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KASHMIR AS A SYMBOL OF PAKISTAN: WHY VIOLENCE IN KASHMIR NEVER STOP?

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Abstrak

Kashmir telah menjadi tempat yang berbahaya di Asia Selatan. Di wilayah ini, India dan Pakistan melakukan tiga perang besar dan banyak pertempuran kecil. Kashmir telah diduduki sejak 1947, namun kedua belah pihak mengklaim pendudukan satu sama lain adalah ilegal. Muslim Kashmir yang diduga didukung oleh Pakistan terus melakukan aksi terror. Di sisi lain, pejabat India di Jammu dan Kashmir dengan keras menekan demonstrasi dan melakukan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia. Setelah peristiwa 9/11 pada tahun 2001, teroris telah menjadi sangat jahat dan tanpa ampun. Artikel ini berfokus pada analisis sumber-sumber kekerasan dan intervensi Pakistan. Ide artikel ini secara teoritis didasarkan pada chosen trauma dan simbol identitas dari Volkan. Pembantaian berkelanjutan dan diskriminasi di Kashmir yang dilakukan oleh orang India Hindu telah membentuk identitas orang Pakistan sebagai chosen trauma, diskriminasi dan penganiayaan yang berlangsung terus-menerus membangkitkan kembali ketakutan dan kemarahan mereka.

Kata kunci:

Kashmir, Hari Solidaritas Kashmir, pembantaian Jammu 1947, Chosen trauma

Abstract

Kashmir has been a 'powder keg' in South Asia. In this region, India and Pakistan waged three all-out wars and numerous skirmishes. Kashmir has been occupied separately since 1947, but still, both sides claim the other's occupation is illegal. Muslim Kashmiris, who are allegedly supported by Pakistan, continuously commit terrorist acts, and in return, Indian officials in Jammu and Kashmir violently suppress demonstrations and commit human right violations. After 9/11 in 2001, terrorists have become demonized and pardonless. This article focuses on analyzing the sources of violence and Pakistani intervention. The idea of this article is theoretically based on Volkan's chosen trauma and symbol of identity. Continuous massacres and discriminations in Kashmir committed by Hindu Indians have formed the identity of Pakistanis as the chosen trauma, and ongoing discriminations and persecutions reactivate their fear and anger.

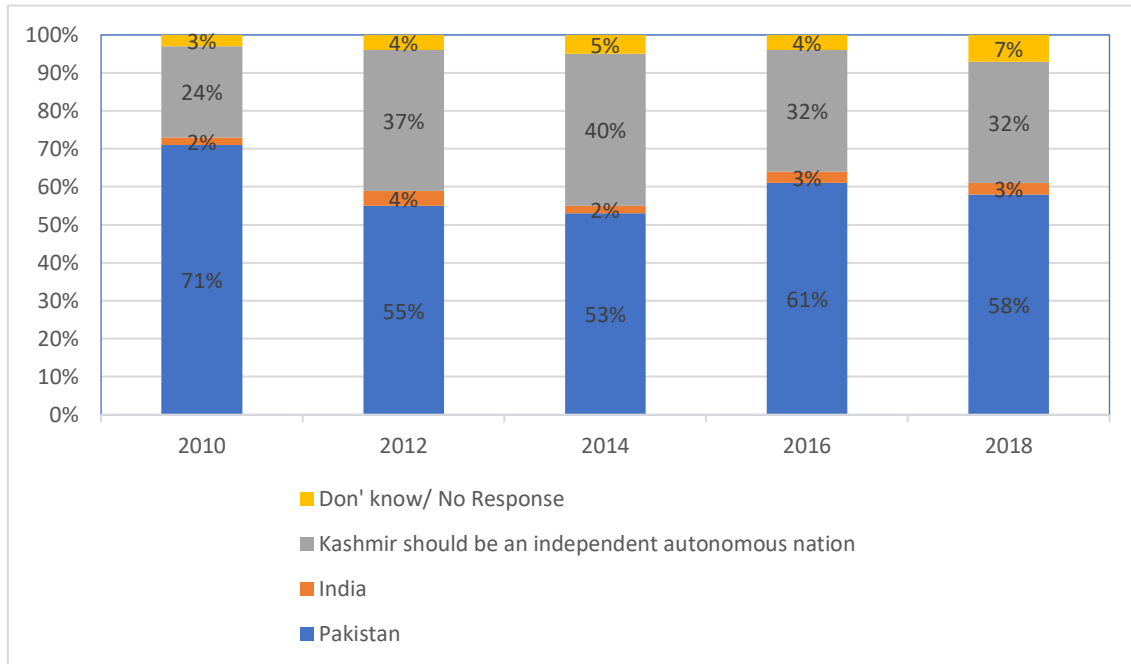
Keywords:

Kashmir, Kashmir Solidarity Day, 1947 Jammu massacre, Chosen trauma

INTRODUCTION

'Jammu and Kashmir' has been suffering from continuous terrorist attacks and repressive policies since the partition of India in 1947. Against such repressive policies, there has been resistance accompanying violence and demonstrations by Muslims which lead to another repression by Indian officials. Suppression involves inequality as well as human right violations, which bring about strong condemnation and interference of the Kashmiris' so-called brothers, the Pakistanis. Pakistan, which cannot remain a spectator over Kashmir, supports terrorists, the so-called mujahedin. This process is the horrible vicious circle between Pakistan and India. Today, Pakistan is one of the most demonized states alleged not only to be supporting but also creating terrorist groups externally (Riedel, 2008, pp. 31-32).

Pakistan was also suspected of being behind a recent terrorist attack in Jammu and Kashmir's Sunjawan Army camp on 10 February 2018. Subsequently, Indian and Pakistani government officials exchanged condemnation and intimidation (Jain, Bukari, & Johnson, 2018). Pakistan has interfered and raised issues regarding Kashmir in both covert and overt ways. One of Pakistan's typical approaches for overt action is internationalizing an issue through the use of speeches in international organizations and dialogues with other states. Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan recently raised this issue in the summit meeting with Malaysia as well as in OIC's (Organization of Islamic Cooperation) Contact Group (Adnal, 2018). Pakistan's former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif raised the Kashmir issue in the UN General Assembly and the summit meeting with the former US President Barrack Obama in 2015 (Aziz, 2018). The significance of Kashmir has been witnessed in not only political leaders but also the mass of Pakistani according to image 1.



Source: Gallup Pakistan, “58% Pakistanis believe that Pakistan has the right to Kashmir; 32% believe it should be an independent autonomous nation. Rising support for independent Kashmir noted that past 8 years.” (Gallup, 2018)

Image 1. Gallup Pakistan: “Think impartially and tell us, who you think has more right to Kashmir – Pakistan or India?”

The voices of Kashmiris and Pakistanis have been undermined and delegitimized since 9/11 (Nasreen, 2010, p. 50). Demands for sovereignty, autonomy, or even decent living conditions can no longer receive broad support from the international community when such activities get involved in terrorism. Taking advantage of the West-led wave of the global war on terrorism, India legitimized its repression of Muslim Kashmiris and demonized Pakistan's alleged sponsorship of terrorists (Nasreen, 2010, p. 50). The approximate number of terrorists in Kashmir is 4,000, 80% of which are indigenous and 20% of which are from other countries, including Pakistan (Trehan, 2002, p. 207). ISI (Inter-Service Intelligence of Pakistan) comes under suspicion as a primary source of terrorist funding in Kashmir (Trehan, 2002, p. 207). This situational condition distracts the point of Kashmir issue. Are Mujahedins so inhumane that dialogue or compromise with them seem worthless? Demonizing is not helpful to clarify the cause of cleavage and to resolve the conflict. Accordingly, understanding Pakistan's view is relevant to find an appropriate perception as well as an answer.

There have been various attempts to figure out why Kashmir became so touchy to Pakistan bringing about violence such as terrorism. Wirsing (1996) argued that the extreme responses of Pakistanis on the Kashmiri issue is caused by “Islamic militancy in Pakistan” (p. 174). But he didn’t give any reasons why Kashmir, among Pakistan’s many contentious border areas, causes such strong feelings to Pakistanis. Behera focused primarily on the political aspirations of Pakistan toward Kashmir and secondarily on ethnonational rationales’ (2016, pp. 42-50). His account didn’t fully explain the mass Pakistanis’ anger and violence in response to the Indian occupation of Kashmir. Saideman described Pakistan’s claims towards Kashmir as counter-productive and attributed the cause to irredentism (2005, p. 203). However not every irredentism brings about violence. Thus, this paper is searching for a comprehensive answer of these unsolved questions: Why did the Kashmir issue become so touchy and contentious to Pakistan among many other issues with India?; Why not only political leaders but also the mass in Pakistan is obsessed with the Kashmir issue?; And last but not least, Why does the Kashmir issue cause violence, though not every territorial dispute are concluded in an abusive result?

To answer these questions, I will explore the narratives of Pakistanis and Kashmiris including their terrorists, primarily using an identity frame. Understanding the subjective narratives of Pakistanis’ over Kashmir based on an identity frame could contribute to comprehending a salient motivation and stimulus of violence in Kashmir, which could make for better management on the Kashmir dispute. For this, analyzing the origin of Pakistanis' identity and the process of its dynamic should be advanced. This article utilizes mainly the theory of chosen trauma (Volkan, 1997; 2014) and secondly the concepts of symbol and myth (Kaufman, 2001) to elucidate the correlation between Pakistanis' identity and their history as well as current issues. The article is organized as follows. The first section organizes and briefly lays out key concepts and theories that this article is based on. The second section examines historical factors in the sight of Pakistan, Muslims, and factors that stimulate Pakistanis' resentment. The final section analyzes Pakistanis' identity coming from historical trauma and their reactions to India's repression of Muslim Kashmiris. The main argument of this article is that Pakistan's identity from the chosen trauma may not be the only reason for the conflict, but it may be one compelling reason among many.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

CHOSEN TRAUMA AND IDENTITY

Group identity, Myth, and Symbol

What is group identity? When a group maintains its identity, it "entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership and exclusion" (Barth, 1969, p. 15), which means that a group identity entails both inclusion and exclusion. When one includes others into one's group or excludes them, there are many criteria used to do that. Kelman's study (as cited in Seul, 1999, p. 556) argued that "The group's identity consists of the member's shared conception of its enduring characteristics and basic values" and suggested those criteria of one's identity are "its strengths and weaknesses, its hopes and fears, its reputation and conditions of existence, its institutions and traditions, its past history, current purposes, and future prospects." One of the most crucial criteria is the history of a group, which is interpreted and given meanings with the name of myths.

According to Kaufman, from myths, a specific history becomes awarded with "a particular meaning" to members of the group by defining "enemies and heroes...right and wrong" (2001, p. 28). A symbol is what represents a myth ostensibly with "cognitive and emotional effects" (Kaufman, 2001, p. 29). Depending on what kinds of histories a myth is oriented from and what kinds emotions are charged, the meaning of a symbol could vary. Thereby Kaufman's symbolic politics explains ethnic conflicts persuasively. Notwithstanding his exquisite theory, there comes the point in question, "how does a specific history become a myth?"

Chosen Trauma

Volkan's theory of chosen trauma gives us a reliable account of this question. Volkan chose this terminology "to describe the collective memory of a calamity that once befell a group's ancestors." (Volkan, 1997, p. 48) Volkan's book (as cited in Ross, 2001, p. 166) accounts for reasons and a process why and how does a specific history become a myth, saying "when group members feel too humiliated, angry, or helpless to mourn the losses suffered in the trauma...the group then incorporates the emotional meaning of the traumatic event into its identity and passes on the emotional symbolic meaning from generation to generation." Not every history is passed down to a group's descendants, but only some of them are chosen as meaningful memories. However, the process of memories being chosen is unconscious when defining a group's identity from it (Volkan,

1997, p. 48). Then, this article should explain what kind of history and memories are chosen unconsciously by a group?

Severe Calamities of Groups

Myths of one's history could be glorious as well as miserable. The chosen trauma, because it is a trauma, comes from the history of miserable. The history of miserable, calamities could be natural disasters such as a typhoon, man-made disasters such as the Chernobyl disaster, and "damages caused by another group of people" (Volkan, 1997, pp. 40-41). "Damages caused by another group of people" is different from either natural or man-made disaster (Volkan, 2014, p.46). The events which cause damage to a people are various: warfare itself, genocide, and massacres with their accompanying arsons, abductions, and rapes. The calamities committed by other groups display related symbols to perpetrators as well as victims. For victims, primarily, the calamities are developed into their traumas, which redefine groups' as well as individuals' identities. Volkan explained that those who inflicted such pain and helplessness upon victims are identified as an enemy (Volkan, 2014, p.46). How the history of calamities with damages is passed down to descendants is the very next question should be answered.

Transgenerational transmission

Contemporary South Koreans are mourning their loss in the Japanese invasion (1592-1598) as well as during the period of Japanese colonial rule. People in Northern Ireland commemorate the Great Catholic Rebellion (1641), the Fenian Uprising (1867), and the Easter Rebellion (1916) (Hancock, 1998, p. 20). Since 1990, Pakistanis have designated the Kashmir Solidarity Day, mourning their losses during the Partition (1947), and the three defeats from India (1947, 1965, and 1971) of which battleground was Kashmir. Why do people still mourn and commemorate such historical events of the long ago? To account for this, Volkan uses the term, the mental representation which "is the consolidated collection of the shared feelings, perceptions, fantasies, and interpretations of the events" (Volkan, 1997, p. 45).

When the mental representation is from the events of calamities with the disastrous losses, it should be resolved or reversed, if not, those griefs and helplessness are passed down to others (Volkan, 1997, p. 45). The story of loss connoting mourning, grief, and helplessness is transferred to later generations within the forms of education, memorial days, and monuments. This transgenerational transmission means that such

traumatized historical events are "unfinished psychological tasks" (Volkan, 2014, p. 57). When the trauma is unfinished, it ought to be resolved, mourned, and transferred into other subjects. It is the hope of ancestors who were directly affected by the calamities and transferred the messages to later generations. This gives explanations of why people after decades or even centuries from the events share feelings of loss, humiliation, shame, and even revenge-entitlement (Volkan, 2014, p. 56). Such feelings are inherited to descendants in the ways mentioned above.

Reactivation of a Chosen Trauma

Kaufman used a compound word, the myth-symbol complex to define the most significant part of one's identity. He explained that this terminology is "the combination of myths, memories, values, and symbols that define... 'who the member of the group' (and)... 'what it means to a member'." (2001, p. 25) When the symbol, which represents the myth-symbol complex externally, is in danger or is threatened by others, the group feels insecurity and sometimes the hostility inherent in the myth is ignited. Once any variables activate the transgenerationally-transmitted trauma, the group escalates its hostility toward the other group and sometimes doesn't hesitate to commit brutal violence to keep its identity represented by the symbol. Not every member whose group is affected by the chosen trauma commits violence toward other groups, many of them remain peaceful as perennial mourners, or sometimes the chosen trauma of the group becomes faint. However, some of the chosen traumas can be reactivated fiercely, although it was dim or in the state of dormancy. Then, what fuels such waves of anger and hostility? That is the status of group symbols. When other groups, especially alleged perpetrators of the historical calamities, threaten the status of the group symbols, members of the group "are willing to fight and die for them" (Kaufman, 2001, p. 25).

Summary of The Theoretical Way of Analysis

There are many components that makeup group identities. The myth-symbol complex represents entangled emotion, history, relationships, and values which converge into the symbol extensively. When the particular history of loss and emotions of helplessness and miserableness are passed down to the later generation, it becomes a part of groups' core identity, expressed as either the myth-symbol complex of Kaufman or the chosen trauma of Volkan. Once other groups of so-called historical perpetrators threaten or attack the

symbol of the group, members of the group would fight to death to protect their symbolized identity.

RESEARCH METHOD

To study the case of Kashmir on the basis of the above theories, in terms of methodology, this article mainly utilizes the study of historical narratives. As I focus on the subjective viewpoint of Pakistan, this study should explore not only real historical factors but also fictional representations of history. Thus, connected with ample theoretical basis, historical narratives are expected to give us a compelling explanation to answer our research questions.

DISCUSSION

Discrimination and Massacre: History of Muslims in India

Minority and Fear

The beginning of British India signified the end of Muslim domination in the Indian subcontinent where Hindus were a demographic majority. During the period of British India, Hindus were a distinctive majority while Muslims were a definite minority. The number of Hindus was about 255 million with 206 million caste Hindus, and 49 million Hindu outcaste classes, that of Sikhs was 6 million, that of other indigenous religions was 6 million, and lastly, that of Muslims was 94 million (Wilber, 1964, p. 87). At the initial point of British India, Muslims were not only a demographic minority but also relatively indifferent to compliance with new systems, cultures, education, and religion (Wilber, 1964, p. 87). In the nineteenth century, Muslims chose to resist and reject Western ideas and institutions rather than to accept and utilize them, which was called "Wahhabi reaction" as the first phase of Muslim regeneration (Wilber, 1964, p. 88).

In contrast to Muslims, Hindus were enthusiastic to take advantage of new opportunities in schools, government services, and businesses. Such a difference in reaction led to a difference in political power as well. At the meeting of the Indian National Congress held in 1905, there were only 17 Muslims out of the 756 delegates (Wilber, 1964, p. 91). In the 1930s, Muslims started to demand their autonomy separate from Hindus. Muslims at that time were seriously worried about the outcome of independence from Britain because, without overwhelming mediating power, they might think that they could be under severe discrimination or threat of extinction. According to Horowitz, the reaction and demand of Muslims could be interpreted as "an anxiety-laden

perception." What Muslims felt was "the fear of extinction and swamping" (1985, p.179). The fear of extinction was mutual and exchanged with escalation so that around the 1947 Partition, the fear burst out and was expressed through atrocious violence.

Partition, Exodus, and Violence

Two communities which had proved they were compatible began to attack each other by a horrible eruption of "sectarian violence." It was "a mutual genocide as unexpected as it was unprecedented" (Dalrymple, 2015, para. 2). Once Partition was announced, members of each side were stuck with a horror of being a relative regional minority under the threat of extinction. This extreme level of fear rationalized extreme violence. Expected border areas such as Punjab and Bengal experienced the severest mutual violence with "massacre, arson, forced conversion, mass abduction, and savage sex violence" taking place on a wide scale (Dalrymple, 2015). Nisid Hajari's book, *Midnight's Furies* (as cited in Dalrymple, 2015) depicted precisely how brutal and unforgettable the violence was.

"Gangs of killers set whole villages aflame, hacking to death men and children and the aged while carrying off young women to be raped. Some British soldiers and journalists who had witnessed the Nazi death camps claimed Partition's brutalities were worse: pregnant women had their breasts cut off and babies hacked out of their bellies; infants were found literally roasted on spits."

This violence accompanied the exodus of people from one side to another. Pakistan in 1947 consisted of two parts, West and East which later became Bangladesh in 1971. West Pakistan received 6.5 million Muslims from western Indian states while 4.8 million Hindus escaped from West Pakistan to western Indian states. In East Pakistan where the exodus was relatively smaller, 0.5 million moved to East Pakistan while 2.5 million migrated to eastern Indian states from East Pakistan (Bharadwaj, Khwaja, & Mian, 2014, p. 91). In human history, this wholesale and fleet involuntary population exchange had never before happened. During four years after the partition, a total of 17.9 million people had left their homes to escape from the fear of death (Bharadwaj et al., 2014, p. 91).

Kashmir in 1947 and the First India-Pakistan War

The 1947 Partition, the Jammu Massacre, and the First India-Pakistan War were a series of historical events in the context of the partition, fear, and exodus. These series of events in Kashmir, using expressions of Volkan, are “the collective memory of a calamity” which converged into the unfinished chosen trauma, which has been failed to mourn because of its continuity. This is the focal argument of my paper, explaining the question of why the violence in Kashmir never stops? To understand the chosen trauma that originated from 1947 Kashmir, figuring out what happened and how brutal the event was is crucial. Many records and arguments regarding massacres of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947 are not official, but many of them are alleged by Pakistan or Kashmir. According to Kaufman, from the point of the myth, the fact does not matter (2001, p. 28). To understand the chosen trauma of Pakistanis and Kashmiris, the point is how they perceive the event and what meanings they gave to the event.

Usually, Kashmir has represented more than Kashmir itself, including the Kashmir Valley with a population of 1,728,600 (from the 1941 Census), Jammu Province with a population of 1,561,580, Poonch, Baltistan, and Ladakh (Malik, 2002, pp. 22-23). Although the Hindu Maharajah had ruled Kashmir since 1846 (Malik, 2002, p. 18), and elites in this state were Hindus, nevertheless the majority was Muslims. According to the 1941 Census in Jammu and Kashmir, the population of Muslims was more than 75% (3,703,450), and that of Hindus was about 20% (807,549) (Malik, 2002, p. 22). Until the 1947 Partition, Jammu and Kashmir chose neither side but opted for self-rule because the princely states had the right to decide whether to accede either side or to govern themselves (Haque, 1991, p. 45).

In 1947, when the Maharajah decided to belong to neither side, but remain sovereign under his own rule, Muslims raised their voices, which grew into the social movement. Maharajah Hari Singh chose to suppress the Muslim social movement coercively and brutally the Muslims (Shah, 1990). The Maharajah's forces disarmed Muslims and handed weapons over Hindus and Sikhs who thenceforth slaughtered Muslims with their weapons (Snedden, 2007, p. 120). The army of Hari Singh expelled Muslims from Jammu Province and even deceived them by promising to take refugee camps, but drove them to forests and executed them instead (Fareed, 2017). Some people argue that around 200,000 Muslims were killed in Jammu Province in 1947 (Snedden, 2007, p. 121). Also, recently, the president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Masood Khan said that in 1947, 250,000 Muslims were massacred by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak

Sangh, a right-wing Hindu organization, at Maharajah's command (The Express Tribune, 2017). From this calamity, nearly 500,000 were displaced and forced to escape to Pakistan (Fareed, 2017). Still, some people in Pakistan who escaped then remember the event, some have families in Kashmir, and some later generations were educated by their parents about how cruel it was (Fareed, 2017). Therefore the 1947 Jammu Massacre became the chosen trauma of Kashmiris as well as Pakistanis and triggered following historical events and continuous disputes.

In addition, the 1947 Jammu Massacre was a cause of the first India-Pakistan war, which drew the military demarcation line crossing Jammu and Kashmir. After the massacre, the terrible story of neighbor Muslim brothers and sisters was told to Muslims in Pakistan and sparked their anger and that of the Muslim-brotherhood. One of the Muslim tribal in Pakistan, Pukhtoon reacted initially by entering Kashmir with armed forces on 22 October 1947 (Snedden, 2001, p. 114). Pukhtoon forces joined the Azad Army which was voluntarily organized with Muslims centered around WW II veterans on 1 October 1947 fighting against the Hindu ruler (Pakistan Army). After crossing the border, several hundred Pukhtoon tribesmen marched toward Srinagar where Maharajah Hari Singh was in (Ganguly, 1984, p.59). Muslim Pukhtoon tribals forces "panicked the Maharaja by tipping the balance of armed forces against him" (Snedden, 2001, p. 114). Maharajah Hari Singh had no choice but appealing India to intervene with its armed forces, and in return for that, he had to accede to "the Indian Dominion" on 26 October (Ganguly, 1984, p.59; Snedden, 2001, p. 114). India promptly repulsed substantial territories against the Azad Army, which threatened Pakistan.

The official participation of Pakistani Army began in May 1948, after several months from the intervention of India. People in Pakistan were mostly those who fled from both India and fear of death in there by Indians. Since the middle of the British Indian era, Muslims in India had demanded their autonomy out of fear of discrimination and even extinction. Thus the identity of Pakistanis actively contained the fear as well as furiousness against Indians naturally. Pakistan's participation in Kashmir was a natural consequence following its calling of identities. Pakistan forces combined with the Azad Army and fought together against Indian forces until 1 January 1949 when both sides agreed to the ceasefire with the arbitration of UN (Snedden, 2001, p. 114).

Discrimination and Continuing Massacres

It has been 71 years from the Partition, but discrimination and persecution are ongoing matter in Kashmir, precisely in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). “Death, mass destruction, and violation of human rights, such as indescribable atrocities, sexual violence, excessive use of force, torture, enforced disappearances, and world's first mass binding operation” have been executed in IOK (Mirza, 2018). For decades, there were continuous uprisings in IOK against Indian rule (The Economist, 2010, p. 58). However, Kashmiri demonstrations only have aggravated their conditions of human rights. One of the figures is that over 90,000 Kashmiris were killed by Indian security forces between 1990 to 2007 (Nasreen, 2010, p. 51). Discrimination and human rights abuses are widespread in Jammu and Kashmir especially after the Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) and the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act (PSA) were enacted. The AFSPA, which was enacted in 1990, and the PSA, enacted in 1978, have taken way Kashmiri human rights, such as the right to trial and "the right to remedy for victims of human right violation" (OHCHR, 2018, pp. 4-5). Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Right (OHCHR) explains two extreme acts in its report as follow.

AFSPA. "In 1990, India introduced... (AFSPA) to manage the armed groups that had emerged by the end of the 1980s over objections to Indian control over Kashmir...The allegations of human rights violations include torture and custodial deaths, rape, enforced disappearances, and extrajudicial executions." (OHCHR, 2018, p. 10)

PSA. "PSA authorizes the authorities to impose an administrative detention order for a broad range of activities that are vaguely defined, including 'acting in any manner prejudicial to the security of the state' or for 'acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order.' PSA allows for detention without charge or trial for up to two years in some cases...It has been used to target human right defenders, journalists, separatist political leaders, suspected members of armed opposition groups and people involved in protests." (OHCHR, 2018, p. 16)

Pakistanis continuously criticize the bad conditions of their Muslim brothers in India-controlled Kashmir. Recently the President of Pakistan-administered Kashmir, Sardar Masood Khan blamed the IOK government with its "draconian laws" during his

speaking to a delegation of 48th Pakistan Navy Staff Course on 13 November 2018 (Naqash, 2018). Moreover, the Pakistan government constantly has strived to publicize so-called “draconian laws” in IOK over international society. On 17 August 2017, Khawaja Muhammad, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan made a statement condemning “Indian barbaric politics against defenseless Kashmiris” and inviting “the attention of UN Secretary General towards Indian nefarious designs of bringing demographic changes in IOK.”(The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Government of Pakistan, 2017). A Pakistan media expressed the anger of the government as well as people in Pakistan against law enforcement in IOK writing “the government and people of Pakistan strongly condemn the continuing use of brutal and indiscriminate force by the Indian Occupied Kashmir.” (Dunya News, 2017)

Kashmir as a Symbol of Pakistan's Trauma

The Kashmir Solidarity Day

One of the days for a nation to commemorate and mourn a particular historical event and its context is an enactment of memorial day. Since 1990, Pakistanis have commemorated each 5 February as Kashmir Day or Kashmir Solidarity Day. Slogans on this day express their sorrow and anger: “Kashmir is the unfinished agenda of Partition!”; “Kashmir is Pakistan's jugular vein!”; “Kashmir and Pakistan are like one soul in two hearts!” (Zakaria, 2018). Kashmir Solidarity Day was commented on by Nawaz Sharif, the chief minister of Punjab in 1990, appealing for Pakistanis' protest against "the Indian occupation of Kashmir" (Time and date). On this public holiday, people fill the streets, mourn dead Kashmiris as martyrs with one-minute silence, form human chains linking Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, and march holding flags and pickets with "Free Kashmir" written on them. People in the streets proclaim that Kashmiris and Pakistanis are brothers by blood and they will never stop protesting until freedom in Kashmir is achieved. The Kashmir Solidarity Day has the word "Solidarity" in the middle of its title. It represents the solidarity between Kashmiris and Pakistanis, which sends not only a message but evokes strong narratives and myths of history. Following message by the Prime Minister of Pakistan on the Kashmir Solidarity day on 5 February, 2019 epitomized its narratives.

“Ruthless killings, pellet injuries to children and infants, rapes and torture; Indian atrocities in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir continue unabated and so does the spirit and courage of Kashmiris in their fight to achieve the legitimate right to self-

determination... The observance of the Kashmir Solidarity Day every year on 5th of February commemorates the strong and unflinching resolve of the Kashmiris to achieve the inalienable right to self-determination from Indian subjugation which does not weaken rather strengthens with every passing day and with each new act of Indian cruelty in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir.”(Khan, 2019)

Many other officials remarked on this day expressing vitriolic anger toward India as well as stressing the bond between Pakistan and Kashmir: Pakistan Minister of Kashmir Affair and Gilgit-Baltistan, Ali Amin Gandapur gave a address condemning atrocities in IOK and committed “its moral, political, and diplomatic support for the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for right to self-determination” in a seminar which was titled ‘Kashmir Matter’ and was held at Aiwan-e-Sadr in Islamabad. In addition, Minister of Defense, Pervez Khattak remarked saying “heart of every Pakistan throbs with his Kashmiri brethren” (Radio Pakistan, 2019). On the occasion, the Pakistan President, Arif Alvi said: “Pakistan is with you(Kashmir)...(I) demonstrate to our Kashmiri brothers and sisters and the world at large that we have not forgotten the long-pending dispute of Jammu and Kashmir and the struggle of the people of Kashmir against India.”(Rising Kashmir, 2019)

As the symbol which is "an emotionally charged shorthand reference to a myth" (Kaufman, 2001, p. 16), Kashmir is the convergence of Pakistanis' anger, fear, and helplessness towards Indians. Accordingly, the Kashmir Solidarity day is an outwardly expressed representative of the symbol connoting complex identity of Pakistanis. Up to this point, this article explained mainly about historical factors between India and Pakistan focused on Kashmir, and reactions of Pakistan. Henceforth, this article should account for the thesis question, "Why Pakistan keep interfering Kashmir?", in accordance with the theoretical basis, the chosen trauma and reactivation.

The Identity of Pakistan, The Chosen Trauma, and Reactivation

Pakistan started its history with fear of discrimination and the grief of loss. Muslims who feared oppression and discrimination founded Pakistan. Pakistan tried to include whole Muslim majority states for its sovereignty and freedom. There was a series of mutual genocide during the 1947 Partition. Although Muslims had half of the responsibility for the brutal violence generally, nevertheless at least in Pakistanis view, Muslims are those who escaped from India, away from discrimination and violence. Discrimination during

the British colonial period as well as violence during the partition had made up the central part of the Pakistanis identity.

The atrocities that took place during partition were executed in numerous areas, especially around border adjacent regions, but especially Kashmir seems to be a touchy issue for Pakistanis. That is because Kashmir has become, to use Volkan's word, an "Unfinished psychological task"(2014, p. 45). To mourn the disastrous losses of brother victims and to reverse emotions of anger, fear, and helplessness into something else, the calamity has to stop at least. However, the chain of defeats in Kashmir against India accumulated and perpetuated the chosen trauma of Pakistanis. The aggravation of trauma in Kashmir has been the vicious circle by exchanges of revenge. As the trigger of the first India-Pakistan war was the Jammu massacre, the defeat of the first war made Pakistanis feel helpless. Similar helplessness and defeatism affected Pakistanis following the second India-Pakistan war in 1965 as well as the Kargil war in 1999. The loss of the Kargil war was even more tragic for Pakistan because India had occupied the Siachen glacier in 1983 where neither side took until then, with the identical strategy Pakistan used in the Kargil war (Adnan, 2015, pp. 130-131) The three India-Pakistan wars, innumerable skirmishes, and continuous mujahedin terrorism supported from Pakistan, are the reactions and eruptions of the chosen trauma, which only have made it worse.

The helplessness of Pakistan's chosen trauma has not stayed in the past but is an ongoing issue because of the continuous human rights violations by AFSPA and PSA. As the boundary of Pakistan's identity covers the Muslims in Kashmir, Pakistanis see their victimization as a reflection of the discrimination, agony, and pain of Kashmiri Muslims. Continuous discrimination and violence disturb Pakistanis keeping them from forgetting their sorrowful historical trauma and only reactivate their pains.

India and Kashmir

India's "secular credential" has been a stronghold of India's occupation in Kashmir (Behera, 2016, p. 41). India's amendment in 1976 stressed that India is the secular democratic republic (National Portal of India). India's secular nationalism has been the critical grounds of its ruling of other minor religious and ethnic groups. In this vein, Kashmir is "symbolic of secular nationalism and state-building" (Ganguly & Bajpai, 1994, p. 402). India's secular nationalism collided head-on with Pakistan's Muslim nationalism. This collision is the core of the perdurable dispute in Kashmir, and these two

different nationalisms seem incompatible. Thus, cessation of violence should be somewhere in between Pakistan's Muslim nationalism and India's secular nationalism.

Loss of India seems endless. Following figures show continuous fatalities from terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir: in 2018, 78 civilians and 90 security force personnel (following figures are in the same order); in 2017, 57 and 83; in 2016, 14 and 88; in 2015, 20 and 41; in 2014, 32 and 51; in 2013, 20 and 61; in 2012, 16 and 17; in 2011, 34 and 30; and in 2010, 36 and 69 (South Asia Terrorism Portal).

The number of terrorist violence has been increasing since 2010 (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism). For India officials, it is hardly imaginable to abolish AFSPA and PSA, as these are their rightful reaction of Muslim's terrorism and violence. Especially, AFSPA is the security issue fighting against “external and externally-abetted forces that threaten not only the security of the state but also of the country” (Chadha, 2013, p. 5). Hence India is not the sole perpetrator but also the victim itself. On 14 February 2019, the suicide bombing, allegedly from “a Pakistan based militant group”, killed “more than 40 Indian paramilitary police in Pulwama district in India’s Jammu and Kashmir. According to the BBC report, “the attack has sparked anger and anti-Pakistan protests across India.” (BBC, 2019), which could be interpreted as a sign of Indians’ trauma to some extent. Therefore, the exchange of violence and vengeance between Muslims and Hindus is the chicken or the egg controversy.

As not every territorial dispute escalates to terrorism or communal violence, policies and negotiations should preferentially focus on the cessation of violence prior to the territorial issue or Kashmiris' autonomy. The key is the cessation of the source of violence. Violence is activated by the reactivation of the chosen trauma, which is originated from persecution (or fear of persecution), massacres, and helplessness over the death of Muslim brothers. India has kept stimulating the passion and anger of Kashmiris as well as Pakistanis by ongoing discrimination and severe suppression, although Indians are victims as well. The current policies in Indian Occupied Kashmir toward Muslims remind Pakistanis of their transgenerationally-transmitted grief and sorrow and triggers resolute determinations to devote one's life to terrorism.

CONCLUSION

This article tries to answer the following questions: Why the Kashmir issue became so touchy and contentious to Pakistan among many other issues with India?; Why not only political leaders but also the mass in Pakistan is obsessed with the Kashmir issue?; And

why the Kashmir issue causes violence, though not every territorial dispute are concluded in abusive results? This article does not offer any concrete solutions for the conflict but suggests that the Pakistanis chosen trauma regarding Kashmir should not be overlooked when dealing with the Kashmir issue and the India-Pakistan relationship. Pakistan was founded by Muslim India's fears of extinction, discrimination, and persecution at the hands of Hindu India. What Pakistanis feared was being the minority in the Indian subcontinent; therefore, they originally demanded that every Muslim majority states should be part of Pakistan, the land of pure. Thus, basically Pakistan's boundary is not territorially limited but includes Muslim majority regions across the Indian subcontinent such as Kashmir which constantly reminds Pakistanis both their origin of identity and narratives. Thus, Kashmir issue should begin from this understanding.

Kashmir is the principal symbol of Pakistan's chosen trauma, which connotes Pakistanis' myths of fear, anger, sorrow, and helplessness. Pakistan's chosen trauma which mainly began with the 1947 Partition with horrible massacres has kept being reactivated by Pakistan's many conflicts with India. Pakistan's chosen trauma has failed to mourn but has only become more solidified and unresolvable. Kashmiris demonstrations, whether was peaceful or not, have aggravated their living conditions and triggered Pakistan's trauma. Indian's official policy of discrimination and persecution toward Muslim Kashmiris is represented by AFSPA and PSA which strongly reactivates the current anger of Pakistan. There might be no perfect resolution on the territorial dispute, but at least both sides of government can find a way to stop the vicious circle of avenging violence.

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