (BSF) and Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and in lesser numbers from the Indo – Tibetan Border Police (ITBF) and Rashtriya National Rifles (RR) were deployed and tried to calm the violent environs across the state expecially in the valley of Kashmir against the flooding move of infiltration and insurgency. Moreover, in such emegency situation, Girish Saxena on 5 July 1990, these statutes came into force in the state: Terrorism and Disruptive Actions (Prevention) Act 1987 (TADA), Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act 1978, Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act 1990, Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act 1990.

In such chaotic situation, Indian government tried to pacify the situation by playing some democratic tactics and released then most of the political prisoners like- Yasin Malik of the JKLF in May 1994, and Shabir Shah, Syed Ali Giliani, Adbul Ghani Lone as well as other political prisoners in October 1994. Even after the boycott call by APHC and the militant groups, various pro-Indian people dared to cast their vote and results in the NC won of 40 out of 44 seats and 57 in total. This led to the elected government from October 1996 to October 2002 with Farooq Abdullah as Chief Minister.

There was a continuous proxy war being played on either sides. When India played a golden card of accesion and made a strong claim on the land of Kashmir; Pakistan did not stop and had changed the course of support by enforcing and training the Kashmiri youth for the armed struggle.

Pakistan had armed and trained Kashmiri militants but never trusted them as a reliable partner. Islamabad was nervous that the latter would strike a deal with New Delhi,as was evident from a public admission that Pakistan leadership was instrumental in splitting the Hurriyat to forestall its dialogue with New Delhi. 99 Threats to eliminate the Hurriyat leaders and the steady depletion of the Kashmiri cadre in the militant ranks also point in this direction. In other words, Pakistan has unsuccessfully exhausted the entire spectrum of violence—from nuclear blackmail to unleashing jihad—in attempting to alter the status quo in Kashmir. Therefore Pakistan seems to have little option but to return to the negotiating table. (Demystifying Kashmir, 92)

This changed the atmosphere in the state and people were very curious about the destiny of their future. This leads the sensible and conscious minds of the valley to the great dungeons of trust deficit, though the majority of the population, some being more ignorant, still have high hopes and feel very romantic about their future under the governance of Pakistan.

Terrorism in J& K Kashmir is a land that delights in insurrections. Previously the upheavals were against the despots for good governm ent freedom and liberty. The present phase is marked by 'the cult o f Kalashinkov', the valley of Kashmir is being haunted by the spectre o f secessionism terrorism and fundamentalism has acquired dangerous dimensions. It is an indepth study of the Kashmir imbroglio. It is sad story how a nascent flowering nationalist movement of Kashmiris has touched the peaks o f violence, terrorism and communal disharmony. It also suggests, how a rekindle future sparks from yesterdays embers.

The intelligence of Pakistan had to rethink about the growing poputlarity of idepedence dreams. This might vehemently hinder the Pakistani sentiment in the social fabric of Kashmir. Consequenltly, the once glorified notions about the goals of JKLF in tems of independent Kashmir had faced its set back in the coming times as they hadn been made to get clashed with other rebel organisations like Hizbul Mujahideen and others. This has been mentioned in the below mentioned qoute as follows,

Consequently, Pakistan decided to “curb the independence sentiment” in the Valley (see chapter 3). Thus several pro-Pakistan outﬁts were raised as rivals to the JKLF,ﬁrst under Benazir Bhutto and then during Nawaz Sharif’s regime.24 My own interactions with the Valley-based leadership of the JKLF between 1995 and 1997 conﬁrm this point. Between 1990 and 1993,an assortment of groups mushroomed in the Valley. (Demystifying Kashmir, 151)

This also has raised the environs of horror among the ignorant and innocent people o f the state. This hue and cry in the name of independence has fully disintegrated the social interaction among the various communities.

Prior to that it is must to have gleanings o f the past. The causes of mass estrangement o f Kashmiri masses and recourse to insurgency — though by itself an indicator o f political weakness. Insurgency along is incapable o f achieving very much25. "The root cause o f the present turmoil in Kashmir, to quote Mr. Girish Chander Saxena, Governor o f Kashmir, we was due to the peoples feelings that the state’s autonomy had been diluted' ........'These perceptions cannot be wished away and have, instead, to be considered". He did not endorse the views o f his predecessor, Mr. Jag M ohan, that the states special status was the root cause o f all ills He said that the abrogation o f the state special status, as advocated by certain people, was not the national policy. Above the role Pakistan in Kashmir terrorism. For Pakistan Kashmir has been in the eye o f the storm since partition. Pakistan's demand o f the picturesque valley was on the ground that not only was it territorially contiguous but also M uslim M ajority area. In fact was seen within the purview o f Jinnah's two national theory. The derivation o f word Pakistan too had reference to Kashm ir according to M.A. Jinnah. P = Punjab A = Afghan K = Kashm ir I = Dots not exist in Urdu S = Sindh Tan = for the last syallable for Baluchistan

On 10 December 1989, terrorism erupted in the Kashm ir valley. The causes o f terrorism in Kashmir, religious, ethnical and political aspirations dictated by nationalist. In their ideologies national, regions, ideological fundamentalism, political ethnical and social motives are interwoven. There are tw o types o f terrorism — leftist and rightist. The rightist terrorism is result o f religion/ideological fundamentalism.In Kashmir it is result o f religious/ethnic fundamentalism combined with separatism. There is substantial difference between rightists and leftist terrorism. But both are bad enough. Right terrorism in its scale and the number o f victims surpass those of the leftist terror. The basic task o f the terrorism is not to eliminate individuals, even high ranking ones, it is to intimidate society. "Kill one, frighten then thousand" is an old Chinese saying terrorists are fond o f saying26. 57 At the same time many scholars say cultural identity did not cause the conflict, that the socio-economic conditions in J& K were at most a secondary factor, and that is was political factors that led to violent separatism. M ore specifically, the last category refers more to the breakdown o f institutions and power struggle am ong elites than to the ideological content suggested by eminent scholars Sharma and Mishra. Consequently, it will be argued that neither the historical nor the cultural background, nor outside intervention can explain the discontent which evolved in the 1980s and which finally led to violent separatism.

In the wake of Farooq Abdullah-Rajiv Gandhi accord of 1986, there has been a detrimental effects to the cause of plebscite and indepedence. This has been taken as another historical wrong made as proxy on the pyche of Kashmir people.

From 1984 to 1986, the National Conference had projected itself as a party of resistance to the center’s domination and painted the Congress as a usurper.When the National Conference joined hands with the Congress,people felt they had been betrayed: “The Accord destroyed the raison d’être of both the parties and forced all types of discontented Kashmiris to seek fundamentalist or secessionist outlets.” (Demystifying Kashmir, 47)

Here the issue of the politics and the related phenomena of kashmir that has been overlooked for the centuries together now. Since the issue of Kashmir has been made more complicated in the name of making India and Pakistan at the time of partition by the English governing bodies of that very time. The way Kashmir has been divided into two nations that with the passage of time has grown to two atomic powers beside China. The so-called British governors at that time has, in a way commodified the land as well as the political cum human rights of Kashmiri people.

This unequal divide of the region of Kashmir has created various issues of politics and governance and the power game of the three nations India, Pakistan and China. As we are aware that the geographical lacation of Kashmir is very vulnerable and complicated, this leads to the further complicacies for the resolution if any for it. Though the valley of Kashmir beyond the political drama has been naturally set to a geographical entity in itself in terms of rivers and mountains around and acorss it and crossing isolating it from the rest of the countries. Various scholar like the below mentioned one, i.e. “The Kashmiri Conflict: Historical and Prospective Intervention Analyses” are of the opinion of empathetic treatment to the suffered Kashmiris as cited in the following report, “Per the Kashmiris, it is in their best interest to seek peace. Kashmir has already lost one generation to violence in the Valley. The security, economic, environmental, and humanitarian conditions in Kashmir would undoubtedly improve if a peace agreement were reached and sustained. (The Kashmir Conflict, 8-9).” So, only this way peace would prevail in the region. The geo-political signifcance of the the region has always been a motivating factor for the sorrounding nations to pin their plans and propaganda and to gain the economic achievements. If on the one side, Kashmir is the hub of tourism where there are numerious avenues for the economic sector, on the other side, there are resources of water and the opportunities to generate umlimited electricity.

Across such geo-political obsession of the various countries, there is a play of double game that is prevalent with regard to the Kashmir situation. India is trying make her hold more strong on the already controlled part of Kashmir region that has come to her as a bony via that time called great leader, Sheikh Abdula, and has her eye on the other part of the Pakistani occupied Kashmir. Contrary to it, the think tanks of Pakistan, at the time of partition, has the firm belief that with one way or the other way they are going to get the Indian occupied Kashmir any time in near future. For this political ambition, if India ahs been always manipulating the socio-political scenarion in Kashmir by trying to change the the history of Kashmir through the political renewal and other packages on the name of development and employments, the nation of Pakistan has initially in overt manner then covertly backed up the agencies as well the riding young thought Kashmir who have either separatist inclinations of freedom or the passionate dream to get merged with Pakistan as a majory muslim region. In their race of geo-political power game, both the nations have gone to the level of extremities without respecting the innet feeling of the people of Kashmir.

The cracking opinion in the political scenario of the state has always been a complicated concern; because, there are various voices from the varied social and political perspectives. This multivalent public opinion has decelerated the process of resolution in the favaour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

To judge by the historical record, no movement in the state has succeeded in achieving its objectives unless it was inclusive in its political character and social base and unless it represented the political interests of allgroups,as distinct from those in the majority. This explains the failure of the Kashmiris’ secessionist agenda in the 1950s as well as the 1990s.They demanded the right to self-determination in the name of“the people of Jammu and Kashmir”but campaigned on behalf of only the majority community: Kashmiri Muslims. (Demystifying Kashmir, 143.

This crack on the notion of public opinion in the state had weakened the idea of independence. The main cause of this fragmented stage of struggle is the lack of unanimit and sharing of opinion on the one plateform along with all religious, ,linguistic and communal minorities.This diference in the political, religious, and communal grounds has always been regressive in the secessionist leanings that grow around in the social fabric of Jammu and Kashmir.

If India as a democratic nation has claimed that she is respecting the emotions as well as the rights of Kashmiri people but at the same time various wrongs has been has done to the people in terms of political, social and other rights and claims that the contract of partition gifted them; Pakistan has not been passive in this race, She has also taken the strong efforts time after time to project the ideology of being free into the psyche of Kashmiri people; this has many times made them to face the international reprimand for playing indirect war in Kashmir on the name of rising natinalism in Kahmir. No doublt Pakistan had to face the allegation and charges of being the propagator and generator of terrorism acors the sub-continent butshe had not ceased to highlight the political rights and the social cum human crises in the valley of Kashmir.

Since the decades together there has been a series of proxy wars between the two nations that really created havoc in the social cum political structures of the state. There had surfaced the adverse effects of the extreme military deployment in the valley of Kashmir as it no doubt supressed the cessionist movements but the simultaneous law and order problem along with the human rights violations especially through the militanct approaches. Some thinkers consider that it was the mishadling of the Kashsmir situation in the aftermath of accesion that has diffused the political knot of Kashnmir across the international plateform.

Though Sheikh himself had been in the delimma of indecisiveness whether to choose accesion or cessasinism or automony or the plebiscite. He has been more vulnerable to grab the existing power structures rather than struggle for any political achievement. As is projected in the following quote as, “Sheikh Abdullah had fought his battles through political and constitutional avenues.Even the independence option was floated before the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir state in 1952. (Demystifying Kashmir, 146)” besides, there has always been claims from the leaders of Jammu and Kashmir that they should be given the scope to be part of the political solution for the the state. This is illustrated below,

Despite the enthusiasm over Vajpayee’s visit to Pakistan, it was clear that the Lahore declaration would have no signiﬁcance if, in reality, neither side could move ahead on the Kashmir issue. Relations between India and Pakistan could not be improved, stated Syed Ali Shah Gilani, chairman of the APHC, without a lasting solution of Jammu and Kashmir being the core issue.’ His sentiments were echoed by AJK Prime Minister, Sultan Mehmood: ‘We demand that dialogue for solving the Kashmir issue should not be on a bilateral basis between Pakistan and India, but trilateral as Kashmiris are also a party who should decide about their future.’ (Kashmir In Conflict, 207)

It has been observed by the social cum political scientists of that time that Vajpayee would take the humane approach to solve the long pending issue of Jammu and Kashmir. But there again came hurddles fromt the various agencies from both the sides and the issue had again been put into the cold store.

Therfore, at the end of the day, this series of political conspiracies and the misappropriated notions of unjust declaration of justice to the people of Kashmir has continued to let loose the numerous social cum political disorders that lead to human instability and psychic anxieties all across the social structures. In the time of crises and the zenith of social disorder, the people of valley have been living in utter harrasment and terrible atmosphere during the nights. This embarrasing environment had left all awakened during the silent nights. The below mentioned quote is evident in this context,

Asad spoke to dozens of government and police officials on the phone, but there was no hope for Ali's release. At least he was able to get some information that his brother had been placed in the notorious Papa 2 interrogation centre, Most arrested boys end up either as custodial deaths or remain unidentified for a long time. The electronic media led its news bulletins with the capture of Momin Khan, branding it a big success for the security agencies. For the forces, he was a big catch, and they distributed sweets among themselves to celebrate his dramatic capture. The local population was sad and mourning. It was a big blow to the liberation movement. (Lost in Terror,80) 80

The army camps that are being used as the centers for interrogation and amny of the suspects lost their lives during the process of interrogation.

On the bases of dynamic politics, they needed more elasticty the political offers for the tranfarent political plateform that would have determined the bond of trust in the way of Kashmiri people. This has internationalised the issue to the extent of utter political, social, religious even the human crises.

The population of Jammu and Kashmir became alienated when interventionist and centralized state structures appropriated its autonomous status. Yet in ﬁghting against those integrative pressures,Kashmiris replicated unitary power structures and thus alienated the people of Jammu and Ladakh. The Kashmiri idea of self-determination in a multiethnic,multireligious,and multilingual society was to call for a plebiscite,as mandated by UN resolutions of 1949, but this is not the approach other communities would take, such as Dogras, Kashmiri Pandits, Gujjars, Bakkarwals, and Ladakhi Buddhists. (Demystifying Kashmir, 105-106).

The people of Kashmir got alienated with the dream of cessasionism when there was differece of opinion from the various other communities as these comunities had their own apprehensions in view of the future course of action. In the aftermath of a continuous struggle for the independent state, the people of Kashmir prioritised their emphasis on the practice of plebscite in terms of right to self determination. The demand for this somehow satisfies their thirst for neo-patterns of modern democracy but the situation has turned counter to it. This further indicates to the mishandling of the Kashmir situation at that time that made those thousands of Kashmiri innocent people who are kept up practising the natural cum democratic exercise of their will and wishes.

Hence, all the political transitions that had occurred as experimental on the innocent subjects of Jammu and Kashmir. In this context, specially to the people of Kashmir have still been living in the state of self -pity where they are helpless and desperate in their state of living.. They are living in their homeland as if a person is living in exile and is being asked to prove their identity by showing the identity card as if a stranger is supposed to show passport in any foreign land. This is contrary to the expected arena when it comes ot live in one of the largest democracy. So, this is to be thought deeper than the usual why it is so and why not as per the expectations of the global institutions of jusstice and equality.

**CHAPTER 3:**

**HUMAN CUM NATURAL RIGHTS CRISIS**

Since the times immemorial, it has been observed that people in the so-called paradise on Earth have been put in the world of supression cum repression by the either sides of the two countries. The trend of governing the common masses without the consent of their will and to reign their conscience with utter compulsions on their soul have really changed their character. Because, we as human beings have been living on Earth and expect humane treatment from the others. Every human being is attached with the notions of identity that is conception based on socio-cultural, political and other related issues. This identity is attached mostly with the governing structures of state or any nation; and it is on the status of established governing bodies that provides the appropriate ample of rights and claims among their people. This indicates to the idea when every individual has certain expections from the existing governance for the provision of rights and self-respect; there, it becomes indispensable for the same governance bodies to provide human friendly manual of rights. Contrary to this precept, if at any time, there is breach of social-political disintegration, there are chances of human rights violation and supression of human claims.

There is many a slip between cup and lip; this thought has proved right for the think-tanks of Pakistani intellignece and they had not been supported by the peole of Kashmir at the crucial attempts of their infiltration at the first proxy war after the instruments of accssion and the historical partition.

Pakistan had started the ﬁrst war on the assumption that the Kashmiri people would support the invading lashkar (tribal army) and that the maharaja’s forces would be easily subdued. Little if any thought had been given to the prospect of failure or to what might happen if the Indian army forestalled a Pakistani removal of the Kashmiri Maharaja. Compared with Azad Kashmir forces, the tribesmen were at an extreme disadvantage: they knew little of Kashmir’s mountainous terrain and lacked the full support of the local population.22 The 1947 war ended in a military stalemate, giving India control over half of Jammu and Kashmir, including its political center—the Valley—and Pakistan the other half.This outcome and the war itself taught Pakistan few lessons,however,as the military confrontation in 1965 made clear. (Demystifying Kashmir, 65).

This means there is a disputed opinion within the provinces of the state that hinder the unanimity of the will among the leaders.

Immediately, after the the document of accession, there emerges the difference of opinion between the two factions of National Conference where Sheikh-Beigh front demanded the the grant of powers that were promised at the time of partition; but contrary to it, Bakhshi-Sadiq along with Dhar desired to have greater integration with India. This difference was backed with the difference in their motives and plannings. It is in this context, the valley of Kashmir is heavinly sieged in the aftermath of partition of India into India and Pakistan. The division that has unjustly fragmneted the valley of Kashmir into two Kashmirs and has isolated the people with their kiths and kins. In the subsequent development with the act of accessio of Kashmir with India that gave the Indian army power to control the the land of Kashmir. This complicated the situation. After living the disasterous period of post accession of many years, Kashmiri people, irrespective of their communal cum religious identity, had suffered to the extend of unberable pain and torture. It is in the era of 1990s that the emergence of gun culture had its zenith and civilian people had been harrased, tortured, exploited and killed without any investigation thereof. This unexpected rise of rebel and militant organisation in the valley had created an alarmed situation. With this, the central governments had in a state of high alert brought more than 700000 security forces in the valley. In this state of affairs, the people of Kashmir had to pay the price in terms of human rights violation and repression of human claim in the day today affairs of living. Moreover, Draconian laws like the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, were implemented, and trid upon the people of Kashmir. This armed grip on the ignorant and innocnet people of Kashmir had put a gap of alienation among them.

There is roughly one Indian soldier for every seventeen Kashmiris, making Kashmir one of the most densely militarized zones in the world. The level of impunity shown by the Indian troops has resulted in gross human rights violations. Human rights organizations claim that to date, more than 70,000 Kashmiris, both combatants and non-combatants, have been killed, and more than 8,000 have disappeared; and rape, as a Human Rights Watch report states, has been used as a weapon of war. 21 (A Desolation Called Peace,18-19).

The rights violation in the state was always a serious concern that was overlooked .

The value of the plebscite had its own contexts based on the ideological and political bases. No doubt, there were chances for the process of practising the actual plebscite enfornced by the international communities by giving various direct or indirect edges time after time. The difference of both India and Pakistan on the conditioning the very process had always played an adverse role in it, as they had their own political commitments and ideological beliefs thereof. Since the process of plebscite had to be done on the entire region of Jammu and Kashmir, there were more issues on the basis of regional as well as communal influences. Pakistan disagreed on the pretext of the possiblities of Indian proxies and they also had apprehensions of the negative role of manipulation may be played by Sheikh Abdullah. Same is the case with India, they accuse Pakistan of being an agressor and was looking for the blame game in the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. This series of differnces on the varied issues had always taken the issue of Kashmir to the lengthy leaps of postponement. This also is the main reason that in the current times, there are more and more human rights violations from the either sides of this war. Because, the armed forces from both the sides have their own commitments and beliefs to act and perform, the civil public has to pay the heavy prices of life as well as of property. This is a complicated knot that has been observed in the valley of Kashmir in particular and and in the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir in general. It is in this context, the following qoute is relevant here,

There could, moreover, be no question of granting temporary authority to the Plebiscite Admini- strator because it would not only violate the legitimate mandate of the present Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir but also endanger the State's security (in a manner which he did not define). In the campaign leading up to a plebiscite only the people of the State had any right to participate. Pakistan had no locw standi. India, by virtue of the legitimacy of "accession", was fully entitled to exercise a supervisory role in the interests of peace and tranquility in a territory for which it had rightful responsibility. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 173)

There has always been hinderance in the way of plebiscite and referendom.

Once on a fateful day, after Aattack on army in Natipora area of Srinagar, the whole army searches for rebels and tortures civilians, and killed others. Halima has become a soft target as her father and son Imran has been arrested and another entery into the world of disappered cum missing list of Kashmiri people. Worse that is the utter government-centred journalism that gives blind eye to such open inhuman practices. Imran is taken away and Halima in a fog of mourning lef for her unending search. Even up to Papa 2 camp she folund nowhere any sign of their existence.

In the beginning of The half mother In the cauldren of pains of human suferings, the supression as well as repression not only on the ignorant lot of people but to the politically and ideologically innocent people. When they find no help from any of the corner of their society, they looked upwards into the deeep magnitude of Skies and seek any divine help; so that they can get parted from resonance of social disorder.

The greatest sufferings bring the greatest hopes, the greatest meries greatest patience, and the greatest uncertainties lead to the greatest quests...' She mumbled the Imam's words on waking She woke up hating herself, remembering the pleasure of the di amless sleep she had before dinner. She hated having to believe sh existed, to feel she was conscious. She hated the smell that sleep bright. She wished she were dead. (The Half Mother beginning)

Thus, unexpected disapperance of a son for mother is hell in itself, she struggles to find Imran across the timeline even to find herself in old age and then life appears to her as a nightmare. Hence, Halima represents a femenine valour of unending struggle in the time of war and crises.

In the novel *The Half Mother*  a character namely Haleema has been suffering doubly- as has been abandoned by her husband with out any social commitments and emotional sympathies; at the same time her only son Imran has been taken away from her into the world of oppression and disapperance. In both the ways she has been helpless women along with her old aged father. This sudden loss of her only son and hope of ray as divorcee lady has made her such a schezophenic character that she acts as a lunatic and talks senseless in the imaginations of her son. One she absentmindedly thinks of her son Imran as if the wedding ceremony of her only son is going on. It is in this context, in the expressionistic tone, every nook and corner of the environs is mourning for the innumerable pangs of sufferring that Haleema suffered throughout her past and is still in the sea of sufferings. Every act of her living is indicatin her body and mind to the series of sorrows. Her father namely Abjaan, who has been once full comitments for the so-called of guardian of kashmiri people, on day listened to a radio anouncement in which Sheikh Abdullah had assserted on the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with India. This came out as a shocking news for Abjaan even he threw Sheikh’s portrait out as he had strong belief in the only leader of that times that Sheikh will continue to struggle for the common people and for their self-determination with the process of plebscite. Abjaan had smelled the sense that this unexpected decision without the consent of common people of the whole state irrespective of their communal, religious, linguistic and any other related differences. That is the reason that Abjann had at that moment judged the decision as he was aware about the differences of public opinion. He says in the below mentioned quote as,

The war has begun,' Ab Jaan said with tired eyes, quietly, almost to himself. Valley Times, the newspaper he carried under his arm, had a report about a gun battle in Srinagar: two masked men had shot a. police constable at point-blank range and run away on their-seooter. The long tussle between the political rivals had finally culminated into war. Young boys had begun sneaking into Pakistan to fetch arms and rebel against the governmen Bunker building. Baffled schoolchildren stopped and watched the men do their strange exercise – no one had ever seen bunkers inside the valley. A loop of rifle-wielding men in army apparel gu GBarded their colleagues, The door to the shrine was hardly visible now, with the bunker nearly blocking it. The troops roofed the bunker with long sheets of corrugated tin and placed large stones on it to weigh it down against occasional winds. They then swathed the shelter in nylon camouflage net, hung two navy-blue buckets at either side of the bunker's entrance, and painted Aum in white on each. (The Half Mother, 24)

This has totally changed the scenario of the the land of the state where at every corner people find a check- the check is from anything to everything. The mass seige in the valley by the security persons has put the common masses into a sleepless shock in the nights and inummerable apprehensions in the broad day light by the either side of the armed peolple. So, the so-called paradise on Earth like region has been immeditely changed into a hell like blood pool for the inncent people irrespective of any community.

In the book  *A Desolation Called Peace,* the author is trying to highlight the -------

Even the guardians of the main character had been in consistant delibration about the fearful consequences of the existing social order of the then times. They had also been in an irreparable shock that they were put in with such a disasterous political transition.

I believe my mother read Mohiuddin to immerse herself in his perspective of Kashmir as a place, and how he articulated its existential predicaments. My father read him to find a way out of the tormented Kashmiri present, one marked by chronic, all-round violence. To be fair, my father, like so many other Kashmiris of his generation, felt trapped by the political impasse in Kashmir between 1947 and 1989, and anxiously looked for signs of transformation. Still, I couldn’t understand why his generation never threw themselves into the situation to create opportunities for change, like those who had come before them (who had participated in the 1931 movement for emancipation) or those who came after (the generation that led the 1990s movement for independence). (A Desolation Called Peace, 125)

In this horrible situation, every soul on the Kashmiri soil had wept and got frozen behind the walls of their unsafe homes. This made them psychologically vulnerable and they had been in consistant apprehensive conditioning.

This long journey of Kashmiri people for the idea that they should be given right to self determination had been put the walls by the existing powers time after time. No organisation took the issue consiously till it galloped away from the easy way of making a possible solution for the whole lot of people living in the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir.

What is it that had always taken the existing powers far away from its solution? is the need of the hour. Even the United Nations Organisation had been just passing the time in giving the statements and pretend to intervene in the ultimate solution of the issue. No doubt some marginal initiatives like pacifying demarcation of ceasfire line but that could not suffice the real problem that lie within. Had that time the United Nations Organisation been more proactive and consistant, the people of Kashmir has not still been paying the price of mere being Kasmiris without any wrong of theirs. This non-serious approach towards the issue had subsequently turned into a war in 1965 and so on so forth in frequent times in future. That means there had been means of other coercive compulsions that would have taken the two nations into same plateform to resolve their difference on the mere mercy for the Kashmiri people. This is how, both the nations, on one or the other pretext, have been defering the crucial issue that later took the heavy human as well as the other related losses from rither side of battle. In this context, the following quote is relevant here as,

If India and Pakistan could not agree to make up their differences and collaborate, there could be no question of an impartial Kashmir plebiscite. From the middle of 1949, following the arrangement of a cease-fire where neutral mediation was still valued by both parties, the United Nations lost all initiative in the question: it could propose but not dispose. The Kashmir dispute from this point developed (though never, it must be said, towards resolution) because, on the one hand, the internal and external policies of India and Pakistan were evolving, and, on the other hand, there was a process of political change constantly at work within the State of Jammu and Kashmir itself. (Kashmir A Disputed Legacy, 179).

These all situations like tussle between the two nations has badly affected the fortune of Kashmiri people.

There was a time when people of the society have been trapped in polirisation effect, especially with regard to the socio-religious discrimination. This alineation effect in terms of economic gains and political influences has divided the mass opinion and collective will of the people in general. In the same line of thought, once there arose a notion that Pundits have been given priority in the governmental services. The same has been illustrated in the below qoute,

But, to the disappointment of the Kashmiris, the top positions were invariably ﬁlled by people from Jammu, especially the ruling class of the Dogra Rajputs. When the Pandits also began to improve their status in government service, this aggravated the Muslims still further. No Muslim in the valley was allowed to carry a ﬁrearm and they were not allowed in the army. The only Muslims who were recruited, normally under the command of a Dogra ofﬁcer, were the Suddhans of Poonch and the Sandans from Mirpur; culturally and linguistically distinct from the Kashmiris of the valley, the maharaja believed he could depend on them to suppress whatever trouble might arise in the valley. (Kashmir In Conflict, 17)

This creates a binary in the social strata and may lose the uninamity of their opinion.

Since the the times long back in the history, the Kashmiri people have been, irrespective of communal, linguistic, and religious basis, made to suffer beyond limits for nonek of their wrongs. This unnecesary torture to the people in general had made the routine minds very apprehensive and psychologically very depressing. They have been made to stand within the circle of suspicion for being terrorists or the accomplices of terrorists on the pretext of being Kashmiri. They have been punished for the long time dream of practicing exercising their will in line with the natural rights. The below quote is relevant here as below,

These young Kashmiris are symbolic not only of India committing human rights abuses, but more significantly, the country’s deep neglect of the demand for Kashmir’s sovereignty and self-determination. 32 The continuing resistance in Kashmir, and the relentless struggle for self-determination and independence from India is not only a political fact but has become part of the cultural legacy of Kashmiris. In 2018, the OHCHR released a report documenting the human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir, Azad Kashmir and the Gilgit–Baltistan region, which also reiterated the need to recognize the right to self-determination for the people of these areas. 33 (A Desolation Called Peace, 22)

The mode of such social conditioning with vulnerable tendencies that had really affected the integration of social fabric.

In the novel, we have various incidents that took to inummerable sufferings to the people in general in evry nook and corner of the valley of Kashmir. Even the police officers had not been spared in the dark dungeons of the valley. The following quote is illustrative in this connection as, “The house of the Deputy Inspector General of Police was attacked by a gunman in Rajbagh. He was later killed by security guards during a scuffle. The eruption of the armed movement led to mass processions and demonstrations across the Kashmir Valley (Lost in terror,3).” The subsequent repercussion that raised hue and cry across the struggle of azadi. Though people were very excited about the idea of freedom but they did not expect such a disasterous consequences. The killing of the police officer has resonated the Srinagar city with all awe and harassment. Some people at that time were not with the idea of accession to India that is the reason there have been a division on the basis of opnion from the various sections of people. Though the accession of Jammu and Kashmir had heavily influenced the permanance of bonds with India, the fragmented leadership at that time had consolidated the social cum political disturbances thereof.

There is transitionally a disaserous situation in Kashmir in particular and in all the disputed areas in general. The heinous environs that colour the olden days of paradise with the ill-fated blood of Kashmiri youth along with torturous thrusts of power and rights violation. The formal siege of Indian army across the natural veins of Kashmir life and living practices have been so vehement on the natural human rights of common people. This sudden and grave intervention of Army into the social fabric of Kashnmir has stagnated the routine movements of common people in genral.

Army beating Aba jaan .

Outside, there were dozens of these men, all dressed in olive-green overalls with rifles or shovels, digging a few metres away from the plum orchard. Some of them were filling sand and soil in big nylon sacks, building a bunker near the house. The bunker was constructed at an angle that allowed its small window a straight view of the Joo house. Confused and shivering with both rage and fear, Ab Jaan thundered at them, 'The bunker will be a nuisance - you will always be intruding into our homes. Our women cannot come out of their houses. Please take the bunker a little away from here.' The trooper а with the rifle turned and pushed him back with the butt of his rifle. Ab Jaan fell on the snow and his black karakul hat tilted over his eyes. Imran ran over and helped him stand up. We are already tired and here you are... Go away or...' the gunslinger groaned at Imran. (The Half Mother, 26-27)

The scenes of injustice as such has torn apart the sanctity of the sensible realtionships that have been in deep roots across the fabric of Kashmiri people.

These unexpected scenes of horror, tyranny and disrespect has put the most of the minds into the pathetic pychic shock.

Last night I had a significant dream, and it was pleasant too. To have a pleasant dream in blood-drenched Kashmir is a wonder if not a miracle; here one can have only nightmares. But you cannot help dreaming, as dreaming is an involuntary process. That is why it is not a cognizable offence under any human or divine law. It is not a punishable offence even in Kashmir. I dreamt myself in 1947, and saw Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru in very serious conversation. Jinnah proposed to Nehru that both of them agree to leave the independent state of Jammu and Kashmir as it is. ‘Let us not disturb these poor, simple people. Their ruler, Hari Singh, is a native of Jammu and Kashmir and he has already taken some significant measures towards gradually ushering in the democratic order. The electoral process has begun and some elected members have already entered the assembly.’ After considerable reluctance and dilly-dallying, the ‘Hamlet of India’ concurred. (A Desolation Called Peace,41)

Both the leaders give indication that the state deserve to be free and it should not disturbed without its consent.

All the powers at that time including both India and Pakistan have consensus that the state of Jammu and Kashmir should be given the right to self determination. This is covertly indicated in the quote below,

India has never quite succeeded in refuting three misconceptions about the Kashmir conﬂict that were a direct result of British interventions in the Security Council.First,it was not a Hindu-Muslim conﬂict in Kashmir.Second,the trouble in Kashmir did not proceed from accession.In fact,the invasion preceded accession. Third, India’s commitment to hold a plebiscite was self-imposed; there was nothing compelling it to do so since the signing of the Instrument of Accession would have achieved its desired goal. (Demystifying Kashmir, 34)

Various political settements has been taken to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, but the different narrative from both the nations have deffered the ultimate solution. No doubt India claims the narrative of so-called secular environs in the modern India and claims that the people of Kashmir are willfully happy with the act of accession; the counter-narrative of Pakistan that the people of Kashmir are not happy with accesssion and had been suprressed to live under the forceful governance of the Indian-administered politicians with the support of military and police.

It has been obvious that there are numerous creatures on the Earth, and amongst these, a distinct and super creature exists as human being. This does not mean that we can supppress the rest of the creatures and will not respect their exitence. The focal point here is that being human is the evidence that we are the role model for the sanctity of being a living creature and are crucially supposed to give space to the natural as well as human rights. Since the times immemorial, there hass been the unfortunate breach in the human cum natural rights; but with the passage of time, many nations or regions have taken cudgels against such human cum natural rights violation by making certtain necessary changes in their socio-political religious, and cutural framework. There has also been various organisations both at national as well as international level to guide the relevant societies and the respected governing bodies for the required adjustments for the practices of natural and human rights. Moreover, there are chances of various socio-political and other ideological conflicts across the varoius societies that take turn to the grave violations in the human as well as natural rights. Thorughout the history the people of Jammu and Kashmir had been subjugated and tyrranised, this really had put the psyches of the people to embarrasing situations every now and then. As per the population diversity in the the state, there had always been chances of communal disharmony. In this context, during the disturbed time that ran so long there emerged many social cum religious disparities in terms of Hindu-Muslim differences that many fringe elements try to put into the social fabric.

In the approximate estimate of the youth who joined militant ranks crossed in thousands as is evident here, “An estimate by a local human rights organization revealed that more than 5000 Kashmiri youth had crossed over into Pakistan for the purposes of training and procurement of arms. (Lost in Terror,55).” This really changed the scenario for the social changes that were abrupt and unexpected at that juncture.

Thereafter human rights complaints against India petered out,as Pakistan was persuaded by “Islamic”Iran and its “friend and ally”China not to move forward with any resolution against India before the UN Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) in Geneva.China’s own track record on human rights and civil liberties was being criticized by the West,especially in view of activities in Tibet and growing Muslim separatism in Xinjiang Province.It did not want to encourage this trend by voting in favor of a Pakistani resolution on human rights violations in Kashmir.56 In 1994 even the OIC Contact Group decided to drop the resolution on Kashmir in the UN International Security Committee for lack of support among its members.57When Pakistan lobbied for a resolution that would have enabled a fact-finding mission to investigate the situation in the Valley, forty-five of the UNHRC’s fifty-three members abstained from voting.The abstentions included the United States,whose vote was most crucial for Pakistan.58 Beyond expressions of sympathy,the much-anticipated international support for the Kashmiri cause did not materialize in the aftermath of a sea change in international thinking about such conﬂicts. Afghanistan had degenerated into a civil war between factions of mujahideen,and by 1995–96 the Taliban’s imposition of medieval anarchic practices had brought home the dangers of Islamizing Kashmiri society.The breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the resulting ethnic conﬂicts made world leaders wary of disturbing international boundaries and creating new states. The Kashmir conflict thus disappeared from the international agenda,and the key players by and large felt it could be resolved through a bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan. If they adopted a “managerial approach”at all, it was with the limited objective of averting a fourth war between India and Pakistan,especially in view of the potential for a nuclear conﬂict.

Since the majority of the Kashmiri population has been vehemently depressed with the notions of routine torture and harrasment. This has affected their psyche so deeply that they have now grown as easy victim to heart attacks and abrupt anger to their relatives and friends.

Terrorism was not known because there was no reason for it to exist. Since the three Republics lived in harmony and none wanted to dominate and exploit the others, mistrust and suspicion did not bedevil their relationship. None of them conspired to harm the others. Kashmir was actually a paradise – not a hell dubbed paradise. No section of the Kashmiri population – regardless of religion or ethnicity – lived in fear, insecurity and disadvantage, nor were Kashmiris killed like worms or deprived of their hearths and homes. Instead of the Kashmiri diaspora, we had Kashmiris spread in all parts of the world as ambassadors of love and peace, practising medicine and engineering and pursuing trade. (A Desolation Called Peace, 42)

The place of Kashmir that had once been called as heaven on Earth now have been made into a hell of terror that had unleashed the cruel ways of violating the natural rights of common people.

In the tragic divide at the time of partition, the province of Kashmir had been unjustly divided where one family had been made to get divorced from the other. This is reflected in the following quote as below,

The border demarcating the Line of Control had remained closed for almost sixty years now. There was a time when both countries had agreed to permit their citizens to visit their relatives across the border. But this was not allowed for those who lived across the Line of Control because the issue of dividing Kashmir was an unresolved dispute between the two countries; thus, this movement across the border was barred for Kashmiris on either side. It had been a distant dream for every Kashmiri family to visit their relatives across the border, which had been put into place at a time when both India and Pakistan achieved independence from the British. (Lost in Terror,59)

Since the majority of the government employee had been Pandits with their ample academic afficiency, a particular character Nina received job at the crucial time of mass exodus of the Pundits. Meanwhile, security forces were deployed in the house of Nina. Afterwards, the same house had been used to keep and get tortured the youth of Kashmir arrested during the search operations and crackdowns. The people in general had usually been waiting outside the house for their relatives and friends who had been arrested in the past times. They have been all in tears and mourning their lost ones and disappeared people.

Doubtlessly, we have various lapses in the societies in terms of civic sense, humane attitude, level of education, economic and other rights amongs the sections of people that may take wrong twist at the level of their extremity. So, this is the cucial duty of the existing governing bodies to take care of such breaches in a more civilised and humane way. For instance, some regions across the globe are still rooted in the intractible situations like the political complicacies and social disorders dues to it. Among such regions, Kashmir is one that has been let suffer for decades together due to certain ideological clashes. This results in the loose strings evil and the heinous crimes are being done to the common people who are not party to such ideological clashes. Because, the ideologically obssesive forces that work in the background have no concern about the human crises that at peak.

Gaw Kadal Massacre on, 21 January 1990, is an important one in the history of Kashmir. I believe this day changed Kashmir forever and it changed me. It was the day when one of the bloodiest massacres was carried out by the government. On 20 January 1990, Jagmohan’s first televised address as governor of the state stunned me. It was very provocative. He said: ‘I will not take any salary. I will just take Rs 1,000 to meet my personal expenses. I promise you a clean administration. If anybody creates a law and order problem, meray haton say aman ka patta khisak jayega (the card of peace I am carrying will slip away from my hands)’. I took it as a clear warning to us Kashmiris; behave, or I will teach you a lesson. 4 (A Desolation Called Peace,59)

The above quote is very informative about vulnerable circumstances that are prevalent in the dark dungeons of the valley of Kashmir. In the arena of the zenith of militancy in the era of 1990, when the flow of insurgency was determined to the extent of dissolution of governments and the begining of the governor’s rule. This has released the flood of tears, tortures, blood shed and the subsequent death toll in the atmosphere of curfews, crackdowns, raids, encounters and the other related incidents thereof. The burning of school buildings and business markets and other structures that raised the havoc in the society. There is reference in the novel of a person named Shabeer Ahmad, a blacksmith’s son, falls prey to the bullets of army. The continous curfew was imposed in the valley and the government announced the strict restrictions by conveying the order of shoot at sight. Even the reference of one of the main characters, Abba Jan has been reported to go from backdoor to buy milk, biscuits, pulses and other items. Meanwhile Aba Jan was killed in front of Haleema and imran by major kushwa.

Two troops held Haleema and Imran back. Haleema screamed for help. Kuni kahn chhu na? Anybody? Help! Please don't kill him! Please!' She screeched. Three bullets were pumped into Ab Jaan. One in the neck. One in the heart. One in the stomach. The rapid staccato startled the birds in the plum trees. ‘Sisterfucker!' Kushwaha said after killing Ab Jaan, the fevered barrel of his rifle still smoking. Haleema frenetically slapped her face and her chest and pulled her hair. Blood began to gurgle out of Ab Jaan's throat. She fainted. The entire neighbourhood was now watching from their rooftops, verandahs and windows. Men and boys jumped off and rushed to help. Major Kushwaha cocked his gun. His men followed and pointed their guns at the people who tried to come towards the Joos. Women of the neighbourhood wailed from their rooftops and verandahs and pummelled their chests. The major fired some warning shots. “No one will come here. Whoever does shall meet the same fate!' he announced. (The Half Mother, 49)

In the scenario of complicated state of global crises, we find there are various misappropriations that have been consolidated in the form of socio-political, national and ideological intrigues under various governing bodies. It is in such societies that have given the scope to the law and order problem and have even provided the plateform for terrorist activities. Terrorism is a term that has various meanings as per the various contexts. Since in all the contexts, it is a grave breach beyond the normal social standard, every practitioner of it justifies it on their own way either on the bases of natinalism, or on the conviction of religion, or on claims of race cum eithnicity or on the blames of human cum natural rights violation. This is the irony that every terorist justifies their actions by thinking themselves as the legal fighters and this justification is acceptable sometimes and unacceptable at other times in the objective eyes of the third party. At the end of the day, it is the accountability of the existing governing bodies that have to organise and mamnage the smooth social execution and make the congenial environment for the positive social interactions.

Samad the barber in conversation with haleema. After a fortnight, ' continued Abdus Salaam, 'I saw a new lot of kids. The guard told me the previous detainees had been shifted to some other place, which he did not know. This new lot was horrible to look at. They had been tortured recently. I couldn't even shave them properly as the skin fell off their faces. “They pulled it out with pliers," one of them told me with great difficulty.'It was hair-raising. Some of them requested me to feed them the hot water I had washed my shaving brush with. They had been as thirsty as a desert. One's forearms had turned septic. I tried rubbing alum over it. But the infection wouldn't go so easily.' (The Half Mother, 96)

Throughout Kashmir’s history, the world’s great powers—most notably the United States,the former Soviet Union,and China—have accorded the state a place in their strategic agendas only insofar as it served their global interests or concerned their respective regional partners.However,none were willing to be dragged into the Kashmir issue by those partners.108 Furthermore, despite Indian and Pakistani expectations, outside support for either side has been limited. The Soviet Union, for example, provided India with an automatic veto in the United Nations on Kashmir-related resolutions and backed New Delhi diplomatically for many years.Although the United States offered Pakistan political and military support, it failed to provide security assurances against India,precisely because Washington was afraid of being sucked into the Kashmir impasse.Washington and Moscow made several inconclusive efforts to mediate the dispute but found that neither pressure nor persuasion worked. They therefore became wary of trying to resolve the Kashmir issue.The mantra of bilateralism at the heart of the Simla Agreement provided them a way out. Their fundamental positions have not changed. Since the end of the cold war, their involvement in the dispute has been conﬁned to managing each crisis as it arises in order to avoid a fourth war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

The diversified community across the state of Jammu and Kashmir have their divisive opnions on the notion of accession, plebscite and independence. For instance, the community of Gujjars no doubt have the religious comunality with the most of the Kashmiris; even then they have different opinions.

Omar Farooq, however, maintains that in Jammu, the districts of Rajauri, Doda, Kishtwar, Poonch are not so wholeheartedly behind the Indian government as the politicians in New Delhi like to maintain and the APHC planned to open an ofﬁce in Jammu. ‘We have been very democratic in our approach. We have said that all these regions, Gilgit, Baltistan too, should have a proper representation.’ Mistrust, however, remains between Muslims and the displaced Kashmiri Pandits, some of whom are now demanding a separate homeland in the valley for the Kashmiri Pandits living in different parts of India. All communities have suffered during the insurgency.

Since all the communities irrespective of their religion, language and other relevant states have suffered a lot, there must be a humanitarian solution to this problem. There is no doubt that Kashmiri people on the nature of the location of their land have been given the hope that they must be given the opportunity to practice their will in terms of plebscite. For those Kashmiri Muslims of the valley who so enthusiastically supported the demand for azadi, on the understanding that they had been promised a plebiscite in order to determine their future, the sense of betrayal is perhaps greatest. The repression of indiscriminate and unnecessary killings have merely added fuel to their anger. Time and again I heard people say: ‘How could we ever accept the Indian government again, after what the military did to our people?’ (Kashmir In Conflict, 185)

The feel of denying any already given offer to the person or the union of people means creating of gulf of trust deficit in their psyche. Thus, supression of any lot of people indicate to the democratic mishandling and executive lapses thereof.

In this regard, IKHWANIES in 1996, we learned that the Ikhwanies (counter-insurgency militia) had been involved in Mushtaq’s murder. The Ikhwanees were a dreaded lot, consisting mostly of surrendered militants, extortionists and criminals who were used by the government as an arbitrary militia. They went on a rampage of killing and looting, and became notorious for their ruthlessness. We had a sweet old man, Noor Muhammad, in the office. He would translate the militants’ notes to the press. One day, I told him to keep aside the note Kuka Parrey, the father of counter-insurgency in Kashmir, had sent for me. … However, that very day I vowed to myself that one day ‘Counter-insurgency orphaned’ would be the headline in Greater Kashmir when Parrey himself would be killed. A ruthless Mafioso in cahoots with the government and the army, it was evident that Parrey’s end would be as violent. My promise was fulfilled when Parrey was finally killed. Soon after this incident, the Ikhwanies abducted Fayaz Ahmad Kaloo with the intention of killing him. However, he managed to escape. It was October 1996. I wrote an editorial titled ‘Either disown them or give them uniform’. This was the first write-up against Ikhwanies in the state, and with this, we declared a war on them. (A Desolation Called Peace, 63)

The rebel oranisation once had been turning their back against their chief and changed their opinion to support the Indian government. They have created havoc across the social fabric of the Kashmir Valley. They killed innocent people among the civilians and made special targets in the cummunities of jammat e Islami. Their chiefs like Kuka Parray and other people have enticed their armed men to suppress people and torture them if they thought of going for cessasionist tendencies.

When, in a narrative of a novel, once a newly married women Fareeda begs soldiers to spare her husband who is being dragged. While soldiers were pushing and punching him repeatedly, she tried continuously to spare her husband but all in vain. Moulvi, father to Haleema also begged them but they did not lislten to him and in turn soldiers laughed at his helplessness. This pathetic ordeal of the Kashmiri people had been further illustrated with the following qoute as,

My inherent interest led me to talk more on Sheikh Abdullah’s ‘Quit Kashmir Movement. Baba had related the stories of this movement against the maharaja to us hundreds of times. He told us stories about the forced labour that Kashmiris were subjected to during the rule of the Dogra dynasty or the discrimination practices prevalent in those days. Upon reaching the climax of the Partition period in his narration, Baba would become bitter and his tone would get harder with anger and disgust. He would mutter to himself, 'In the end, Abdullah betrayed his followers.' I did not understand the mechanics or essence of the Quit Kashmir Movement and would ask Baba repeatedly, Was Sheikh Abdullah's movement against the maharaja, or was he fighting to permanently becom… 1991: On 23 February, the army launched a search and interrogation operation in the village of Kunan Poshpora, located in the remote border district of Kupwara. The local population accused the army of gang-raping as many as 100 women during the operation. (Lost in terror,189) 189

The people of Kashmir had been put to harsh repression and wild brutalities in the interior of the Kashmir along with the heinous crime of rape as a war weapon. All such wrongs that had been to the people who are not politically aware and are ignorant about geopolitical issue and the strategies thereof.

As we know that there had been great powers all over the world who tried to solve the political complicacies that surfaces across the Valley of Kashmir.

All in all, no global power has high enough stakes in the Kashmir conﬂict or the leverage to arrive at a solution acceptable to all the principal players. More to the point, the complex character of the Kashmir conﬂict does not make it amenable to an externally driven peace process.Although it is essential for the international players, especially the United States, to continue engaging the top leaders on both sides, outsiders must rely on strictly lowproﬁle and quiet diplomacy.In the long run,Washington could play the critical role of a catalyst in supporting and sustaining the ongoing peace process, though much of the groundwork and ideas must emanate from within the region.(Demystifying Kashmir, 1-2).

Even after the frequent intervention by the third party powers, the intractible issue of the land of Kashmir had still been left unresolved.

The security forces including militants have at times used the intriguing tactics to gain over each other. This is illustrated in the following quote,

Two weeks after Ab Jaan died, Shafiqa's house was raided. The troops bear her elderly husband and threw their belongings, utensils, rice and flour onto the street, setting them on fire. They threatened Shafiqa that if her sons did not surrender they would take Rukhsana, her daughter, away. A month later, Shafiqa's younger son, Shaheen Bhat, and some other insurgents were caught from a hideout in downtown Srinagar. Imran Bhat, Shaheen's older brother, still remained underground. (The Half Mother, 53)

This indicates that there had been many embarrasments that cut deep into the normal psyches of common people of Kashmir. The practice of terrorism is the outcome of social lapses in the form of behavioural diversion in a particular section of society that may have sour ralations either with another section of society or with the governing bodies of the state. Usually, the terrorist goes active with the notions that he is fighting for certain cause or is satisfying the will of a particular apparently good organisation on the one hand; the state power goes opposite to such abnormal practices of the terrorist by calling them outlaw. Moreover, mostly these terrorist organisation are related to the religious convictions that boost their will power to actuall commit such deeds of anytype. They have been motivated to go for such activities apparent by the will of God. This is the case with the majority of the terrorist organisations and the related governing bodies over there. Such practices have been creating havoc across the global peace and social interactions and destablises the human good will and companionship.

My life experiences and research has revealed that our history has been doctored to suit Indian interests. Kashmiris needed a peoples’ version of their history which for me has become a lifelong project. In the meantime, my colleagues in the Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society urged me to produce a history book in a story form for students that resulted in my writing of Flashback, which was published in 2013. However, this is not the end. The year 1947, the tyranny that was imposed on the Kashmiris soon after, and the events that preceded this year are very important to Kashmiris. However, we are often told to forget 1947 and move on. But how can we forget it? Our dispute has its roots in 1947. We have to go back to this history to prove that Kashmir is an independent democracy. And that is what my activism and scholarship hopes to chart. (A Desolation Called Peace, 71)

There are very turns and shifts that had occurred throughout the history with regard to the rights and claims of Kashmiri people and the power game of India and Pakistan. There are various other issues in terms of religious as well as linguistic plurality that put the state into various vulnerable situations of social disorder.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has already been vulnerable and has been forcibly governed by the foreign rulers time after time. This has made masses in general the distressfull and the level of trust deficit goes very high with the passge of time. The heinous historical wrong has been done to the people of Kashmir when the unfortunate, unjustified and unequal divide occurs during the historical move of dividing India. Though given a special political and rights status the region, this paradoxical divide of Kashmir has ironically divided the Kashmiri psyche across the twin claims of both India and Pakistan for this region. It is from here, many elements backed up internally with their self-styled motives and externally with the existing idelogies that give vent to rebelious propencities and nourished the seccessionist approch towards the governing bodies. Across such thinking tendencies, various terrorist organisation has gained their stand; this inturn leads to the loss of human and natural rights of the Kashmiri People irrespective of their class, gender, age, religion or any other distiction. Thereafter, varrious political intrigues and test trials of governance enforces by the central government with the casual elected members have let the people of Kashmir for feeling inscure and lack trust among the governing bodies. This social disorder has paved the way for the cummunal disharmony, regional bias, religious rivlaries and other hate emotions.

For me, crossing those boundaries every day exposed me to two different worlds. In one, some of our bitter friends and relatives spoke grudgingly against Muslims for being hypocrites, for stealing medical or engineering seats that, in their view, belonged to us, the Pandits. Some chastised the Muslims for being ungrateful to India, despite its continued benevolence. In the other world, I read Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Jonathan Swift and Premchand. The room was packed with books: the Quran and the Gita stacked on to each other. In this room, languages and worlds blended into each others as Papa could recited couplets in Farsi, which he knew well, and Sanskrit that he had taught himself during his prison stints. The memory of the two rooms in the upper storey of our rented accommodation in Lal Chowk and the lines that separated them continue to haunt me. The Kashmir dispute had divided our family and its turmoil was etched on the doors and corridors of the house. The curse of a tortured and enslaved land had become our curse too. We couldn’t rest in peace. There was no peace. (A Desolation Called Peace, 74)

The dispute has worsened and divided families on the bases of politics and power sharing.

When the terrorist groups have planned their terror activities that led to the social disturbances and caused the beginning of human crises. The sounds of bomb blasts, and firing of bullets and running of common people for their lives views the loss of human state of life. This lures other anti-social elements that put fuel to fire in the disorganisation of social unity on the basis of various conspiracies and the related ideologies. Thus, every now and then, there were the news about grenades thrown to police party, unknown attacks on public buses and tourist couches at the tourist spots and other government offices and the concerned officials. Under such strategies, the militant agencies thought of harrasing the Indian supporters and want to feed people with separatist thinking. To determine these ideas, the various agencies have frightened the Indian suporters during the celebrations on 15TH of August that the Independence day of India. Then, the series of terrorist activities have become routine and widened the sphere with the gross engulf of burning and damaging government offices, school, college and university buildings along with bussines firms and manufacturing industries as well as stores and godowns.

Papa 2 interrogation centrre . The army takes most of their catches to Papa 2 Interrogation " Centre,' the SHO said. ‘Papa 2? Yes, I have been hearing its name,' Haleema said. 'Yes. They have two main interrogation centres in Srinagar: Pape 1 and Papa 2. Most of their detainees go to Papa 2, at Gupkar Road. You must visit it. Maybe you will find him or at least get a chur there.' 'God-willing. Maybe,' Haleema said in a defeated voice. She returned glum from the police station at night.. (The Half Mother, 84).

The mass of civilians that has been put into the compartmentalised siege by army and the governmental policies.

The governmental policies have also activated security forces to raids and crackdowns. There had been frequent threats from bombs blasts, firing, curfews and other related incidents. These raids had been launched to single out suspects and , militant sympathisers and then arrest and torture them.

Nearly every Kashmiri has a sad tale to tell of a family member who has been picked up by the security forces on suspicion of being a militant. Dr Rashid is one of thousands who suffered personal loss: My brother was twenty-ﬁve years old. He was running a cosmetics shop. The BSF came and took him. In front of my father and family, he was killed. Someone had pointed him out as being a militant. He was not armed and in the news that evening they gave that there was an encounter, when there was no encounter at all. Not long afterwards Dr Rashid’s younger brother was also shot for being a suspected militant. Then he heard the news about his cousin’s son: He was eighteen years old – he was a student. He was captured; I went to the police station and asked to see him because I had heard he had got some bullet injuries. They told me to wait and they would see where he was. For two hours I waited there. Then they brought his dead body. The report said he was running away and then they shot him. If he was running away he would have had bullet wounds on the back. But he had two bullet injuries at close distance just on his heart in front. (Kashmir In Conflict, 181-82)

There are horrible influences on the ignorant minds of the Kashmir valley that left them with truamatic experiences in day out and day in.

Most of the businesses stops; women rooted at home; children cease to go to school and other social activities had been stoped by the deep socio-political disturbances. If on the one side people had been apprehensive of the security forces; on the other side, there had been frequent threats from the side of militants.

Imran was taken by army. We have to ask him a couple of questions. He will be back in a a jiffy, Kushwaha said, the voice now sounding like a fox's. ‘Please, brother, I have no one except him. Leave him for God's sake! She tugged at the trooper's hand, the one who was holding Imran. He returned her tears with callous indifference. ‘Kuni kahn chhu na khuadaaya!' she screamed out. 'Anybody, please help, for God's sake! The trooper bundled Imran into the Gypsy and hastily leapt behind him. He stood there, holding on to the railing of the Gypsy's roof. Haleema ran in front of the vehicle and knelt in front of its bonnet, breathing hard, begging and crying for Imran's release. A trooper dragged her aside and the Gypsy picked up speed. Haleema chased the Gypsy until it vanished in the thick blanket of darkness. (The Half Mother, 57).

In the above qoute, the main female character namely Haleema has been shown as all courage and valour to face the repression by the security forces and the other violent environs around. She is being projected as a female character to fight against patriarchy and other power hungry people.

Once upon a time in Srinagar where there was no open environs as of rural areas; the people of Kashmir have been so violently tortured and suspected as terrorists and militants’s accomplices. Kashmiri are hoping for the new future and peaceful situation around. There had always been shift in the public opinion as there exist a multiplicity of views based on the linguistic, social, political and communal perspectives. This difference in the integrity of opinion among the varied section of people within the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the mean time across the various untoward incidents that used to happen and are still happening inside the valley without any accountability thereof. Thousands of people have been killed and thousands of people got disappered in many incidents. The peak of such incidents had been in the 1990s when horrific events have been reported in vicious incidents like killing of Kashmiri pandits, Kashmiri Muslims and Sikh community. Some have suffered more and some others have suffered less; overall, every section of society has suffered in one way or the other way. Fathers lost their sons, mother are mourning for it and the whole family is being put into social truama. The self respect of people have been crushed into horrible hopelessness and isolation. Across the crackdowns, arrests, tortures and killings have resonated the valley of Kashmir; this leads to the extreme human rights violation. This indignified and unfair rule of law had destroyed the social fabric of the society. The mass migration of Kashmiri pandits, frequent arrests and tortures of Kashmiri people and the relative sufferings of other minorities in the vallley of Kashmir in particular and in the whole state in general. The eventful situation has been illustrated in the below mentioned qoute as,

A future of justice and dignity became even bleaker as the politics between KPs and KMs turned venomous. The venom was everywhere, but it was soaked up most rapidly by young boys and girls who grew up elsewhere, estranged from their homelands. The violent disconnection between a place and people was hard to suture. It affected everything – even the food we ate carried the venomous hint of politics. In Kashmir, during Shivratri, the smell of my grandmother’s fish and nadru (lotus stems) used to waft through the corridors of the house days after the festivities were over. We couldn’t warm the leftover fish. There were strict rules of eating it cold. In Udhampur, where my parents were posted for six years in the 1990s, the urgencies of drawing stricter boundaries between Hindus and Muslims consumed everyone. Our Pandit kin and neighbours routinely discussed the sanctity of eating fish on a Hindu religious festival. Posters emblazoned with the words ‘Garv se kaho hum Hindu hain,’ (‘Proudly claim that we are Hindus’) summed up the politics of the 1990s. The right-wing conservative politics in India had made inroads into Kashmir too. It was framed as a palliative to the emasculated politics of secular India. (A Desolation Called Peace, 81-82)

The above quote is indicative of the unfathomable sufferings that had been thrust upon the souls of the Kashmiri people. The political experiments that had been done upon the social structure of the state time after time was not advantageous for the future of the Kashmiri politics.

The separatist emotion in the valley of Kashmir got the strong footing with the vehement insurgence and infiltration thereof. Even the government officials have submitted their will and start giving shelter to the terrorists at the peak. It is at that peak hour when Kahmiri pandits have been killed in order to enforce communal disharmony and religious rivalry. Meanwhile, some terrorists have apprehended and kidnapped Dr. Rubiya, the then Union Home Minister’s daughter and demanded the release of five top-ranked terrorists. This had an adverse impact on the counter-terrrorist strategies.

This environment has given rise to the anti-Hindu emotions among Muslims and anti-Muslim emotions among the Hindus. This has not been in the optimistic tendencies of social developments. Once in the plot of the novel, Rehbar, a character who has been discharged from the hospital and was almost all right. It is later, he was killed in the fake encounter as has been conveyed to Haleema during her search for her son and was travelling in the Kupawara bus.

Haleema sighed. ‘After killing him, the savages threw his body in the forest. It was found by a local shepherd... Khudaaya! Rehbar's mother put her breast to him to feed him for the last time. The crowd really had to pull her off him. It was like Karbala there. Don't ask me to say anything … Haleema visit to cheak her animals in the neighborhood One day, she went to see her cow and its heifer; Shafiqa now took care of them at Haleema's request. The heifer lay snoozing on the ground but the cow recognized her at once and began to moo loudly over and over. She even lashed out at Haleema with her tail. Haleema rubbed between her horns and gently patted on her sides. The animal's eyes filled with tears. Haleema kept wiping hers with the corner of her dupatta, crying silently (The Half Mother, 109).

With this we come across the indepth sorrows and inummerable sufferings that had been always there in the background of the activities that appeared in the existing social structure.

Since the then Viceroy, Lord Lin Lithgow had enforced the inhuman law ove the British India in the form of the Arms Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance 1942 on the August 15, 1942 with the heinous intensions of supressing the Indian emotion for freedon, the Indian freedom struggle had come to is logical end on the historical independence achievment on 15th of August 1947. In the same line with it, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1990, has been implemented in Jammu and Kashmir as it has made to apply to the region or state that has been declared disturbed areas by the Central or State government. Under such strategy, the then existing government declared the most of the districts including Anantnag, Baramulla, Budgam, Kupwara, Pulwama and Srinagar as disturbed areas. Besides, the areas falling within 20 kilometers of LOC in Ponch and Rajouri. Under such unlawful heinous act, any armed person of any varied ranks while maintenance of public order

1:Can fire, use force even to the causing of death;

2: Destroy any shelter or hideout private or governmental from which any likely or attempted attack is made;

3:Arrest anybody without warrant on the basis of reasonable suspicion;

4: Seize vehicle pr any sort of property of the person arrested along with other powers;

5: Enter for search to any place private or public and above all to provide any armed personnel legal immunity in terms of shield against any sue or prosecution even after found involved in any violation or breach of any kind.

Across the arrests, disappearances, tortures and other related untoward incidents, people used to protest to register their anger and mark the feel of injustice that is being leashed on them in routine. It is in this connection that once Imran had gone into the world of disappearance and his fragmented guardians had registerd a FIR in police station. Since people cannot register FIR directly against army as narrated by one of the constable siting over there. After getting the FIR registerd, the policeman informed that they will identify and try to see the whereabouts of the disppeared whether he is dead or alive. In such cases, common people have no other choice but to trust the police officials thereof. Later, on the streets, the young boys started to resonate their protest in favour of the disappeared Imran. This sensitised the security forces around as mentioned in the below qoute,

People protest for imran . Initially, the troops inside the bunker at the shrine watched silently. After sometime, a trooper spoke rapidly into his sibilating, black walkie-talkie: "Alpha Charlie Alpha Tango. Charlie One Hello! Dharna, dharna, Charlie One. Over!' Minutes later, a picket of troops donning camo jackets arrived from nowhere and prowled around the crowd with rifles in one hand and freshly peeled, creamy willow sticks or bamboo canes in the other. Their olive one-tonne truck preceded them. First, they caught hold of some of the boys by their collars and kicked their behinds repeatedly, as if a football team was rehearsing its pre-match dribble. Then they began showering volleys of expletives. “Saala, attempting a sit-in huh? Saala!' They shooed the people away and continued beating the boys. They began dismantling the blockade and beating the drivers of the vehicles that had stopped because of the obstacle. 'You didn't want to move either. You are all the same, saalon,' a Sikh trooper grouched, breaking a crooked willow lathi on the door of a stranded bus. All the other drivers pressed their accelerators and let their vehicles fly a In wake of the chase, shoes, mufflers and caps littered the road. The whisked away a few boys and threw them one by one a army. (The Half Mother, 67)

These horrible encounters between the armed forces and the civilians had widened the gulf between ‘jawan and awaam’. Such eventful incidents should not have happened in the internal issues of the democratic nation like India.

The main issues that had been there in the valley of Kashmir lies in the shocks that people received deep in their hearts and minds. The emerging feelings of nostalgia and the horrible referents that come to surface while returning homewards after a long long times. The survivores had been reminding themselves the dark pages of history. The below mentioned quote is indicative of such feelings as,

Four years ago, I went back to my childhood school for the first time in three decades, sat in the classroom I had sat in then, studied the scrawls on the ceiling in vain, and touched the door to the office of the principal who, years later, lent her name and elegant sartorial manner to a character Shanta Koul, in my second novel The Book of Gold Leaves. From the school balcony, I looked at the dilapidated house across the river and I think I recognized the front columns of a porch, damaged and forgotten. Rajesh and Sunil may have left Kashmir in the exodus that took away Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) into exile in the dark 1990s, or earlier, I don’t know. Some Kashmiri Pandits were targeted, killed, by militants and in the ensuing climate of fear and loathing, they abandoned their homes and had to start new, hard lives in the hot and alien plains of India. I can’t find Rajesh and Sunil on Facebook. (A Desolation Called Peace, 104)

The mass exodus of the pandits and their dislocation from their homeland have shaken the social fabric on the one side and the immense violation of human as well as natural rights of the Kashmiri people in gernral. This inhuman act has given a full scope to the unrestrained human rights violation. Now and then, everywhere in Kashmir, we find unknown dead bodies and numerous cases of disappeared people in the way of abscured world of hopelessness of homecoming their kiths and kins. In this regard, it is found that United Nations Human Rights Committee in the year 1991 posed various queries about the lagal state of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act to India as a nation of democracy. Wherein voices from the various corners of the world have raised various queries and demanded to repeal the heinous law.

The numerous arrests and the disappearances of Kahmiri people that had less been news in media; more had remained hiddden inside the hearts and minds of suprressed people of the valley of Kashmir. In this regard, a reference to another character named Rehbar who also had been arrested and tortured in the camp as mentioned in the below mentioned qoute,

Rehbar Khan who was released from papa 2 Is admitted in soura hospital. Haleema visits them. The doctors say his right kidney has nearly failed, Jana said. And his wounds have been severely infected. They say they've cleaned the wounds as much as they can, but there are more serious cases than his, so they've asked me to take him home, put him on a course of medicines and bring him back after twenty days or so for a checkup. But even now he is burning with fever. He is too weak to even hold a glass of water. Just a second...' Jana snapped the conversation on a gesture from her son. With a sudden flick of her body she stood up and lifted Rehbar. He wanted to be helped to the toilet. Haleema assisted Jana. They languidly walked him to the closest washroom. “They forced him to piss on a red-hot heater. He has been passing blood in his urine since then, Jana whispered sideways to Haleema. (The Half Mother, 101)

The above quote is evident of the tyrranous approach with unprofessional treatment to the civilians in general. There must be a difference between a civilian and security official as the first is comparatively free to do anything and the the second is specially trained to represent nation and had to treat the miscreants in a professional way.

The novel also highlights the reign of Ikhwanis who created havoc across the length and breadth of Kashmir valley. Since the resistant forces took many twists to etither of the sides, the armed struggle was strongly held in the name of freedom initially; but later it took the fundamentalist Islamic colour. This essentialist turn of the resistant forces made the issue of Kashmir to a peculiar turn. People are very anxious about the future of their homeland and there are various rumours that do not let the people sleep in the nights and give them no peace during days. Across such chaos and confusion, even the a particular character namely Baba is curious about the future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and about the province of Kashmir in particular. The following quote is relevant in this context as,

Baba would become emotional while listening to news bulletins and relate to us the incidents of the early 1950s when, after the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, people were tortured and intimidated if found listening to Radio Pakistan. He said, 'Some people were tortured with a hot iron placed on their bellies by the notorious police chief of that time. Listening to Radio Pakistan was like writing your own death warrant.' I would ask Baba the question I had asked him at the time of the Bangladesh War, 'Baba, what made Abdullah sign the agreement and why was he arrested? Baba would stare at the ceiling and shout at me, 'Why do you always ask questions I have no answers for? You'd better become a journalist! (Lost in terror,251)

The sensitive people have been in deep thought about the political transitions that is begun with the unexpected accord of accession by then popular leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

In the year 1949, in April, there developed the issue of land reform movement that had determined the slogan of land to the tiller passed in 1950 as Magna Carta of peasant land reformation. when on 20th of November, 1951, Maharaja was stripped of almost of all the powers and the state had been given autonomy without defence, foreign affairs and communication, Sheikh Abdullah had the uproared against such Indian moves and had made his speech contrary to the desires of Indian policies. He tried to sensitise the people of Kashmir about their future. His speech has destablises the whole govenancce of India even to the point that Delhi government has called the Jammu and Kashmir ministry to Delhi for talks on 17th of June 1952 but Sheikh Abdullah and his folllowers had joined the talks one month late i.e. on 24th of July. It is on this date that Nehru announced the Delhi Agreement with its main features as residuary powers would remain with the state of Jammu and Kahmir as an exeption to the other states of India, state has the power to define and regulate the rights of permanent residents of the state with regard to the acquisition of immovable property and opportunities to the appointments to the government services along with autonomy of State flag and other rights and claims.

On August 8, 1953,Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and imprisoned,and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi installed in his place. These actions set in motion a gradual dismantling of Article 370 and stiﬂing of its democratic aspirations. Nehru wanted the National Conference to remain an afﬁliate of the center’s Congress and was thus equally responsible for not allowing the democratic opposition to take root in Kashmir.40 He had concluded that “national interest was more important than democracy and as Kashmiri politics revolved around personalities,there was no material for democracy there…. He subordinated the claims of democracy,morality and subnational aspirations to the claims of [a certain conceptualization of] Indian nationalism.In the process,Kashmiris were denied even an accountable government,let alone self-determination.” (Demystifying Kashmir, 41)

There had occurred a drastic change in the character of Sheikh Abdullah and his approach towards the intrument of accession. After becoming an independent state anytime in future, the Kashmir province would like to go with the nation of Pakistan. There was a notion in the secret agencies that Sheikh Abdullah had in the heart of his heart a strong commitment to withdraw the bond of accession and had the planning to go for independence. Counter to this tendency, Nehru played a plan in support of Indian nationalism rather than the democratic construction on the land of Jammu and Kashmir. {Basharat Peer’s *Curfewed Nights*-The author started his oddesey in the wintery season that is giving snowclad mountains, with the sport of snow statues; the spring with renewal of life with flowering and chirping of songs ; the summer with yellow mustard flowering fields, rice seedling planting and with the Autumn in the view of fall and harvestng in tems of threshing and storage of the grains for the survival in the apprently unproductive winter.

Narrator describes Kashmiri culture of unanimity in the kitchen party with lunch, and dinner is always with the arrival of grandfather and in the morning pink painted salty tea (noon chai) with Lavasa is served. Peer along with paddy fields used icy Himalyas, rushing streams brooks, mud hutted, thached roofs, sloppy hills, cricket playes on frozen pond.

Just at 13, the narrator starting viewing youth joining militancy, their childhood replaced with obsession of Kalashinikov and grenades, searches, crackdown, check points, ID cards validity, interrogation, humilation and the refering to one incident when a land mine was blasted by militants on army somewhere ina avillage named Silgam , the narrator with passengers spared only because army had no casualty other they would have to pay the price of the loss. The loss of other tourist related business has come to a dead end with the incidents like kidnapping of foreign tourists and harrasments of other foreigners. The frequent exercises of search operations and firing incidents have also worsened the social atmosphere of peace and tranquility. The following quote is relevant in this context as,

So too the militarisation of the valley and the paradox of enjoying a holiday, while the local people were subjected to crackdowns and crossﬁring. The lack of tourists, of course, meant that the business of the local Kashmiris suffered accordingly: houseboat owners, the Hanjis, who, for generations have managed the houseboats, the shikara wallahs, taxi drivers, tonga drivers, hotel owners, and those who depended on selling their handicrafts to visiting tourists, all lost what was the only avenue of income open to them. ‘This houseboat which used to be so popular is now nearly gone,’ said Iqbal Chapra, founder president of the Houseboat Owners Association.117 ‘We pray for peace in our valley and then the tourists will come,’ said Muhammed Kotru, president of the Houseboat Owners Association. Only the privileged few have been able to continue to export and sell carpets, handicrafts and embroidery throughout India and abroad. A Kashmiri Pandit who ﬂed from the valley maintains that some Muslim Kashmiris are now better off because they no longer have to go through the Hindus as middlemen. (Kashmir In Conflict, 186).

Army forcing civilians to work for them in the exercise of crackdown and other related cardon and search operations. In this context, a character namely Manzoor identified by informer (mukhbir) and then interrogated and subjected to torture to speak of the militants and their hideouts whether he has any information or not he has to speak. That means the Kashmiri were supposed to prove their loyalty both to army and militancy.

Haleema visited badami bagh hospital along with the driver of SSP. The army hospital was behind the Badami Bagh Cantonmere Its windows were covered with olive-green army blankets. Insteia captive young boys and men recovered from custodial torture, only to become fit again for further interrogations and torture. Haleema saw limbless, fingerless, nailless, hairless, toothies eyeless, carless detainees - a variety of wriggling, howling, yowling , amputated souls. A cold flux ran down her spine. The scene dane. her. I don't think they can walk now, even with prosthetics,' the SSP', driver whispered furtively into Haleema's ear. She didn't respond. She surveyed the boys whose trampled over by cement rollers. All were handcuffed to their iron beds. The rusty, cold chains were clanking against the metal frames. Has Imran gone through the same treatment? She thought for a second, and then shook it off. God forbid,… . They had been She saw a handsome young man who was on a ventilator; they learnt his anus had been bleeding uncontrollably. 'A rod through his gut, I bet,' the driver whispered. (The Half Mother, 80)

Narrator was sent to Aligarh Muslim University after passing matric, thereafter studied science. Simultaneously, outside India, the painful saga of violence within kashmir, even did not spare kashmiris outside Kashmir during Babri masjid controvery. They change their names in order to spare life and safe passage to home.

The narator wanted to deviate his father’s dream to become IAS and feel tendency to write about Kashmir. Once in Delhi, he heard about the narrow escape of his parents when a landmine was planned at the side of highway after they were returning from wedding that was later found a conspiracy against his father by some of his colleagues.

In one of the eventful day there occurs an attack on Indian army convoy by Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front militants. In the responses by the army the family make an attempt to flee from their home only to save their lives. Thereafter the family returns to their home and see the numerous bullets piercing into the walls of their home. In the aftermath of this event, late after a few years, Peer’s father, being an officer in the Jammu and Kashmir Admnistrative Services, has been targetted by militants. This has complicated the situation for the whole family.

In the series of pathetic situations Haleema is trapped in, we find a strong and courageous character in her. This inspires the female readers to tackle the situation that they are faceing in the varied social cum family situations.

Haleema visit to central jail Srinagar. The Munshi revealed. Hundreds of boys were detained by the army every day in the valley, overcrowding the local jails and detention centres. Those who had languished in their dark and rat-infested cells for more than a month were shifted to jails outside the valley to make space for new arrivals. Those shifted out would suddenly discover a new life when they saw daylight once again. As the bright sunlight streamed in through the steel-mesh windows of the army trucks carrying them, the handcuffed boys would let the rays hurt their eyes willingly. Prisoners were shifted to jails as far as Tihar in Delhi. Their parents followed them with washed and ironed clothes and essential things for daily use, and, above all, to get a glimpse of their sons. Someone or the other would leave for the Indian mainland almost every week to visit their child. (The Half Mother, 114)

The frequent arrests and imprisonments of the youth in valley and the shift of the most of the prisoners to the outside jails that creates more fear among the common people in the the valley of Kashmir. There is situation wherein people are hopeless about the restoration of peace and social harmony.

As the winter sun went down, I took their leave and walked back to my Mum’s ancestral house across the bridge, gleaning a look on to the grounds of my Grandpa’s house, I looked around to find it forlorn, shorn of the trees I had so adored; the deaths of an entire middle generation and overseas migrations had taken its toll. I ventured into the home of another aunt who lives next door. She led me into her drawing room, even as she prepared tea, I couldn’t help but go through old family albums. One of them taken in 1951 featured my grandfather in full uniform, brass stars and buttons, baton and all, sitting on the chair with Grandma, with my Mum and aunts standing around. He had been a first-hand witness to the July 1931 events, from then on, as he had said decades ago, the Vale, the people, the ideas and the politics would never be the same again, which was quite prescient of him. (A Desolation Called Peace, 202).

There is still a prevalent situation of loss and longing among the hearts and minds of people.

In the narrative across the catastrophic situation of Kashmir where disapearances, abductions, arrests, tortures, and the unnamed murders have become a routine matter. Among such unjust incidents and inhman state policies, the common masses have been the immediate easy victims the existing powers from either side of the war. Womes, like Halima, struggles to save themselves from such vulnerable situations. She in her very young age quit education and was suggested to get married and this mariage turns out a hollow marriage because of her husbands extramarital relations. In a helpless predicament of her life, her farther and a teenager son Imran comes out as an only hope from her marriage. Imran believes in hardwork rather than luck and has become a symbol of future for the family.

Haleema search for imran to jammu kuthwa and tihar. Troops stopped the taxi at the mouth of the Banihal tunnel and got them to line up in a long queue of vehicles. They called out the passengers and frisked them thoroughly. While the troops fished Rafiq's pockets, Haleema saw that his conical pockets, turned inside out, looked like a street bitch's nipples: fluff, dust, paper crumbs and powdered remains clung to them. The troops unlocked the boot and reined in a salivating dog to sniff the baggage. Haleema thought of Ab Jaan - she was surprised, for she'd thought of him after a long time. How would he have felt had it been him accompanying me to find Imran? What would he say to the humiliation he would have faced to pass a tunnel he had once worked to build? Would the troops have trusted him and honoured him for his work and let him go? (The Half Mother, 117).

The ordeal of Haleema in search of her son Imran in a very pathetic condition via Srinagar to Jammu highway. During the journey, they would face humilation and harassment by the security forces.

Shocked at the mistrust among communities , the unexpected pandit exodus, their tormented life with the loss of their heritage and their impossible survival thereof in the alien culture. There had been tremondous changes in the valley of Kashmir in the field of politics and other related diplomatic strategies. The Umbrella separatist group All Parties Hurriyat Conference had a major role to play in connection with the resistance forces and the militant organisations, though it at times dissociates and at other times associates itself with these organisations. Though the main stream politicians and most of the liberal Hurriyat factions condemn the mass exodus of Kashmiri pandits and the other killings of the civilians thereof. They want Kashmiri pandits to return to their homeland; they also believe in the political exercises for the solutions of the valley of Kashmir. They also recognised the heavy loss that people in general have to face throughout the history of this political dispute. The below mentioned qoute is evident in this context as,

We know that the gun cannot really be the answer to the problem It introduced the Kashmiri issue at the international level, by bringing it out of cold storage into the limelight, but now it is the job of the political leaders to work for the movement.’51 Moderates within the movement also recognised the damage done by continuing militancy which could get into the hands of extremists such as had happened in Afghanistan. (Kashmir in Conflict 201-202).

This is the realisation of the thinkers in our society for the value of peace and social harmony.

The people of Kashmir had been living a life of isolation and are still being treated as suspicious and faithless not only within the landscape of Kashmir itself but also in the other states of India outside. This confuses the Kashmiri youth in general that they are continuosly being harrassed and victimised for none of their faults in most of the cases. This situation has been illustrated in eventful circumstances one with the youth of Kashmir in the qoute that follows as,

When they introduced themselves as Kashmiris at an ordinary hotel in Paharganj, the receptionist looked up, paused and dropped his pen. 'Sorry, no room is available. Please look in some other hotel: he said curtly. Dejected and scared, they had no choice but to travel far to the extremes of north Delhi and look for a vacant, untenanted flat in Azadpur that belonged to Rafiq's friend's friend. But Rafiq didn't know the proper address of the flat. He went to a public telephone booth to call his friend to trace the exact landmark. The owner of the phone booth sat cross-legged in a chair. He was loading a roll of paper into the billing machine. The goddess Kali sat smugly on a small wooden sanctum, flanked by two lit incense sticks, on the wall behind him. Rafiq entered a narrow kiosk inside the booth and dialled a number. The owner noticed Kashmir's code on the billing machine and cut the call. He hastily put on his slippers and knocked on the glass door of the knocked him to cut the call. After discussion the shopkeeper told him to drop his adress of both Kashmir and Delhi and then leave. (The Half Mother, 122)

This unnatural behaviour and the oblique treatment by most of the other people in the rest of the states of India has created a negative gulf that may have adverse repercussion in the future.

The novel Mirza Waheed’s *Collaboratorn* is placed in the outskirts of Srinagar cilty near the area of Nowgam in the vulnerable and boiling tempo of 1990’s when the values like justice, reality, truth, and human rights have been put to cold store. In the atmosphere of war, inflitration, he has seen numerous young people moving to the other side of the border to Pakistan with all commitment to violence and terrorism.

Being a son of a village chieftian, he has been witnessing the routine torture and violence of both sides of the war crises situation. He has also witnessed horrible scenes of headless bodies dipped across the sad waters with the emergence of youth jons the path of violence and militant ways of struggle.

The book Nayeema Mehjoor’S *Lost in Terror* is set in the atmosphere of abrupt uprising against the armed in Kashmir in the late 1980’s uncovers the pathetic tale of a young educated modern woman who aspired to be free in her imagination but has been suppressed with all malevolence. She is undergoing a second suppression under the terror-stricken environs of army who tortures her husband in the suspicious state of being an accomplice of gunmen. This dinstinctive narrative of a strong character projecting the voices of women by a woman.The narrator has ambivalent tendencies towards her husband who carries dream-filled imagination for the ideas of azadi. She crackes the existing social structure, in the times of early 1990’s that showers innumerable eventful episodes in the routine of life. Being a doubly suppressed voice of women, her personal attached emotion with her family and the fractured bonding with her husband to the extent of domentic violence made her a fragile and complex across the social structures.

Thus, She has proved as a confessional writer to dig deep in the human and ideological attitudes of the characters. Issues of suppressed women are obscured under the dark shadow of kasmir problem. She believes that writing about theb suppression would give us power to resist and claim for the human cum natural rights. Believe in shouting to be heard and listen to their problems. Specically feminist but integrates the over all political volcano in kashmir. Her initiative to think beyond the traditional women and complicates in the intertwined knot that contrasts her against the variation in political commitments of her father and husband. These commitments ususally turns out to be as an awkward situation to handle for the main character. This crude exposure of the personal relations and the inter-relational complexes have been delibrately used to boost the morale of all the suppressed living behind the walls. This situation has made her to think deeper into the human psyche and made the novel a furnace of debates regarding the exiting socio-political and psychological issue attached with the gender crises.

The society had its disintegration with rise in insurgency and the counter insurgency operations by the security forces therein. The one section of people were indifferent to the mass exodus of Kashmiri pandits and then as traitor as they immediately planned to leave the burning valley; the other and the major group of the Kashmiri muslims had all sympathy with them. This major section tried to make the pundits stay at home and live as they used to live, but the terrror filled circumstances had made all the people, except those who were armed, helpless and all in mourning. Since as per sources of of that times, security forces had made all arrangements in packing their home articles and even provided them with buses and load carriers. This made the majority of the Kashmiris suspicious about the then government policies and plannings. In this process most of the pundit families willingly or unwillingly had been made to flee the valley of Kashmir in the darkness of the night.

Meanwhile there were announcement of curfew all in and around the city of Srinagar. There were protests and clashes on the roads and the strict announcements of being at home and shoot at sight had been ordered. The security forces were using harsh steps to keep the protesters at their backfoot; they even had gone to the extent of using brute forces to overawe the militant personels and the organisations.

My boy is not a militant! He is too young to be a militant. He just came from his tutor. Please leave him, I beg you.' One of the mothers was touching the heavy shoes of a soldier, who kicked her in her face. She fell down on to a mound of sand nearby. Aghast, she was folding her hands repeatedly, begging them not to arrest her son, who, she said, was an asthma patient. Her cries fell on deaf ears… During the turmoil, every aspect of life had almost fully collapsed except for the newspaper industry, which had thrived at the expense of the growing bloodshed. Schools were closed, commercial activity was defunct, offices were shut and life came to a standstill. I bought a newspaper to find out how many violent incidents had happened and where, how many were killed, and who had crossed the Line of Control-who could not have had any country-issued sympathy statement for us. The general perception among people was that the national papers published reports that were filtered by the intelligence agencies. However, due to the constant calls of strike and the curfews in force, the national papers hardly reached the valley. (Lost in Terror,131) 131

These narratives that had remained in obscurity ae very painful and tragic.

No doubt, there is a way of opinion that the resistant forces are really working against the inustices that are showered across the society. They have been considered just by most of the common minds. But the other side of this opnion perspective is that where we find the instances of violence and harrassment on their part. For intance, the militant organisation of that times had threatened most of the government officials that take active role in the centre sponsored political strategies. This had made very difficult environment for the government officials to execute their duties. The below mentioned quote is relvant in this context as, The station director of Doordarshan is killed by militants for his pro-government media policy in Kashmir. (Lost in Terror,273). Thus, there are lot of pains and tragic incidents that hald left most of the people in a trua matic situation and left them mentally neurotic and anxious.

The pandora box of ill-will and occean of misfortunes that let loose all the threads of cruel and dictatorial powers across the borders of eithere sides and with the then paradise on Earth. So, every section of the valley irrespective of political bent, ideological differences or ethnic cum religious communities suffered beyond limits. The solution that is viewed must be of some indepencent nature for the real inhabitants of the Kashmir valley. The following quote from *India and the Crisis In Kashmir*  by Sumit Ganguly and Kanti Bajpai in this context can suffice here,

At partition, a Hindu ruled over the predominantly Muslim population. While Muslim Kashmiris are a majority on both sides of the line of division, there are areas of Hindu and Buddhist numerical predominance in Indian Kashmir (e.g., Jammu and Leh districts, respectively). Territorially, most of Kashmir is in Indian hands including the famous Vale of Kashmir. This ethnic, religious, and territorial division has given rise to irredentist claims on both sides. However, a sub- stantial portion of Kashmiri opinion favors a third option: independence from both India and Pakistan (Ganguly et al. 402).

Such a heanous atmosphere has hovered as if from the heavens of the valley that justice and liberty got vanished in one go. Thus, there is an overall social inbalance and people are deeply disturbed in their psyches. This disturbance lead to their unexpected behaviour and violent attitude.

**CHAPTER 4:**

**HUMANE RESOLUTION.**

This is really a tragic situation for the people of Kashmir that they have been put to such a vulnerable state of affairs where nobody is bothered about their peace of mind. This is utterly a peevish chartater of powers that has taken U-turn from the accountability of being just and doing justice to their sub-ordinates. This is a million dollar question that must be asked to both the powers of Inda and Pakistan about the causative factors for crises situation in almost all the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. Does the people of Kashmir particularly have no right to live peacefully with their will and wishes that may differ in opinion with the existing powers around. How come is it possible that a person from the foreign house will come toyour own and will dictate you to amend your behaviour and even your thought-processes as per their directives. This forced occupation of any territory without a just and genuine political motivation and also without the will of the people of that territory is a mere natural crime that may lead to the disasterous consequences in terms of both economic as well as human loss in the futurity. This is the situaion where the buck stops and we are left to think about that crucial question that asks us again and again why this all happened. Further, how all this is caused with the existing so-called paradise on earth that used to be the hub of brotherhood and human companionship once and now has turned into the pool of innocent blood that burns with the rage of hellfire and is intesified with the ego of power and selfish claims associated with it. This is the reason that for the decades together, a continous waging of proxy wars between the two nations badly resonated in the social cum political structures of our society. A scholar, Ashutosh Misra in “The Problem of Kashmir and the Problem in Kashmir: Divergence Demands Convergence” highlights the spirit of Kashmiri people in the subsequent quote as, “Subsequently, the Security Council adopted Resolution 47 of April 21, 1948, and ‘strongly’ opined that “early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about a cessation of all fighting”, [and] “noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of free and impartial plebiscite.” ( Ashutosh, 18). Hence, leads to the certain assumptions that the mishandling of the Kashsmir situation in the aftermath of accesion actually caused a political conundrum of Kashnmir that created national hotch-potch at the time of partition. So, it is this illogical and unnatural mode of dividing the country that led to the long lasting conflict of cummunities, ethnicities and other related perspectives of our socieites.

The leader of that time had himself been in the pool of confusions wherein he had been the victim of bleak vision with regard to the futurity of Kashmiri. Facing the conspiratorial situations, Sheikh Abdullah himself had been in the delimma of indecisiveness at the time of accesion whether to go for secesionism or automony or the plebiscite. This even raised certain questions that may go against his personal thought and ideology. It has been observed by the social cum political scientists of that time that Atal B. Vajpayee with sincere initiatives desired to treat the issue with humane approach and deliberated into solving the long pending issue of Kashmir. But there again emerges lot of hurddles from the various agencies out of both the sides of the exiting powers. So, the issue had again been put into complex situation. With this, there arises a series of doubts that may lead to inhuman approach in the resolution of Kashmir issue. On the bases of dynamic politics, wide visioned people need more elasticty by cracking the political offers for the varied transparent political plateforms. Such efforts in turn would determine the bond of trust to play a fruitful role in the peaceful solution of the deadlock of any issue like Kasmir. Rajat Ganguly in “India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute”  talks about trhe humanistic tendency for the people of Kashmir. The below quote is representative in this context as, “For tensions to deescalate, therefore, a lot depends on how bilateral talks prceed in the near future. It has taken India and Pakistan fifty years, three wars and the real threat of a fourth ‘nuclear’ war to move from modalities to subtance in their discussion on Kashmir. Naturally, therefore, one should not expect immediate headway. However, for the sake of peace and security in the South Asian region, one hopes that both India and Pakistan appraoch the talks with the utmost sincerity and ensurer that their substantive dialogue on Kashmir, which is bound to be contentious, does not lead to the entire dialogue process being terminally ruptured (12).” Thus, the soft corner for the victims of Kashmir dispute is the need of the hour.

Keeping human approach in view, a congenial solution must be sought across the transitions that internationalised the issue to the extent of utter political, social, religious even the human crises in the valley of Kashmir. Since the people of Kasmir have become more alienated with this inhuman treatment more by India than Pakistan as they had been under the direct guardianship of the former and had more distant cum would-be relations with the latter. No doubt, the illusion of freedom has been a distant dream and the people of Kashmir got alienated even with the dream of secessionism when there was differece of opinion from the various other communities as these comunities had their own apprehensions in view of the future course of action. The multiplicity of cummunities across the Kashmir had been in continous covert as well as overt attempts to lead their own secret goals. In the subsequent situation there emerges only hope of exercise of genral will of Kashmiri people. Thus, in the aftermath of a continuous struggle for the independent state, the people of Kashmir now give more emphasis on the practice of plebscite in terms of right to self determination. Denying this domocratic opportunity to them leads to the other numerous suspicions and suspensions with regard to the natural claims of the rights and resolutions on their homeland thereof.

So, there must not be such an inhuman approach that has made the people of Kashmir very indignant as well as indifferent to any social development over there. Since the region has been reduced to social experimental laboratroy for the new and newer adminitrators along with their litmus tests. All the political transitions that had occurred are experimental in nature on the varied subjects of Kashmir issue. In this context, specially to the people of Kashmir have still been living in the state of self-pity where they are helpless and desperate in their state of living. This living as other in their own homeland is an irony that continously ask them to asserrt and prove their identity before the nations like India and Pakistan. Meanwhile, there have always been the embarrassing environs when announcement of curfew across the length and breadth of Kashmir valley continue to hover with the thrust of an ideologically motivated will. The roaring sounds of protests and clashes on the roads and the strict announcements of being at home and shoot at sight had been resonating all around. The emerging feelings of nostalgia and the horrible referents that come to surface while remembering a long-long times ago.

How is it that people are not taken into the consideration while making the decision particularly that is very much relevant to them. This is to utterly to divorce them from their human rights standards even to the extent of divorcing them from their natural rights as well. So, the pain caused by the unnecesary interventions of non-concerned state of affairs lead to the unexpected bahaviour of the general victimised lot that emerges from their supressed passion that has to crack the path for their release of energy. In such state of affairs wherein the original resident is asked to show their identity and prove their place of residence. This is really a matter of concern for the sensitive people of any community that will be abandoned forcibly with the unjust state of affairs. In such power struglling rivalries, the innocent and naïve people suffer. Since at this crucial juncture of human, political and natural rights in the world of democracy along with the human rights standards and institutions like UNO and the subsequent institutions of human rights commision thereof. This irony on the part of natural and human rights has led to the extremity of human breach. Because, lot of innocent peoiple have been charged, interrrogated and tortured to death in the allegedly anti-national involevements. This leads to the wide gulf of alienations that unfortunately developed between Kasmiri youth and the central powers. So, in such a pathetic scenario, it is the utter responsibilty of firstly the responsible nations like India and Pakistan to address the issue of human crises then to these human rights commisions to come forward for the resolution of the issue of Kashmir by taking the will of Kashmiri people into consideration. That is the point where there is posiblity for the chances of peace prevalent across the social structure of this hell-like war zone that was once callled a paradise on earth. The following quote from *The Human Rights Crisis in Kashmir a Pattern of Impunity* is predominant to highlight human rights crises as,

Foremost among the reasons behind the human rights crisis in Kashmir has been the government's unwillingness to take effective steps to curb abuses by its security personnel. Government officials have admitted that "excesses" have been committed and that action has been taken against those responsible. But such action, when it has occurred, has happened rarely and has seldom included criminal prosecutions. Moreover, such measures have not been publicized in a way that would communicate to the civilian population of Kashmir that these abuses are not tolerated, and that would act to deter other security forces from commiting similar abuses. In the vast majority of cases, members of the security forces have not been held criminally liable for abuses that include torture, rape and murder. (165)

Hence, the need to reform the natural rights of Kashmiri people. Further, on the other side of the issue, the minority community like Kashmiri pandits who had to suffer through the mass exodus from their homeland. This means of their dislocation from their homeland have shaken the social fabric on the one side and the immense violation of humans as well as natural rights of the Kashmiri people in gernral. No doubt there may be any specific slef-centered section of people who may have been indifferent to the mass exodus of Kashmiri pandits, but the majority of the people who have lived with them as brothers and sisters really felt the loss deeper in the heart of their hearts. This major group of the Kashmiri muslims had all sympathy for them but the exodus was partially enforced with horibble apprehensions from the extermist forces and parttially by the then govt sponsored agency. Ultimately it is loss of Pandits of their loving homes and other property assets that either could return to nor own the same afterwards.Common people at that time were themselves in the dingy and harrasing atmosphere that developed out of the clash between Indian forces on the one side and the rebel forces on the other side. No doubt people even after wishing to make the pundits stay at home and live as they used to live, but the terrror filled circumstances had made all the people, except those who were armed, helpless and all in mourning. Since as per sources of of that times, security forces had made all arrangements in packing their home articles and even provided them with buses and load carriers for their evacuation that they prefer to be a better at that time. This made the majority of the Kashmiris suspicious about the then government policies and plannings or the fulture planings. In this process most of the pundit families willingly or unwillingly had been made to flee the valley of Kashmir in the darkness of the night. There may be some fringe elements as black sheeps with some extremist intensions that may have targettted the minority community in the intermittent occasions; but ultimately, at the grassroot level, no deliberate attempts have been made to harras or embarrass Kashmiri Pandits. History pays witness to it that Kashmiri people have always been with Kashmiri Pandits in their ups and owns in their ritual and celebrations. This is even evident in the contemporary times. No doubt, sometimes, they could not come to the forefront when there is no life threat situation, but at times they dare to risk their life to protect other communities. Since there is a human tendency to be afraid of the life threat situations, Kashmiri people mostly die for others without any concern of theirs.

In the worst phase of Kashmir history, innumerable innocent deaths have been reported and other numerous missing reports that have not been made public. This is new version of history where the facts and realitites have not been revealed with regard to the numerous arrests and the disappearances of Kahmiri people that had less been news in media, and more had remained hiddden inside the hearts and minds of suprressed people of the valley of Kashmir. Subsequent to the guardianship and the sense of security that Kashmiri rulers of that times have pinned from the Indian administration, a sensitive mind expects that there must be a difference between a civilian and security official as the first is comparatively free to do anything and the the second is specially trained to represent nation and had to treat the miscreants in a professional way. No doubt, there are instances of violence by the civilian forces at the times but the dealings of professional forces cannot be expected to breach the human tendencies as they are well trained with sound ethical as well professional modus operandi. The other facet of the power has also been at play where there have been the threat and fear resonating varied ideations that controls the psyches of the common people. The resistant organisation of that times had even threatened most of the government officials that take active role in the centre sponsored political strategies. This had made very difficult situation for the government officials to execute their duties. There is no doubt that the official policies of any time are always against the goals of their opponents. In this fiery conflict, there has always been the delibrate wrongs that have been caused by the secret agencies to put fuel to fire. In this conflictual situation lots of the attempts have been undertaken to disrupt the social harmony among the varius communities and to intensify the political complicacies. This unexpected hustle bustle of the clash between Indian security and the resistant forces made the issue of Kashmir to a peculiar turn of political conundrum. People are very anxious about the future of their homeland and there were various rumours that made people psychologically sick and did not let them sleep in the nights and gave them no peace during days. Across such chaos and confusion, there has been a deep curiousity about the province of Kashmir in particular and about the future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in general.

Hence, a need of humane perspective is there where a lot of pains and tragic incidents that had left innumerble people hopelessly in a truamatic situation and made them to feel mentally sick. This disasterous state of affairs deserve to be addressed by the political experts and social scientists of the times without any ideological assertion. So that a congenial and harmonised state of peace across the valley of Kashmir would be prevailed in one or the other way. In so and so conditions, immediate need is to take the steps both from apolitical and ahistorical perspective merely for the sake of humane welfare of humans in terms of listening to their hearts and souls by giving them air of freedom and peace of mind so that they will try to heal up their unfathomable tragedies and would try to cover up the deep mourns that they had been mourning since the times immemorial.

Therfore, at the end of the day, this series of political conspiracies and the misappropriated notions of unjust declaration of justice to the people of Kashmir has continued to let loose the numerous social cum political disorders that lead to the worst form of human instability and psychic anxieties all across the social structures that last deeper in the human psyches. In the time of crises and the zenith of social disorder, the people of valley have been living in utter harrasment and terrible atmosphere during the nights and days. This had generated a lot of youth that is either aggressive, frustrated or the psychologically sick and neurotic.

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