



# **KASHMIR FROM A PARADISE TO AN INFERNO: A KASHMIRI RESPONSE TO INCREASING MILITARIZATION IN KASHMIR**

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## **Abstract**

The present paper studies the evolution of the cultural and literary landscape of Kashmir from a paradise to an inferno. For context the study examines Suvir Kaul's *Of Gardens and Graves*, a collection of poems, essays and photo-essays that chronicle the lived realities of Kashmir ever since its accession to India in 1947. For the purpose, the study works on two themes: first, it evaluates the militarization of Kashmiris and the subsequent brutalization of their physical and cultural space. Secondly, it attempts to illuminate the organized and unorganized forms of resistance practiced by Kashmiris. This urges an examination of various nationalist organizations in Kashmir working on ethno-nationalist lines, and also a field-analysis of autonomous forms of mobilization in Kashmir by young people who have succeeded in breaking away from ineffective political propaganda. In the process, the research **inquiries** into the ways in which state terror has led to the traumatization of a community that views itself as a religious minority in a Hindu-dominated nation, and also to record people's responded to a politics of disenfranchisement.

**Keywords** - Militarization, Brutality, Violence, Terrorism, Loss & Trauma, Suppression, Torture, Maiming Dissenters, Insecurity of women.

## **Introduction**

“If there is paradise anywhere on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here”. (Jahangir)

The Kashmiri aesthetic, political and cultural landscape stands disheveled today. Kashmir is the paradise lost of the modern world politics. The land is burning. Its people continue to live in desolation and despair. The country that, like a faithful muse, spurred the Indian imagination with song rhythm and spectacle lies mutilated today. Trauma, death and destruction have become the vocabulary of everyday life in Kashmir. Given to a fabricated history, divisive national/local politics and a sectarian religious/cultural discourse, the narrative of Kashmir remains fragmented and incomplete. Ever since the accession of Kashmir to India, its

history and the voices of its people have dealt with politics of erasure. The onslaught of Afghani tribunal infiltrators consigned by Pakistan, the ensuing terror of an illegitimate war between India and Pakistan the resultant accession of Kashmir to India and the marking of the Indo-Pak border reveal a troublesome metamorphosis of Kashmir. This was followed by a long history of political maneuvering of Kashmiri politics by the Indian nationalists to curtail Kashmiri dissension of Kashmiris who felt excluded and largely downplayed in the narrative of the Indian nation. What followed was a horrific succession of insurgency and counter-insurgency programs in Kashmir when state- terrorism and the violent people's movement began to re-define Kashmiri landscape. Today the song and the spectacle of Kashmir resonate with poignancy, pain and a deep sense of disdain for the Indian nation. With an overwhelming presence of military and paramilitary forces in Kashmir and the unwarranted authorization of arbitrary laws like PSA, POTA, AFSPA and OSA, the Kashmiri loss includes 8,000-20,000 enforced disappearances, custodial deaths, executions by other brutal means, harassment and insecurity of women, forced and fabricated confessions hundred and other kinds of psychological, physical and emotional traumas. Quite ostensible, the extraordinary powers of the security forces and the draconian laws have only diversified the ways in which people are subjected to violence- public harassment, night searches, kidnapping for personal revenge, maiming of dissenters, verbal abuse, frisking are only few of them. It is a land with physically and emotionally crippled men and a half of a female population turned into half-windows. Many women and girls have been raped and molested by not only the Indian soldiers but also by the men of their own community as a consequence of a total demolition of state institutions and state laws in Kashmir. Additionally, a twisted culture of guns and barrels in Kashmir has created violent contexts against women's culture. Many of the crimes committed in Kashmir by Indian forces come out only 25 years later as secret graves are getting unearthed, thus, revealing the brutality of Indian forces stationed in Kashmir. The buried evidence of dehumanization in Kashmir has posed serious questions on Indian democracy and law. Very clearly, the Indian state has failed to consider a determined articulation of legal structures vis-à-vis Kashmiris, thus alienating them from state policies aimed at the security, safety and upliftment of citizens.

Notably, Kashmir is the world's highest militarized zone with staggering number of military bases and camps impinging on the Fundamental Rights and Human Rights of Kashmiris. In the decade following the armed insurgency and counter insurgency programs in Kashmir in 1990's, Kashmiri youth has grown up in the shadow of guns and barrels. The Kashmiri experience is underlined with grief, trauma and fear. Today, inspired by autonomous movement in Palestine and Egypt, Kashmiri youth has succeeded in sustaining their resistance struggle in a world defined with blood, aggression and violence, the lives of women, children and elderly in through new forms of mobilization like mass demonstrations in front of state offices, protest led by mothers seeking release of their activist sons, struggle for information. In their own ways, the new generation of Kashmir writers reflects on the situation of Kashmir of the early 1990s when Kashmiris took up arms against Indian rule and ushered in the era of full-fledged militancy. The writings of new writers are set as they explore these realities by reflecting the perspective of the people who face oppression from all sides. Basic human rights are neglected by government. Kashmiri youth is showing resistance.

## SURVEY OF WORK DONE

There has been an intensive study on the history and geo-political realities of Kashmir by Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India Pakistan and the Unending War* (2010), M.J Akbar, *Kashmir behind the Vale* (2002) *India: The Siege Within* (2005). Nyla Ali Khan's works like *Islam, Women and Violence in Kashmir: Between India and Pakistan* (2010). The Parchment of Kashmir women's inclusion in the ethno-nationalist discourse. During the days of formation of modern Indian nation-state, the social and cultural evils pervasive in Kashmir became a central force in Kashmiri studies like *Impact of Terrorism on J&K Tourism* (2006) and James J.F Forest's *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in Kashmir* (2007). A few writers have recently spoken on the mass disappearance in Kashmir, Subh Mathur's *The Human Toll of the Kashmir Conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland* (2016) and Rekha Chowdary's *Jammu and Kashmir: Politics of Identity and Separation* (2015). Only a few have spoken on state terrorism in Kashmir in order to highlight state repression and the multifarious ways in which Kashmiris respond to it: In *Kashmir: Gender, Militarization and the Modern Nation-State* (2011) by Seema Kazi, *Social Impact of Militancy in Kashmir* (2011) and *Everyday Occupation: Experiencing Militarism in South Asia and the Middle East* (2013) by Kamala Visweswaran.

## APPROACH

This paper studies Ghanan Kannafani's detailed analyses on the impact of militarization in Kashmir where it discusses how the essays, photo Kashmir has dehumanized the physical and cultural space in Kashmir, thus, converting it from a paradise to an inferno. Kazi's work also focuses on the daily activism of Kashmiris, what we call survival strategies, in order to write Kashmiris back into their own history. The dissertation will also take into account Soyam Lokendrajit's discussion in *Who is a Terrorist?* (2013), Where he debates the ways in which mainstream polity often practices politics of subversion in order to silence political opposition and rebellion.

## LETTERS TO KASHMIR: THE BURNING PARADISE

This paper examines the transforming themes and subjectivities in Kashmiri poetry from verses of Sufi poets celebrating Kashmiri beauty and splendor the present day where death and destruction have become the norm of the day. Kaul makes a careful selection of poems written in local Kashmiri that reflect the tormenting sense of loss and despair felt by the Kashmiris as their everyday lives remain expunged by the violence permeated by the Indian state. This research, therefore, attempts to highlight the ways in which Kashmiri poetry has emerged as a form of Resistance Literature which not only responds to state terror but also attempts to preserve Kashmiri struggle into the local and national collectivity.

Poetry forms the core of Kashmiri oral history – the means by which Kashmiri people register their activism and dissension today. It is not only a means of registering the Kashmiri disgruntlement against oppression but also ensures that their lives, stories, experience and actual histories are well-recorded for future preservation. Kashmiris are turning to literature for preserving their personal and collective agitation and anguish towards a world in denial. For Kashmiris, poetry comes natural. Born amidst the glory and

splendor of this beautiful country, their culture and language exude rhythms and harmonies that form the core of their cultural being.

Samad Mir used the folk tale of *Akanandun* to give expression to his own spiritual ideas and presented an amalgamation between Sufism and Shaivism. He translated his spiritual experience into poetry. John Keats says that poetry gets entire fame which is poetized about one's desires, difficulties and painfulness. For hundreds of years *Akanandun* has been dramatized as well as poetized by so many writers, artists and poets. *Akanandun* is a story of anguish, suffering, distress and broken desires which magnetize everyone's intention. From decades *Akanandun* has been remembered and has won people's heart residing in every corner of the valley of Kashmir.

The poetry of Rasul Mir, the 'John Keats of Kashmir', enthused with fervent youthfulness, a vibrant tenor, tone of hearty yearning revealed a man of pristine emotions who seems untouched by the cares of decaying age. Love, flowers, passion, fragrance, the eternal inviters of life and beauty are a recurring motif in his poetry.

The early Kashmiri was based on the local landscape of the valley and spoke of a spiritual union of the human body with its soul, and of a total complete surrender to god. The popular themes remained spiritual growth, mysticism, humanist transformation and transcendence. The prominent writer, Kaul deliberately chooses poems written in local Kashmiri to undermine the sad effects of Sanskritization of Kashmiri linguistic and cultural memory. *Kasheer*, a poem by Arjan Dev 'Majboor' stands as a fine example of this disturbance caused in Kashmiri personal experience, and by extension, its literature. It begins with a celebration of 'high mountains', the congenial co-mingling of Shaivite and Sufi beliefs, the colorful rivulets and the rich beauty of its culture including food, clothing and festivals. The celebration is suddenly marred by a sad memory of Kashmir's present. Like Keats who loses himself in the world of the nightingale and is suddenly shaken back by the deafening ringing of the word 'forlorn', the voice in *Kasheer* is also shaken into the reality of today's Kashmir. The mood of the poem suddenly changes and memories of blood, desolation, death, ethnic cleansing, terrorism, infiltration, war and slaughter take hold the poet's imagination. Similarly, Ghulam Hassan's poem *Nazm* laments for the loss of Kashmir's bounteous and ever-so-giving soul. Kashmir stands as burning in the present poem with 'waves of flames', 'smoke billows', 'paled', colors of life and property, 'desires interrupted', and strained relationships engulfing the space and memory of Kashmir.

Therefore, poetry stands as a site of struggle and resistance of Kashmiris. It records and preserves the personal memories of horror, loss and trauma and seeks to uncover the structural silencing of state sanctioned history. Ghulam Nabi Tek writes about the necessity to include the response of Kashmiris to increasing militarization and militancy. Kashmir is now resurrected in Kashmiri local cultural memory as a land with its own culture, history, language and literature as distinct from the institutionalized image of a terror struck Kashmir. Kashmiri poems have something important to tell us about lives lived in the face of extraordinary political disruptions and violence. Kaul himself analyzes the poem "*Corpse*" by Shabir Azad

where he shows how a poem can perform disordered subjectivity, but more particularly, subjectivity cleaved and reconsolidated by recurrent violence. It quotes it here:

In the mirror of that lake,  
What should I see...?  
From its depths  
That stranger- like corpse stares

A notable writer, Kaul examines the quiet and meditative nature of poem, which makes its internal movement even more compelling and powerful. From the opening of the poem, the poet- figure seeks to commune with nature but finds in the lake not placid beauty but the floating corpse. The poem reminds one of Kashmir's natural beauties, its takes which are seen as space of rejuvenation. It is here that one finds spiritual and aesthetic renewal. The mirror surface of the lake reflects not the poet's face or indeed the natural features that surround the lake but reveals a "strange-like corpse" which stares back at the poet. The corpse's presence is insistent, implacable and poet seeks to disrupt it-he throws a stone to break the lake's surface. The corpse is a threat and a challenge to the poet. It allows no peaceful resolution and no immersion in nature. The corpse has power to steal the poet's present, to direct his thoughts, but also forcefully, stunt the poet's future into nothingness if water. The poets speak of loss, of anger, of betrayal and compromise, of the ugliness of this time. The corpse disturbs the poet. It stalls thought and casts a shadow on the poet's future. The face of the corpse is a stranger's but stranger is to close, perhaps, the self's double. If Kashmir is a lake where its face can seek the reflection of its isolation, that reflection is now haunted by the presence of its double, the image of death.

Nazi, in this poem describes about the annihilation in Kashmir. This couplet refers to the loss of the Pandits, identified by the turbans they died, particularly on ceremonial occasions. The time is turned, man eating the man. In all directions all the voices of Kashmir are lost somewhere. There is nothing written on corps and the pictures are shuffled once again. Where do you go to search for paths, but today the path is lost everywhere. This poem refers to the belief that the sky reddens when someone dies-now, the shedding of blood has no such effected.

## THE LOSS OF HOMELAND

This research paper examines the collective story of pain and suffering in Kashmir reflected through photo- essays by Srinagar- based journalist, Javed Dar. Kashmir, in these graphic stories, through as a metaphor or loss. The increasing militancy and a continuous drive to counter it by the Indian security forces have blurred the private/public dichotomy in Kashmir, thus, turning homes into battlefields. The innocent Kashmiris, in the process, have emerged as frontlines opposing, challenging and responding to terror and violence that have come to define the very everydayness of their precarious existence. Violence in the form of public harassment, night searches, kidnapping for personal revenge, maiming for dissenters, verbal abuse, frisking permeates their daily realities. They resist occupation and struggle for freedom every day but their

struggle is largely ignored by the International community. Kashmiri children grow up watching graveyards populate their villages. As people are buried, the community holds their story, the memory. Oral history is their biggest weapon against India's violent occupation. Even under occupation, the stories of the dead cannot be silenced. Manzoor explains her hopes of Kashmir:

"I destroy everyone's lives through torture through fake murders like disappearances". It is very terrible for us.

The paper analyzes the overlapping themes of victimization and agency of Kashmiri people through the graphics included in Kaul's book. It works on two premises: first, it looks at the agony and rebellion of a disenfranchised people; secondly, the photo-essays attempt to posit Kashmiris as actors and agents who continue to survive against this politics of silencing. The graphic in these photographs speak about Kashmiri loss and also about their response to it. Modern studies on conflict-zone challenge the often-accepted view that perceives a community univocally as powerless victims. It tends to include everyday responses and negotiations of the minority that maintains their sustenance. The present study argues that through the inclusion of photo-essays in the collection Kaul attempts to create a dialogue between various discourses some of which argue that Kashmiris are victims and others posit them as terrorists. It challenges both the views that fail to include the real voices and experiences of Kashmiris.

The first photograph takes an aerial view of Srinagar- impersonal, distant and elusive. That is how Kashmir stands for the Indian masses who perceive Kashmir as either a land of fantasy and romance or as a land of terrorism and violence. Both the views tend to undermine the real lived experiences of Kashmiri people who have been victims of continual misrepresentation. The very next image takes the reader too close to the reality where a couple of houses stand burning. The photo essays included in the collection validate the existence of an autonomous people's movement in order to record and preserve it in the national memory. Dar's history is subversive and writes against the canonical structures of literature, history and cultural memory. Dar chooses two photographs of funeral processions; while the first shows hundreds of people gathered around corpse of a militant, the second shows them returning from the funeral of another innocent Kashmiri who becomes a victim of police brutality.

Women's in Dar's images stand both as victims and agents, as witnesses and front liners. Narratives of conflict and on conflict tend to either patronize women or diminish their engagement with violence as secondary. Their very presence in a warzone is downplayed by imposing on them a discourse of victimhood. Women have largely occupied the conflict discourse as culture and the elderly widows, grieving mothers and sisters biding farewell to men- soldiers ready to march out battle. Their relationship to war and struggle is seen as only through men. As a result, they become secondary to the war narrative. Some other images show children playing with guns and young stone- pelters who have grown under the shadow of guns and barrels. The images show a normalization of violence in Kashmir where it is becoming increasingly impossible to control the repercussions of reproduces itself in many forms. In Kashmir, violence and injustice have become the reality of its internal culture. When violence begins to define the core of peoples lived experiences, women, children and the elderly become its primary victims. Today's the internal

structures of Kashmir's rich culture remain stagnated. In an image, a woman holds a paragraph of her missing son, days after his body was found on the premises of an Army camp after it was closed down. There is a repetition of images where people stand peering out of broken windows, doors and perforated discourse of nationalism. Mother's stands waiting for their long- missing sons and children stand waiting for their murdered parents.

Women state, "Although the sun rises in everyday, we don't see the sunlight." They cover their windows with tarpaulin to safeguard children, as the forces throwing stones into their houses has become a routine. They have forgotten the difference between days and nights because the light does not enter their homes and they are not allowed to move out because of curfew. Women scuffle with police during a gun battle between militants and governments forces. Women fights for her own rights with militant's forces. In Ayesha 'Mastoor', she describes about child, she says he is but a child. He knows nothing about Kashmir. The pain of losing child is like salt on wounds. His enthusiasm controlled by forces, he went for battle and began fight. The games for children are limited, they used guns as toys. "The light of my eye" refers idiomatically to her only son. In Maqbool 'Sajid' he refers life in Kashmir has become oppressive and cities have become desolate. In every direction has become grave. Kashmiri Pandit's women look out from a window pane of her home. Women's appear as witnesses. Sadly, the worst victims of any insurgency are always women. Women have been the worst hit in the war of Kashmir. According to Urvashi Bhutalia, in times of conflict, particularly religious conflict, it is women who targeted in ways. Militants in Kashmir have used raped as weapon of war but has taken various forms. During curfew, a child peers through a window in his home.

## WHERE ARE MY OLIVES? A NATURAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

This paper studies Kaul's collection of three essays that highlights the multiple histories of Kashmir. It seeks to illuminate the multiple strands of both oppression and resistance in these narratives on Kashmir's history and culture. The most beautiful and fabulous valley of the world is called as Kashmir. The valley of Kashmir, eulogized as "*The Paradise on Earth*", is surrounded by mountains. The people of Kashmir believe that these mountains as their guardian and protector which permit various religions and cultures to come into the valley and settle down there. The people of Kashmir call the valley as Pre-war and Rishwaer, the dwelling of Sufis and Rishis. The coexistence of Sufism and Rishis suggests that the valley was tolerant and peaceful where great saints had inspired the people to transcend their religious boundaries to move towards one destination that belongs to all irrespective of their religious affiliation. The collective consciousness of being Kashmiri Muslims or being Kashmiri Pandits, rather than being Kashmiris now overrides the Kashmiri society in different sphere of life. In May- June 1946, the National Conference launched the "Quit Kashmir movement" against the Dogre rule, a landmark in the history of political mobilization in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah explained that National Conference had accepted the principle of self-determination not only in respect of creed, but also within the framework of culture.

This was the phase of political awakening and an assertion of political and cultural identity among the people of Kashmir. The Quit Kashmir movement was similarly based on the Quit India movement against the British rule. And Sheikh Abdullah had full support of Nehru and Gandhi (Akbar 1985). “Quit Kashmir” is not a question of revolt. It is a matter of right” (Akbar 1985: 227-28). On the eve of his arrest Sheikh Abdullah said:

When we raise the slogan of Quit Kashmir we naturally visualize that the princes and Nawabs should quit all the states. The rulers of the Indian States who possess one-fourth of India have always played traitors to the cause of Indian freedom. The demand that the princely order should quit is a logical extension of the policy of Quit India (Verma 1994:28)

The Quit Kashmir movement was a struggle against the Dogra ruler, which had denied the basic rights of the majority Muslims. The movement was squarely based on the demand to set up a democratic government system in the state with power vested in the hands of the people.

### **Uprising in Kashmir and the Rise of Ethno-Religious Nationalism**

The policies of the Indian state were mostly responsible for Kashmiri Muslim alienation. The above-mentioned developments in the Kashmir politics since 1953 – whether it was Sheikh Abdullah’s arrest, patronage politics, abrogation of Article 370, missing of relic, and playing with autonomy- were all responsible for causing tensions and loosening of faith in the central government. These further led to insurgency in Kashmir. The insurgency led the people of Kashmir on the path of violence; it represents the discontent of an entire community which suffers from perceived discrimination and deprivation and it comes to perceive its identity as threatened. “Ethnic groups are born and arise because of the perception of oppression; if there were no perception of oppression, real or imagined, there would be no ethnic self-determination” (Roman 1979 as cited in Tremblay 1997 : 475). Therefore, the perception of oppression marked the beginning of uprising in Kashmir. In 1988, several secessionist leaders crossed the border to the Pakistan-controlled Azad Kashmir, received training and weapons and returned to the Valley and prepared for political insurgency. The first militant organization to start the secessionist movement in the Valley was secular Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), which wants an independent Kashmir on the ground of ethnicity. The JKLF first struck on 31 July 1988 by blowing up a bomb in Srinagar. It was the first secessionist group to provide impetus to the movement.

By 1990, the movement was at its peak. The situation in Kashmir took a violent turn; violence manifested in senseless killing, abduction and arson. Mercenaries like Hizbul Mujahidin, were increasing their hold with the strength of around 20,000 militants in different parts of the state, “ Backed by various agencies and interest- some of them critically backed by Pakistan” ( Hewitt 2003: 89). This marks the second phase of the movement and shift of the movement towards hard-core Islam. The Hizbul’s agenda was different from the JKLF’s secular ideology. The Hizbul introduced the expression “*jihad*” to justify the political violence in the name of Islam. Islam became the religious instrument to influence the ethno-religious sentiments of the people and that left an indelible mark on the Kashmiri society.

The ethno-religious sentiments provided the emotional edge that makes people ready to die or kill in the name of religion. This was squarely the hijacking of the secular component of the Kashmiri identity. The minority Kashmiri Pandit community was targeted and the militants created a terrifying atmosphere in the Valley. The Kashmiri Pandits were forced to leave their homes. Many secessionists groups called upon the Pandits to agree to live under Islamic laws (Nizam-i-Mustafa) or go away. Slogans like "*Kashmir Me Rehna Hoga, Allah Akbar Kahna Hoga*" (cited in Thomas 2000: 244) psychologically shattered the minority Kashmiri Pandit community. According to one of these women,

All these years, Kashmiris women have suffered silently. We have always protested peacefully. But this time the situation is different. Our children are being killed. That's why we don't hesitate from pelting stones... They (government) have left us with no option. When we protest peacefully, they open fire on us (The Indian Express, Mumbai 6 August 2010).

The continuous violence and killing of people again ignited the anger among the people. People had lost the faith in mainstream leaders, but according to Balraj Puri, "young people, with their faces covered, told the media that they were disillusioned with the current separatist leadership. It seems the mutual rivalries between groups, and the attitude of the Pakistan government that patronized one group after the other, has eroded their support" (The Indian Express, Mumbai, and 12 August 2010: 11)

In his speeches and appeal to the people, Abdullah declared that, "In Kashmir we want a people's Government. We want a government which will give equal opportunities to all men, irrespective of caste and creed. The Kashmir Government will not be the government of any one community. It will be a joint government of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. That is what I am fighting for (cited in Verma 1994: 35)

A famous author, Kaul forges a link between poems, essays and photographs expressing Kashmiri collective consciousness. He talks about disruption and discontent in Kashmir occupation. Kashmiri movement always nullified and disregard by Indian. Kashmiri movement was hijacked by Pakistan but essentially desire to be an independent nation with an identity of his own constitution still rising inside of Kashmiri mind and heart. In a 1993 report, stated that Indian security forces, "battered civilians during search operations, tortured, summarily executed detainees in custody and murder civilians in reprisal attacks"; militants had also targeted common peoples. Rape was regularly used as a means to "punish and humiliate" communities. According to Dr Seema Kazi, it is used as a weapon of war by the state against the population. Rebellion against India's rule over Kashmir is neither new nor surprising and the brutality of the state response is equally familiar. In the 1990's, killing, torturing, disappearing, and imprisoning thousands of people are increasing in Kashmir. Some estimate put the number of people killed since 1989 at 70,000, some have been disappeared and others buried in mass graves. Kashmiris took to the street, police, and paramilitaries were deployed in large numbers across the region. Many of youngsters charged at the armed forces with stones and slogans demanding freedom. India forces respond with lethal effect, firing bullets, CS gas, metal pellets into the crowd. Abduction, fake counter, death in police custody and killing people had no proper record registered in police custody.

Seema Kazi constructs global lessons from the daily experiences of Kashmiris living under and resisting intensifying militarization and its terrible instruments like sexual violence, murder, family destruction, grinding poverty and social death. A large number of Kashmiris do not believe in that the 1947 accession is final; they insist that Kashmir is a deputed territory and demand self-determination. India public is bombarded with official version on Kashmir, Pakistan are bombarded likewise with their version. Women and men were not killed in the cross-fire, accidentally, but were systematically and brutally targeted. Many of the women were gang-raped before they killed by police officers.

Terrorists mingled easily with the locals, and were given refuge before or after their actions. When their men were killed in bomb attacks, the reprisals of the India forces could be murderous. Soldiers dropped in unannounced in remote villages, searching for terrorists- when they did not find them, they beat up the peasants, common people:

“I cannot drink water

It is mingled with the blood of young men

Who have died up in the mountains?

I cannot look at the sky; it is no longer

Blue; but painted red.

I cannot listen to the thunder of the clouds

It reminds me of a bomb blast.

I feel the green of my garden has faded

Perhaps it too mourns.

I feel the sparrow and cuckoo are silent

Perhaps they too are sad.”

Lashkar –e-Taiba’s existence, its terrorist’s activity focused on Indian targets in Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. They also attack on Indian civilians, hijacked, endless killings, sometimes they kill Kashmiris, and they rose down their buildings, Rape, maiming, mutilation, violence not controlled by anyone.

“Violence is like fire. It is spread everywhere.”

Common people are not terrorists. Who they have inscribe literature, scholars, intelligentsia and they also said we want peace and remove AFSPA, remove literary post and also remove police. They are not terrorists; they are thinking people, intelligentsia of community. They are also written on pain, police brutality, people discontent and distrust.

AFSPA is anti-national and extra-constitutional. The common people from afflict of extortion, intimidation, kidnapping, killing and violence occurring almost daily. In his Independence Day address, Sri O. Ibobi Singh said that we guarantee that there will be no more extortion, kidnapping, violence and extremism in Kashmir? Why they do not remove the AFSPA in Kashmir? On the other hand, victims of AFSPA have been all innocent citizens so far. The plain truth is, AFSPA is used or abused to kill unarmed citizens rather than struggle insurgency. But if centre feels that people of Kashmir are also citizens of India, give them to right of life taken away by the AFSPA. In reality, neither are people insurgents nor they are anti-Indian. They are simply against rape and murder that goes in the name of combating insurgency. They are also against violence, extortion kidnapping, perpetuated by so armed gangs. They want to live in peace, develop and be happy like the rest of the country. The struggle is for a civil society, where sanity and rule of law prevail. The struggle is for a real democracy where the voice of people is the voice of God.

Nothing more nothing less, what an oppressive tautology, what arbitrariness, what political expend icy, one feels like singing with the poet Blake:

AFSPA AFSPA burning bright

What sinews, what muscles

What terrible claws...

The seed of AFSPA is British; the womb is Indian. People of North East India have been fighting a life and death battle against AFSPA since its obligation. It is a democratic non- violent people's movement. People's accord is on the removal and final repeal of AFSPA. Kashmiri women demonstrate holding the banner: "Indian Army Rape us; Indian Army take our flesh; AFSPA is structurally and genetically draconian, cruel, colonial and full of contractions. Kashmiri said, we are citizens, why imposed AFSPA, PTA and other draconian law on us.

The second essay, ' My Paradise Is burning...' Past and Present in the Challenge", beings with the bloody present and trace its roots to colonial methods of government and the partition legacy and its bearing on Kashmir. It returns to the present through an engagement with the recent explosion of new modes of political creativity. Such creativity in the form of films, novels, poetry, internet activism and other forms of art that express discontent and enact the psychic, the cultural and the political dislocations suffered by the people, insist on the importance of everyday experiences of Kashmiris. AFSPA and PSA continue to be routinely used to imprison people. Many writes across supposedly impassable divides and Muslims and Hindus mourn the loss of shared lives. Such writing often invokes multiple temporalities- a comparatively benign, sometimes romanticized past, the difficult present and an imagined better future. Through these records of the experiences, frustrations, and aspiration of people, Kaul reflects the situation of Kashmir through anger and sorrow, indictment and memory as remembrance is powerful testimonial to Kashmiri suffering that shapes its politics today.

## CONCLUSION

We conclude that, life in Kashmir is a repetitive tale of death and destruction unfolds here on day to day basis. Kashmir has been blessed with immense beauty. But now Kashmir is burning. People of Kashmir and women and youngsters have been tortured by Indian Army and police. Early writers wrote their poetry on beauty of Kashmir but now they talk about maiming dissenters, tortured, death, verbal abuses and kidnapping. But Kashmiri poetry is limited. Kashmiri literature hasn't been widely discussed literature. Memory, the tragic past, and suppression came together in the act of stone throwing. Numbers of bodies are buried; they are unknown, unmarked unidentified and mass graves. Kashmiri wants independence. They fight against human rights, rights to live peacefully, rights to wander anywhere without checking and security. Kashmiri Pandits are known as refugee. They lost their identity and suffer a lot. Kashmiri movement always nullified disregard by India. Kashmiri movement was autonomous. Kashmir is the world's highest battle field and largest militarized zone. The increasing militancy and militarization in Kashmir have blurred the private/public dichotomy in Kashmir, thus, turning homes into battlefields and innocent Kashmiris into front liners. Over three decades of cross-border terrorism and political unrest has terrorized a land that seemed a heaven on earth. Today, there is an entire generation in Kashmir who does not know what it is like to see a street without armed soldiers, and a family without personal tales of anguish and humiliation.

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