

THE BLOOD OF PARTITION EVEN NOW ON THE SNOW OF KASHMIR: A STUDY OF ARUNDHATI ROY'S THE MINISTRY OF UTMOST HAPPINESS

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Abstract

The Lahore Resolution of 1940 made by Muhammad Ali Jinnah called for the Two Nation Theory to bifurcate the Indian subcontinent into India – for the non-Muslim population and Pakistan – for the Muslims. Instead of bringing a better tomorrow and safety within a boundary, Partition leads to a prolonged conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. This paper throws light on the highly militarized territory of India, Kashmir. Arundhati Roy has elaborated a list of English alphabets exclusively for the Kashmir region, all are developed from the calamity that are taking place in the Valley. Partition neither brings peace between the two neighbouring countries nor within India because of the everlasting conflict between the Hindus and Muslims. In addition to these, the conflict between the Kashmiris and the Indian Army is also to be watched.

Key words: Alphabet, Conflict, Kashmir, Partition, and Violence.

“The current world harbours some 200 states and more than 300 land borders between them, and in addition there are scores of sea boundaries” (Paasi, 13). With a view of a better tomorrow and also to secure the minority as a majority in a separate nation within a boundary, the Two Nation Theory was proposed by the then President of the Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah on March 22, 23, 1940 at Lahore. The Lahore Resolution as it is called, declared “That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign” (Wynbrandt, 151-52). According to Jinnah the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality and it is the basis for the bifurcation of India into two nations – one for the Muslims and the other for the non-Muslim population. Most of the historians believe that this Partition is considered to be the most crucial event in the history of India. Nearly, 14 million people, including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were uprooted from their authentic homeland and moved to an imaginary new homeland through foot, carts or trains. This mass migration is considered to be the largest in history. Instead of bringing a better tomorrow and safety within a boundary, Partition leads to a prolonged conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

Consider the states of Junagadh and Kashmir of Colonial India. The state of Junagadh had more than 80% of Hindu population whereas its ruler Nawab Mahabat Khan was a Muslim. This state was not bordering Pakistan since it was surrounded by Indian territory on all three sides and sea by the other. But the ruler acceded to Pakistan and Pakistan also accepted it. The then Home Minister of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel foresaw the communal unrest across Gujarat if Junagadh was acceded to Pakistan. The supply of fuel and coal was cut off and the Indian troops were also sent to the territory. Following these, the Nawab with his family fled to Pakistan. The then Dewan of Junagadh, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, invited the Government of India to intervene. So the Indian troops took over Junagadh on November 9, 1947. Following the protests of Pakistan a plebiscite was conducted in the following February in which the people unanimously voted for its accession to India.

Now, consider the state of Kashmir. Unlike Junagadh, Kashmir was a Muslim majority state ruled by the Hindu ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, who wanted Kashmir to be an independent country without joining India or Pakistan. But because of the military operation called Gulmarg, which was a tribal attack of Pakistan on Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh sought for the help of Indian troops. The then Governor General of India Lord Mountbatten insisted on accession ahead of any such assistance. He even advised Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to go for an appeal at the United Nations and the United Nations in April 1948, passed a resolution in which a three-step process was recommended to end the dispute. The three steps being: withdrawal of tribesmen Pakistani nationals from Kashmir, Government of India to reduce its force from Kashmir and also the Indian Government to employ a plebiscite administration for a plebiscite. Though both the countries accepted these three recommendations, they blame each other for not fulfilling the recommendations. The conflict that began with the Partition is prolonged till now. For Kashmir, three wars have been fought between the two neighbours, in 1947, 1965 and the Kargil War of 1999.

The honourable Home Minister of India, Mr. Amit Shah, on 5th August 2019, announced in the Indian Parliament that the Government of India is to revoke the special status given to Jammu and Kashmir. The Government has taken this decision because the Article 370 which gave Kashmir the special status has stopped it from being united with India. Article 370 of the Indian Constitution gave the Muslim majority state more autonomy than any other states of India. This Article gave Kashmir independence in almost everything except for finance, defence, communications and external affairs. When the Home Minister announced revocation of this Article, there were uproar in the Indian Parliament and the opposition parties condemned it as unconstitutional. Because, India has promised Article 370 to the Princely State of Kashmir and on this basis Kashmir joined India during the Partition. Now the region was split into two Union Territories – Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. And India has spent much for securing its borders and to the extent that its border is visible from the space: “Although the often repeated claim that the Great Wall of China is visible from the moon is not true, the floodlit Indian border with Pakistan is clearly visible at night from the International Space Station” (Parsons).

The Central Government of India imposed a total clampdown in the Kashmir valley when it announced the revocation. Even prior to the revocation, thousands of paramilitary troops moved to

Kashmir, communication was totally blacked out – no internet, no phone connection and no television. It was very hard for everybody to get any information out of Kashmir. Major politicians of the region were placed under house arrest. The Congress MP, Dr. Shashi Tharoor, in the Indian Parliament argued after the revocation that the revocation was an assault on the spirit of cooperative federalism and democratic practices. For centuries altogether Kashmir was never free. Since the invasion of Akbar in the sixteenth century, the oppressive rule does not end there. After the Mughal rule, the successive reigns of the Afghans, Sikh rule and the Dogra rule all were highly oppressive. Arundhati Roy boldly takes up this highly sensitive issue as one of the subject matters for her second novel, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*.

Burhan Muzaffar Wani, a 22 year old Hizbul Mujahideen Commander, was a high ranking cum popular militant in the Anantnag district of Jammu and Kashmir. There was even a hefty bounty for his capture by the Indian security forces. He was killed in a firefight on July 8, 2016. Wani's death triggered fury in the Valley, it saw massive protests and the region went unrest for the next five consecutive months which led to the death of 93 civilians and more than 15,000 injured. A total clampdown was imposed in the Valley. Amarnath Yatra was suspended. Many people including women were injured by pellets and there is a danger that they may lose their vision. And it is a sad fact that 14% of pellet gun victims were below the age of 15. The Centre deployed 5,000 additional troops to Kashmir. Curfew was lifted there after 51 days. Army launched some good will operation such as 'School Chalo.' During the pandemic time of 2021, all the Indian school students were made pass irrespective of their standards and boards and lock down is a word common among the public only in that time. But Kashmir witnessed all pass and lock down in 2016 itself. All these incidents clearly indicate that Kashmir does have the trope of Partition blood stains in her snow.

Arundhati Roy, the winner of the Man Booker Prize for Fiction in 1997 for her debut novel *The God of Small Things*, published her second novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* exactly eleven months after the encounter of Wani and without any doubts after carefully watching the happenings there in Kashmir. As an activist, her support for Kashmiri 'Aazadi', deep analysis on the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narendra Modi, observations and accent for the Naxalites, criticism of Mr. Anna Hazare, and the current scenario in India with all its protests, agitations, political events and environmental degradation found a perfect way in this novel. The novel was also longlisted for the United Kingdom's annual Women's Prize for Fiction which was set up to celebrate the women writing in English throughout the world. The novel has two main strands – both following two different women. The first one is Anjum, a *hijira* or a transgender who struggles hard to lead her life in Delhi. The other one is Tilo who was courted by three men in her college days – Musa, a Kashmiri, whose personal tragedies made him a militant, Naga, a South Indian journalist deputed in Kashmir and Biplob Dasgupta, an alcoholic high-ranking Government official posted in Kashmir.

In India, Kashmir has been observed as the most militarized territory. Article 370 of the Indian constitution presents autonomous status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. According to this Article, it has absolute sovereign power. The state was allowed to have its own Constitution. Though the Constitution of India gives the special status to Jammu and Kashmir, Kashmir *Azadi* or freedom has evolved into a long struggle especially among the youngsters like Wani. The forcible

circumstances that compel the youngsters like Wani to pick up the gun at the age of fifteen should be rectified. Kashmir 'Azadi' has three different meanings attached to it – freedom from India and being an independent nation, accession to Pakistan and the ironical freedom in India. The last meaning clearly indicates that though an integral part of India, Kashmir does not have its freedom. Roy in this novel, on behalf of Kashmir independence, takes us to the world's most beautiful valley which turns its citizens into *jihadis*, terrorists, martyrs and most importantly victims.

As a zealot of Kashmir *Azadi*, Roy narrates events lively and without any doubt those events are not just imaginary but the real events and incidents that took place in the Valley: "I would like to write one of those sophisticated stories in which even though nothing much happens there's lots to write about. That can't be done in Kashmir. It's not sophisticated, what happens here. There's too much blood for good literature" (Roy, 134). She elaborates a list of 'Kashmiri-English Alphabet' (Roy, 101) from A to Z, all are developed from the calamity that took place in the Valley. For the first alphabet A, she provides sixteen implications starting from *Azadi* to Amarnath Yatra. Some of the important implications being army, attack, AK-47, ammunition, ambush, *aatankwadi*, Armed Forces Special Powers Act, Al Mansoorian and Al Jihad.

Army, attack, AK-47, ammunition and ambush are related to terrorist activities *Aatankwadi* means terrorists. Al Mansoorian which was formed in 2013 and Al Jihad are two of the most important active groups heading the separatist movement for Jammu and Kashmir. Armed Forces (Special Powers) Acts (AFSPA) are acts which grant special powers to the three professional military forces of India – Army, Navy and Air Force and the special powers being firing, destruction of shelter and training camps of the armed groups, searching any areas and arresting anybody without any warrants. These Acts gained criticism from all walks of life especially from the human rights activists like Roy for the violation of human rights.

For the next alphabet B, Roy gives words like BSF, blast, body, burst, battalion, bullet, border cross, booby trap and bunker. The Border Security Force which was established in December 1, 1965, is the world's largest border defending paramilitary force whose primary objective is to curb transnational crime. Here she ironically provides words of destruction like grenade blast, body, burst, booby trap, bunker and bullet in connection with BSF. For the alphabet C, she lists words like Cross-border, Crossfire, camp, civilian, curfew, Crackdown, Cordon-and-Search, CRPF, Check post, Counter-insurgency, Ceasefire, Counter-Intelligence, Catch and Kill, Custodial Killing and Compensation. Cross-border or border cross terrorism sponsored by Pakistan is always a road-block to take any peace initiatives between the two countries. Established as Crown Representative's Police on 27th July 1939, the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) came into existence on 28th December 1949. Its mission is to maintain law and order and internal security effectively and efficiently. With its 82 years of glorious history, it promotes social harmony by upholding supremacy of the Constitution. Crossfire and custodial deaths or killings are most damaging for the Kashmiris because of the error of judgment by the armed forces to distinguish between the civilians and the militants. This was evident during the mourning procession of Usman Abdullah, a university lecturer who was shot dead by an unidentified gunman (UG). Musa's wife Arifa and their daughter Miss Jebeen were watching the procession with a handful of rose petals to be showered on

the slain's mortal remains. But when there was a slight disturbance in the procession, the armed forces turned on their "machine guns straight into the unarmed crowd that was wedged into the narrow street. They shot to kill. Even after people turned to flee, the bullets pursued them, lodging themselves in receding backs and heads and legs" (Roy, 153). The coffin bearers of Usman were also hit. And Musa's wife and lovely daughter were also hit and died: "Of the seventeen who died that day, seven were by-standers like Miss Jebeen and her mother (in their case, they were technically by-sitters)" (Roy, 151).

There is no dearth of check posts, surveillance and security in the Kashmir Valley and at each check posts people have to line up with their bags to be searched. If there is a firing or shelling, it will lead to counter-insurgency, counter-intelligence, curfew, indefinite curfew, ceasefire, crackdown, cordon and search, catching the terrorists or civilians and killing them in the "beautiful, war-torn valley" (Roy 60). Roy also quotes an example of the compensation given to a bereaved soldier's family. The soldier was S. Murugesan who belonged to a village in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. The jeep in which he was riding was blown up and 3 soldiers were bled to death. When his body was handed over to his family, a DVD of *Saga of Untold Valour* was also given. It was a documentary film produced by the Ministry of Defence and directed by Major Raju. The irony is that his family did not see the film since they didn't have a DVD player. In addition to this, he belonged to the lower caste, and the so called upper castes did not allow the funeral procession to pass their houses. This is the second humiliation meted out to him. To commemorate his valour, a statue of him with the rifle was built at the entrance of the village. But just after three weeks, the rifle went missing which is the next one. A month later, the hands of the statue were cut off because of the use of substantial materials for the construction. Then his head went missing purposefully beheaded by the other non-untouchables. Perhaps his young wife and six month old baby would recognize the dead soldier. The ex gratia or compensation for a dead soldier in India is nothing but only humiliation.

For the next alphabet D, Roy denotes words like Disappeared, Defence Spokesman, Double Cross, Double Agent, Disturbed Areas Act and Dead body. According to her, nearly 10,000 men have disappeared in Kashmir in their struggle for freedom in Kashmir. In reality, an organization named Association of the Parents of Disappeared Persons was founded by Parveena Ahangar, who is also its chairperson with the motive to inquire the cases of enforced disappearances. They were actually half-widows and half-orphans. In this novel, when Roy hints at the protests of the relatives of the disappeared in Delhi, she pathetically quotes about them: "They weren't all mothers; the wives, sisters and a few young children of the Disappeared had come too. Each of them carried a picture of their missing son, brother or husband. Their banner said:

The Story of Kashmir

DEAD = 68,000

DISAPPEARED = 10,000

Is this Democracy or Demon Crazy?

No TV camera pointed at that banner, not even by mistake. (Roy, 60)

When Musa was taken to the interrogation center, he gazed at a bound, beaten, bleeding boy whom

he knew well. He knew the boy's mother who had been going from one camp to another, one police station to another, desperately looking for her son. The Defence Spokesman often met the media people to release press notes regarding double cross and double agents that are common during the counter-intelligence attacks. The Disturbed Areas Act provides way for the speedy trial of offences which occurred in the disturbed areas. This act is also one of the most important reasons for the communal riots that happened in Gujarat and Kashmir.

For the next alphabet, Roy endows words like Encounter, EJK (extrajudicial killing), Ex Gratia, Embedded journalists, Elections and enforced disappearance. Extrajudicial killings or executions are also common in Kashmir where the armed forces bypass the legal procedures during encounters: "Every day there were gun battles, explosions, encounter killings. Militants walked openly in the streets, flaunting their weapons ..." (Roy, 168). Ex gratia payment for the civilian victims are also announced by the Government or the military but how far will it reach the victim. They will be expecting these payments in vain. When the US invaded Iraq in 2003, to thaw the criticism raised by media, embedded journalism came into existence. It refers to journalists being attached to the military. Here Roy criticizes the exploitation and misuse of journalists by the Indian Government.

For the next alphabet F, Roy presents words like Funerals, Fidayeen, Foreign Militant, FIR (First Information Report) and Fake Encounter. Fedayeens are various military groups whose members are willing to sacrifice themselves for their so called noble cause. Roy describes one of the fake encounters as:

The villagers said it had begun at 3.30 p.m. the previous day. People were forced out of their homes at gunpoint. They had to leave their houses open, hot tea not yet drunk, books open, homework incomplete, food on the fire, the onions frying, the chopped tomatoes waiting to be added.

There were more than a thousand soldiers, the villagers said. Some said four thousand... As the crackdown wore on, and dawn broke, it was not just the occasional gunshots that tore through people, but also the softer sounds, of their cupboards being opened, their cash and jewellery being stolen, their looms being smashed. Their cattle being barbecued alive in their pens (Roy, 134).

Even after some of the encounters or fake encounters by the army, the civilians could not find any dead bodies. But the army claimed one or two corpses of the foreign militants and the news will be sent to the media through the defence spokespersons. Even a small boy who wanted to have his own career invited four militants for dinner and mixed sleeping pills in their food. Then he informed the army who came and killed the militants and also burnt down the house. For this, the army has promised him "two canals of land and one hundred and fifty thousand rupees. They gave him only fifty thousand and accommodated him in quarters just outside an army camp" (Roy, 132). The bargain between them is that if he wants a permanent job instead of daily wages, he should bring at least two foreign militants. Even though he satisfies their demand, they will not grant their promise.

For the next alphabet G, Roy presents Grenade Blast, Gunbattle, G Branch (General branch-BSF intelligence), Graveyard and Gun culture. The BSF's intelligence introduced 'G' branch in

1977 and it acts as one of the central snoop agencies along the sensitive borders. Grenade blast, gun battle, use of RDX and landmine to target the army are also common in Kashmir. In 2000, in a telephonic interview to *India Today*, one of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen commanders of the time, Syed Salahudin pointed out that: “Even we wish that the gun's role be over. But India is not letting that happen... Before 1990, Kashmir never knew the gun culture. I have fought elections thrice in Kashmir. That was the time when we tried to get our rights peacefully. But we were crushed. Our violent struggle is a quest for peace... Their intensity and spread will increase till India gives up its intransigence.” (Salahuddin)

In March 2011, the then Chief Minister of the state Mr. Omar Abdullah announced in the legislature that the Government has issued 51,622 licenses for gun in the previous two years. Roy here hints at some of the activities of the Kashmiri youth like pelting stones and posing with guns in the name of freedom movement on social networks as exciting, charming and glamorous. Indeed, the editor of *Rising Kashmir* newspaper, Mr. Shujaat Bukhari, was shot dead by unidentified Kashmiri men themselves. In this novel, a tailor named Mehmood in Budgam village has a passion for guns. He wanted to pose with guns and so he sought the help of his school friend who had joined a military organization. His friend took him to their hideout and helped his dream to come true. Then he went to Srinagar with the negatives to be printed. But he was caught red-handed with the prints by the Border Security Force who took him to one of the camps where he was tortured for many days and then put into jail for 10 years. His friend was also arrested with two AK-47 and a large quantity of ammunition.

For the next alphabet H, Roy commits words like HM (Hizb-ul-Mujahideen), HRV (human rights violations), HRA (human rights activist), Hartal, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), Half-widows, Half-orphans, Human shields and Hideout. HM and HuM are considered to be the most important separatist militant organizations having their roots in the Pakistan soil. There are reports which state that human rights have been violated in the mountainous region of Kashmir by the armed forces and also by the separatists. But there is a counter-argument for this that, what would the armed personnel do if they continuously hear slogans like ‘Go back Indian Army’ and ‘Azadi’ and stones being pelt at them. Human rights activists like Roy condemn such violations on part of the Indian army. In this novel, Roy picturesquely depicts how Tilo was tonsured of her head by the army officials who took her for enquiry. Her arms were strapped down when she was tonsured by the camp barber, Mohammed Subhan Hajam. Major Amrik Singh who is often called as ‘Spotter’ for his ability to spot militants among the civilians, untied her. “The balaclava arrived along with a small pink tin of Pond’s Dreamflower talc. Amrik Singh powdered Tilo’s shaved scalp. The balaclava stank worse than a dead fish. But she allowed him to put it on her head” (Roy, 180).

Frequent hartals or strikes are a routine thing in Kashmir. Whenever there is a protest, it will lead to tension, agitation, stone pelting, firing and killing innocent lives and in the following days, hartal will be observed which in turn rises the tension and curfew like situation will be imposed. Human shield which is considered to be a war crime by most of the countries is also a tactic used by the Indian army perhaps following the words of Shakespeare that everything is acceptable in love and war. Roy here recalls the event that Mr. Farooq Ahmed Dar, a 28 year old youth was used by

the Indian Army as a human shield – tied to the bonnet of an army jeep – to prevent them from heavy stone pelting on the day of election. That picture went viral on the social media too. The Human Rights Commission ordered a compensation of Rs. 10 lakh to be given to him but it was rejected by the State Government.

Interrogation, India, Intelligence, Insurgent, Informer, I-card, ISI, Ikhwan, IB and Indefinite Curfew are some of the words provided by Roy for the alphabet I. She delineates how an interrogation center would be when Musa was taken by soldiers sent by Major Amrik Singh early 4'o clock in the morning saying: "Over-quietness at the funeral of your wife and child would not have passed unnoticed in those days" (Roy, 153). He was taken to the Shiraz Cinema which is one of the three most dreaded interrogation centres in the Valley, the other two being Cargo and Papa II. It was guarded by soldiers with machine guns. The place does not have proper ventilation and so the re-circulated air smelled of guns, diesel and old clothes. It is a camp for 'the torturers and torturees' (Roy, 156). Inter-Services Intelligence is abbreviated as ISI which is of paramount importance in gathering and scrutinizing the information not only from India and Pakistan but also from the world. The Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen was originated by Mohammad Yusuf Parray in the year 1994. This group joined with the Indian security forces to fight back the Islamist militants backed by the Pakistani government. Still now a very few Ikhwans are working with the security forces in Kashmir. The internal intelligence agency of India is the Intelligence Bureau (IB). The foremost objective of this is to accumulate intelligence within India and to operate counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism tasks. Mostly, IPS, IRS and military officers are working for it.

Jail, Jamaat, JKP (Jammu and Kashmir Police), JIC (Joint Interrogation Centre), JKLF (Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front), jihad, jannat, jahannum, Jamiat ul Mujahideen and Jaish-e-Mohammed are the words endowed by Roy for the alphabet J. Jamiat ul Mujahideen is an Islamic terrorist organization which has its base in Bangladesh. Jaish-e-Mohammed which means the Army of Muhammad is an active terrorist group whose primary objective is not only to separate Kashmir from India but also to merge it with Pakistan. The first and foremost objective of the JKP is to resist infiltration from Pakistan. Joint Interrogation Centre is a secret detention centre where tortures of all range – electric shock, sleep deprivation, inserting chilli powder in private parts, hanging upside down, inserting iron rods, etc – are performed on all suspects. Plenty of questions will be posted on them but they will not allow them to answer. These kinds of third degree tortures are unbearable for the common man. JKLF and Nizame-e-Mustapha are also militant organizations with an objective of *jihad* for Kashmir as a secular and independent nation. Kashmir is in itself a place which is both a Paradise and a Hell. This implication is revealed by the words 'jannat' and 'jahannum.'

For the next alphabet K, Roy provides words like Kills, Kashmir, Kashmiriyat, Kalashnikov and Kafir. Kashmiri-ness is the meaning of the word Kashmiriyat. It refers to the age old culture, tradition, language and other customs of the Kashmiris. Kafir is a derogative term sometimes used by Muslims to refer to other Non-Muslims. For the next alphabet L, Roy presents words like Lashkar-e-Taiba, LMG (light machine gun), Launcher, Love letter, Lahore and Landmine. Lashkar-e-Taiba which means 'Army of the Good' is the most active Islamic militant group which has its roots mainly in Pakistan. This group was the root cause of the 2001 Indian Parliament attack and the

2008 Mumbai attack. Most of the countries of the world believe that the ISI is rendering its help and protection to the LeT.

Mujahideen, Military, Media, Mines, MPV (mine proof vehicle), Militant (also Milton, Mike), Muslim Mujahideen, Mistaken Identity, Martyrs, Mukhbir (Informer), Misfire (Accidental death), Muskaan (army orphanage) Massacre, Mout and Moj are the words given by Roy for the alphabet M. Roy, as an activist, is of the view that the army mistook innocent civilians as militants that is mistaken identity and often misfired at them and make them as martyrs. She is of the view that the innocent civilians are murdered by the army as: “Armless people at the heart of an armed insurrection” (Roy, 154). They have informers and overground workers from all walks of life and if the real nature of informers is identified by their neighbours, they cannot lead a peaceful life. Landmines were laid by both the countries during the wars and it is a sad fact that after the landmines, the importance was given only to survival and not on cultivation of crops or fodder for their cattle. ‘Mot’ and ‘Moj’ mean death and wave. Here Roy is of the view that the death rate due to massacre, misfire, encounter or mine blast is on the surge.

For the next alphabet N, Roy delineates words like NGO, New Delhi, Nizam-e-Mustapha, Nabad, which means an Ikhwan, Night Patrolling, NTR (Nothing To Report), nail parade and normalcy. Day and night patrolling and parades are all regular army activities in Kashmir where even normalcy is also announced by the army. When things went on in favour of the army, they will file the FIR with all cooked up stories. On the other hand, if things did not go on in favour of them, they will produce Nothing to Report. Both are dangerous on part of the innocent civilians.

Occupation, Ops, OGW (overground worker), overground, official version, Operation Tiger and Operation Sadbhavana are some of the words given for the alphabet O. “Operation Tiger, Operation Serpent Destruction, Operation Catch and Kill” (Roy, 61) are all some of the operations by the military along with crackdowns. The word ‘Sadbhavana’ means ‘Good Will’. In order to get into the good books of the Kashmiri people, the army every now and then would arrange for some good will activities. One of them is taking the affected people for an excursion to Delhi and other places. “Today was an important day in the life of 17 girls of village Erin and Dardpora of Bandipora district when their 13 days SADHBHAVANA Tour to Agra, Delhi and Chandigarh was flagged off by Mrs Sonya Mehra and Brigadier Anil Mehra, Commander, 81 Mountain Brigade from Fishery grounds of Erin Village” (Roy, 135). In another Good Will excursion organized for the boys of the army orphanage home in Muskaan, Musa acted as the civilian escort to the team. They were taken to the most important places of Delhi like the Qutb Minar, Red Fort, India Gate, the Indian Parliamentary House, Rashtrapati Bhavan, Birla House – where Mahatma Gandhiji was shot – the residence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and 1 Safdarjung Road where Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated. During such tours, the participants would be asked to observe the development and progress made by such states and to compare their state’s condition with them.

In yet another ‘Operation Good Will’, the army took nearly 21 children on a picnic in one of the boats of navy. But unfortunately, the boat overturned and all the 21 children drowned. The parents of the drowned children joined their hands together and protested against the government of India. But this too led to violence and the army shot at them in order to bring the condition under

control. 'Operation Calm Down' and 'School Chalo' are also good will operations taken by the army to bring back normalcy in the day to day life of the violence hit areas.

Roy supplies words like Pakistan, PSA (Public Security Act), POTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act), Picked Up, Peace, Police, Papa I, Papa II (interrogation centres), Psyops (psychological warfare), Pandits, Press Conference, Peace Process, Paramilitary, PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) and press release for the alphabet P. Here Roy talks about the Public Safety Act which came into effect in 1978. Under this act, any individual whom the police term as protestors can be detained maximum for a period of two years without any court order. To toughen anti-terrorism activities, Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA) was implemented. Then came the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 2002. Vaiko, the founder and chief of Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), S.A.R. Geelani, a Delhi University Lecturer, Raturaj Pratap Singh, an MLA from Uttar Pradesh and Jammata-e-Islami leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani were the prominent people arrested and put in jail under this Act. Psychological Operations (Psyops) is a strategy to transmit particular instruction or data or message to the common man to influence his emotions. Psychological warfare is a technique which was used in both the World Wars. Its objective is to maim and demoralize the people at war through distribution of pamphlets in the past and with the use of social media in the present. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a mental health disorder that is triggered after a frightening or traumatic incident like sexual assault, accident or warfare. The event's consequences may be nightmares, dreams, flashbacks, sleeplessness and hallucinations. The affected people will be in a severely depressed and anxious state for days altogether. Major Amrik Singh, who has tortured and killed many innocent civilians, committed suicide killing his wife and three children. This may be because of PTSD. Press conference or press release is a common thing in Kashmir in which the army announces the killing of terrorists and also the measures taken by it in order to tighten the security along the line of control.

RR (Rashtriya Rifles), Regular Army, rape, rigging, Road Opening Patrol, RDX, RAW, Renegades, RPG (rocket propelled grenade), razor wire and referendum are some of the words supplied by Roy for the next alphabet R. Murder in the early morning, during day time and at night is a common thing in Kashmir. Roy describes an anonymous murder of a strong man probably a militant who had an AK-47 and a fully loaded ammunition belt. About 11.30 p.m. "He had been freshly killed. His blood had flooded on to the snow. It was still warm. It had melted the snow. The snow was still steaming" (Roy, 131). Even after his throat was slit, he managed to drag his strong body for nearly thirty meters to knock the doors of villagers for help. But fearing the army, no body helped him and he bled to death. The amazing thing here is no body claimed the murder – neither the army nor the opponent militant groups. So the Rashtriya Rifles (RR) and the JKP jointly announced that a militant was killed in an encounter following a Search-and-Cordon operation and they even shared the prize money. The media reported the incident as: "*In a fierce gun battle that lasted several hours a dreaded militant was killed in a joint operation by the Rashtriya Rifles and the Jammu and Kashmir Police led by Major XX and Superintendent of Police YY*" (Roy, 131). The Research and Analysis Wing of India is its foreign intelligence agency, headquartered in New Delhi. RPG is a shoulder-fired weapon. People turning into renegades and the Indian army killing them are

a common thing in Kashmir.

Roy lines up words like Quran, Separatists, Surveillance, Spy, Suspected, Shohadda (martyrs), Sources, Security, Sadbhavana (Goodwill), and Surrender for the alphabets Q and S. Most of the words described by Roy for the alphabets T, U, V and W were discussed earlier. Whenever there is violence, there will be different versions for the same incident. The innocent local civilians have one version, the official report will be entirely different and the police and army have their own versions of the same incident. In Kashmiri, 'waza' means 'to cook' and 'wazwaan' is a meat based multi-course Kashmiri cuisine whose preparation is also an art and it is served in grand celebrations. And currently, it has become a dying tradition mainly because of the tension in Kashmir. For the last alphabet Z, Roy gives Zulm and Z plus Security. 'Zulm' the Arabic word means cruelty or unjust exploitation and oppression by the army on the poor people of Kashmir.

Though Tilo was courted by three men, she fell in love with Musa. But married Naga and their marriage life did not go long. She left him and finally goes in search of Musa who is wanted by the Indian Government for terrorism. Roy is of the opinion that terrible things have happened in each and every single household in Kashmir. Almost every youth of Kashmir is regarded as a vibrant militant. Since too much of blood is shed in the Valley, its people think that, "The Kashmir we have irrigated with our blood! That Kashmir is ours!" (Roy, 153). But the same people who are fighting for 'Azadi' and dying at the same time, want to secure the cheap loans given by their Government with whom they are fighting. Hence she calls the Valley as "Valley of idiots" (Roy, 169).

"Borders are not natural, neutral nor static but historically contingent, politically charged, dynamic phenomena that first and foremost involve people and their everyday lives" (Williams 1). The Radcliff line drawn to crack the Indian sub-continent is the root cause behind the simmering tension between India and Pakistan. The shadow line that was drawn between the two countries has prompted both countries to develop their own nuclear weapons. So the uneasy stand-off is much more than a regional dispute: it is fraught with wider danger. The two nations must keep in their mind the holocaust caused by the use of nuclear weapons in the World War II. Arundhati Roy who published this novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* after her hibernation of nearly twenty years, not only throws light on Kashmir and its blood stained snow but also on the trajectories of a transgender woman, corruption in the Government, cruelties of caste system and the plight of the tribal people in India.

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