



RESEARCH PAPER

Postcolonial Subalternization of Kashmiris in Arundhati Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*

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Subalternization is a key postcolonial term that is fundamentally a social process which means to put someone in subordinate position. It is said to be a process in which elite class exploits the nation's poor in the name of nationalism. It preserves the power and privileges of the class of native masters. This concept has been highlighted in literary studies for a long time. Arundhati Roy in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* also takes up issues of subalternization in Indian society and tries to debunk the myth of India as a biggest democracy and secular state which propagates protecting the minorities but keeps exploiting them through different means. This paper is an attempt to understand those issues of subalternization and highlights their impact on Kashmiris investigating the oppressive policies of the Indian State adversely affecting its image. The concept of 'postcolonial subalternization' is used as the framework for the analysis of the novel with special reference to Kashmiris studied with regard to their demonization and persecution resulting in their ghettoization and marginalization. The paper concludes that the response of Indian State towards Kashmiris is based on apathy as the security personnel are seen actively involved in oppressive acts.

Introduction

In 1947 it was mandated by Radcliffe commission that Muslim majority states were to be annexed with Pakistan and Hindu majority states with India. Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of Kashmir, annexed with India on certain guarantees from the Indian State. It was against the wishes of Kashmiri Muslim majority which wanted to be part of Pakistan. However the Tribals liberated some part of Kashmir

from Indian forces in 1948. Indian Prime Minister Pundit Nehru went to UN and promised there that India would hold plebiscite in Kashmir according to the wishes of Kashmiris- a promise begging fulfillment to date. Due to tense situation and grave differences on Kashmir, three wars have been fought between Pakistan and India. Many decades have passed since the partition but the matter is still unresolved and has cost thousands of Kashmiri lives. Indian State has left no stone unturned to crush and curb the freedom movement. It has employed every tactic of state oppression against Kashmiris. Basic human rights and fundamental rights have been snatched. In the 1980's, Kashmiri liberation movement entered a new enthusiastic phase which brought brutal state tactics to crush the voices of liberation. Indian State used every way to suppress Kashmiris. This repression has been vividly portrayed in Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (hitherto abbreviated as *TMUH*). Roy has depicted the tense situation in Kashmir by the eyes of her character Tilotama (Tilo) who visits Kashmir in 1996 to meet Musa, her class fellow turned into a freedom fighter in Kashmir. She is in love with Musa who keeps changing places, names and identity. We see situation in Kashmir through the eyes of these two characters. India transformed Kashmir into a jail where every type of torture became legal and consequently "dying became just another way of living". Graveyards appeared everywhere in the valley and it became a valley of death where people were killed at the hands of armed forces and Indian State crushed Kashmiris by every novel way of oppression (Roy, 2017, p. 314). Due to presence of several lac troops in Kashmir every Kashmiri was under suspicion due to his/her drive for liberation.

Foregrounding the issues of marginalized communities in Indian society as a consequence of subalternization Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* highlights subalternization of Muslims, Kashmiris, Dalits and indigenous tribal populations or Adivasis. The novel vividly projects the deep-rooted subalternization in Indian society and emphasizes how Bharatiya Janta Party has strengthened the Hindutva ideology which has intensified already prevalent subalternization by making India a graveyard for Indian subalterns.

Bharat (2016) asserts that terrorist violence is not limited to a single country; rather it is "worldwide phenomenon" (p. 82). She opines that terrorism has global coverage and it is not restricted to a single country (p. 85). Our paper on *TMUH* disagrees with Bharat's analysis of calling terrorist violence "a worldwide phenomenon" because she puts, we believe, the real issue of marginalization and state terrorism against the Kashmiri Muslims in Indian Occupied Kashmir, under the carpet by just calling the issue international one. Terrorist violence might be a recent issue but the 'subalternization' of Kashmiri Muslims started right after the partition.

In an interview with P.G. Rasool in 2008 Roy emphasized that as a writer, Kashmir was central to her understanding of the human condition. She said that Indian Occupied Kashmir made her understand the Indian State's brutality and powerlessness of the Kashmiris. She said that she would not just write a single book on Kashmir, rather it will be in every book of hers (pp. 199-206).

Literature Review

Keeping in view the time of almost two decades for publishing her second novel it is no wonder that the novel received a lot of reviews to welcome it. According to Silva (2017), the story of *TMUH* wakes in us empathy for humanity whereas Messud (2017) opines that Roy's new novel is grander in ambition and issues in play are multifarious as the novel teems with the details of these issues. Walter (2017) calls *TMUH* "A bright mosaic". It is a combination of many suppressed voices of India. It is a scattered narrative but it is done deliberately to become everything before telling story of everything. Suppressed voices are of Muslims, transgenders, Sikhs, Dalits, Kashmiris, Tribal Adivasis and victims of Bhopal gas tragedy. Furthermore, Hopley (2017) says that *TMUH* has stories of marginalized communities like transgenders, low caste people and religious minorities. There are stories of transgender characters like Anjum; a man from a lower caste named Saddam Hussain; Musa, a freedom fighter; and Revathy, a woman from tribal Adivasis. On the contrary, Sehgal (2017) dubs *TMUH* as "Roy's fascinating mess". Though the world she presents in the novel is brutal, it's however not at all difficult to understand it. Begley (2017) labels it a "novel of conflict on a grand scale", amalgamating the personal and political, and "well worth the 20-year-old wait". All through the novel conflict within and outside the characters for identity can be seen: transgenders' conflict within for identity, Muslims and Dalits' conflict with Hindutva nationalists, the conflict of Kashmiris and tribal Adivasis with the Indian State forces. Seeing from a different angle, Khair (2017) regards the novel "structurally a political" one. According to him, political novels have clear political stand so characters of this novel are secondary and political purposes have primary importance. Arundhati Roy's activism for rights of marginalized communities of India is clearly manifested in the novel. She has time and again supported Kashmiri and Maoist struggles. So the narrative of the novel supports her political standpoint actually. Keeping in view violent nature of India's recent history, Acocella (2017) praises Roy for delivering a "scarring novel of India's modern history". Her use of the phrase, "Scarring novel", points towards the violence perpetrated in recent few decades of Indian history by the Hindutva nationalists and Indian State forces against the religious minorities, lower castes, Kashmiris and Tribal Adivasis. On the similar note, Kakutani (2017) is of the view that the novel is discursive in nature. It is an ambitious attempt to cover many issues in a single novel. Public turmoil hints towards chaos in India for the last 50 years. Different marginalized communities have been protesting and fighting for their rights.

The review of the critical responses to Roy's *TMUH* shows that it has been received as an ambitious discursive narrative carrying the sympathetic narrative voice of the author herself. As a whole this is a voice of the oppressed against the oppressor.

Material and Methods

The theoretic framework of the paper is informed by postcolonial theory, and especially, the concept of "Postcolonial Subalternization" (Nayar, 2008) is applied to analyze the text of the chosen novel. This concept serves as the methodological tool for critical reading of the novel. Subalternization is fundamentally a social process and Subaltern investigation determines it as a postcolonial feedback.

For Nayar "Postcolonial Subalternization" is one of the principle themes of the post-colonial writing (Nayar, 2008, p. 71). He adds further: If the local was the subaltern amid colonial rule, postcolonialism made its own particular subalterns. "Lower" castes, and classes, women and ethnic minorities are rapidly turned into the "Others" inside the postcolonial nation state. The new elite class is similarly oppressive and exclusive like its colonial masters. Denoting the procedure of "Postcolonial Subalternization" as an awful progression of colonial practices of mistreatment, Nayar says that such a postcolonial subalternization involves the marvel of "postcolonial protest" (p. 102). Nayar finds the Indian Dalit writing, in the local dialects and also in English dialect, as the praiseworthy destination to feature the "Postcolonial Protest" against this "Postcolonial Subalternization" by "documenting the sufferings of and atrocities committed upon a large section of the population" (p. 109). He proclaims Indian Dalit Writing as an accompanying augmentation of post-colonial written works as it acquires and takes after the anti-colonial soul looking for social changes; flexibility from ruling social structures; equity for the persecuted; an antithesis or counter-point of view to build up histories; and to challenge the incorporation of neighbourhood, victim narratives into a bigger system, along these lines deleting their specificity (p. 108).

Since the postcolonial theory encompasses all the aspects of exploitation of the masses unlike other frameworks, therefore, the paper employs postcolonial theory to read Roy's *TMUH* in the following section.

Results and Discussion

This section highlights the 'postcolonial subalternization' of Kashmiris as portrayed by Roy in *TMUH*. According to Nayar (2008), subalternization is a never-ending process. It readjusts itself in all circumstances. Nayar elucidates this idea by giving the example of India, before and after partition. He asserts that in pre-partition India, the colonizers were the masters and all native Indians were considered as subalterns whereas in the post-partition India, a new class of masters and subalterns emerged because of never-ending process of subalternization. The new class of masters comprised men and that too of upper caste Hindus. However, the class of subalterns consists of a number of various groups such as "women, lower castes and classes, ethnic minorities". In postcolonial theory, the term 'subaltern' refers to the lower social classes and the marginalized groups of a society. 'Othering' is established through unequal power-based relations between the colonized natives and the colonizers. Therefore, it describes the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. In the light of the concept of "postcolonial

subalternization”, when Roy’s novel *TMUH* is perused, it becomes vivid that the history of post-partition India is full of discrimination and oppression against Muslims, Kashmiris, Dalits and Tribal Adivasis. In this section, however, the plight of Kashmiris of Indian Occupied Kashmir, as portrayed through Roy’s vignette of them, is analyzed in detail.

The Picture of the Subalternization of Kashmiris in TMUH

In *TMUH* Major Amrik Singh is the symbol of state oppression in Kashmir during the 90’s decade. He leaves no stone unturned to torture and kill freedom fighters. ACP Pinky is another character who tortures Kashmiris unabatedly. Missing of persons by Indian State forces is just a routine matter and questions like: *“have you seen my boy anywhere? Have you seen my husband? Has my brother by any chance passed through your hands?”*, have become clichés (Italics in original, Roy, 2017, p. 314). Kashmiri Freedom Movement has reached to such an extent that Indian State feels itself helpless and in desperation, does everything which a fascist state does to curb and crush people in such a way that every segment of Kashmir valley has become ever poorer and “[o]nly for gravediggers there was no rest. It was just work work work. With no extra pay for overtime or night shifts” (p. 315). Musa who was living a happy life with his wife and daughter is dispersed after killing of his wife, Miss Jabeen, by state forces. As the movement strengthened, torture camps were opened, like we see in Sheraz Cinema where young men are tortured to death and in this way Kashmir had been turned into a graveyard for Kashmiris where “some graves became double-deckered” due to lack of space. Such is the magnitude of atrocities by the Indian State forces (p. 319). Due to post-operations trauma many soldiers of Indian army were committing suicides “and the number of suicides rose dramatically” (pp. 319-320). The conscience pricking forced them to take their own lives. Home sickness and continuous resistance from Kashmiris also made their lives miserable as more soldiers were taking their own lives now than being martyred in encounters with the freedom fighters. Fake elections became cause of extreme tension for armed forces where none of the Kashmiris welcomed this move and state had to employ barbaric torture tactics to curb and crush resistance from Kashmiris. Indian government had to pretend to the world this fabricated show of democracy where “elections were held and democracy was declared” (p. 320). When “a popular university lecturer” Usman Abdullah who “was a prominent ideologue in the struggle for Azadi” (p. 320) was brutally killed “thousands of mourners” carried his body to the graveyard. Indian forces opened fire on the procession and out of the seventeen “seven were by standers like Miss Jabeen and her mother” who were watching the procession from their balcony (p. 320). They were chanting “Azadi! Azadi!” (p. 323) with thousands of other people who were carrying dead body of Usman Abdullah. In the meanwhile soldiers came out of their bunkers and opened fire on “unarmed crowd” to kill them even after they “turned to flee” (p. 323). Some of those coward soldiers “turned their weapons on those watching from windows and balconies” (p. 323). The victims of these bullets were Miss Jabeen, and her mother Arifa. Also coffin of Usman Abdullah and its holders were hit. The coffin

was broken open “doubly dead among the dead and injured”. The shooting was stopped only when all that remained were “the bodies of the dead and wounded”. There was no body to chant: “The Kashmir we have irrigated with our blood! That Kashmir is ours!” (p. 324). Such barbaric and repressive acts of violence were common in Kashmir and this breach of fundamental rights and violations of basic human rights was followed by state forces’ “post massacre protocol” which used to be “quick and efficient”. The dead bodies were sent to the morgue and the wounded to hospital. Blood in the street was drained and shops reopened. After a little time “[n]ormalcy was declared”. Later investigation established that the explosion was caused by a blast in an empty carton which was run over by a car. To know about the causes of the massacre a tribunal was formulated but “[t]he facts were never established”. It was perhaps Kashmir’s fault to see the deaths on such a scale. Life, death and war went on for Kashmiris (p. 324).

Keeping in view the horrifying scenario in Kashmir it was in the air that some security personnel had stethoscopes with them to check the hearts that were beating for freedom. Heart beating for freedom invited torture in “Cargo, or Papa 11, or the Shiraz Cinema- the most dreaded interrogation centres in the valley” (p. 325). There was another thing which was noticed in those days: over quietness at the funeral of your near and dear ones put you in real trouble. Musa was arrested on this suspicion. Young men carrying 17 coffins knew that they were being closely observed by soldiers who were all across the city- “on roofs, bridges, boats, mosques, water towers. They had occupied hotels, schools, shops and even some homes” (p. 326). Even the trees seemed to be mourning in grief on the bloodshed of innocent people. In the graveyard, seventeen plus graves were prepared. In this atmosphere of repression and state brutality, they very rightly knew the importance of press without whose photographs and coverage “massacre would be erased and dead would truly die”. So the dead bodies were shown to them “in hope and anger” as “a banquet of death” (p. 327). It was necessary to keep the record because in upcoming years “war became a way of life” books, films and photo exhibitions would be held around the theme of Kashmir’s grief and loss. (p. 327). On this event Miss Jabeen was by now the biggest attraction...it was going to be the local classic that would be in newspapers and magazines and human rights reports with captions like “*Blood in the Snow, Vale of Tears and Will the Sorrow Never End?*” (Italics in original, p. 327).

During the protests against the state brutalism a lone woman’s voice touched the sky when she uttered the words: “*Ro rahi hai yeh zameen! Ro raha hai asmaan*”, meaning that both the earth and the sky are shedding tears (Italics in original, p. 328). Kashmiris had become invincible because they knew “they were already dead” so they were ever ready to embrace death with open arms (p. 329). In Kashmir Indian State had spread its spies among the masses whose prime responsibility was to share photos and videos of young men who were hankering for freedom from state repression. These young men were interrogated and tortured for their own bio-data which was enough to transform their already pathetic life into living hell and many times got them missing and brutally killed (p. 329). How Indian State had deprived Kashmiris of all basic fundamental rights could be seen in the form of

Shiraz Cinema which was turned into a torture cell which “now functioned as a reception-cum-registration counter for torturers and torturees”. Dozens of handcuffed men lying “on the floor like chickens” were “badly beaten” and treated awkwardly and inhumanly, being hardly alive, had to face the “kangaroo courts” (p. 331). The law and order situation had deteriorated to such an extent in the Kashmir valley that Major Amrik Singh forcibly picked up Musa to investigate at 4 am in the morning when Musa’s wife and child had just been shot a few hours before. Villagers are often blamed for welcoming militants but the point to be noted is how could “unarmed villagers” (p. 335) turn away the men in the night having guns whether they were militants or military? Major Amrik Singh is one such symbolic representation of state machinery that is employed to suppress the voices of freedom. He is “a gambler, a daredevil officer, a deadly interrogator and a cheery, cold blooded killer” (p. 336). He is proud of his deeds as in a conversation with his victim he brags about his duty that he was the government of India’s dick and it was his duty to fuck [Kashmiri] people (p. 336).

Human rights and fundamental rights situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir could well be imagined by mental make-up of Amrik Singh for whom the most disgusting people were “human rights activists”. These were “mostly lawyers, journalists and newspaper editors [...] Whenever Amrik Singh was given permission to pick one of them or neutralize them (these permissions never came in the form of orders to kill, but usually as an absence of orders not to kill) he was never less than enthusiastic in carrying out his duties”. On one such occasion he was ordered “to intimidate or detain the man”. But Amrik Singh killed Jalib Qadri’s companion Ikhwan Salim Gojri who was in fact Amrik Singh’s friend. Jalib Qadri was unafraid before him. Indian Occupied Kashmir had become a police state where there were no human rights, no fundamental rights and no remedy in the courts for having been oppressed (pp. 338-339). Shiraz Cinema had been turned into interrogation and torture cell. While crossing the lobby Musa stared “one of the bound, beaten, bleeding boys whom he knew well” (p. 341). He knew his mother who had been searching for him in camps, police stations desperately. Such was the situation for mothers where there was no remedy but to roam desperately in search of near and dear ones who had gone missing by state personnel with utter disregard of any law or fundamental rights. For many mothers it was going to be the search for the whole of their lives. Narrating this situation the writer has beautifully sentenced it: “in our Kashmir the dead will live forever and the living are only dead people pretending” (p. 343).

As is the matter with security states evolved into fascist ones identity in form of numbers and cards becomes more important than human beings. Identity of human beings as individuals having rights in a democratic state are curbed and crushed that is why the main protagonist of the novel Musa says on one occasion: “Our cards are more important than we ourselves are now. That card is the most valuable thing anyone can have.” (p. 343). Human rights violations were common in Kashmir valley; consequently, “many of them were killed, jailed or tortured until

they lost their minds" (p. 345). In democratic states people have right to move independently and have right to personal life with no interference but in Kashmir people were under "rifle-sights of a soldier" (p. 347) wherever they were and whatever they were doing because soldiers were numerous and people whom they were watching were "a legitimate target" (p. 347). Like in all security ridden states which violate the fundamental rights of its subjects everywhere military personnel are seen blocking roads with barriers and public transport is stopped and checked unabatedly without any regard to peoples' inconvenience and free right to move. Luggage is checked and "[t]he passengers just keep their eyes lowered" in extreme fear (p. 347). There was such a chaos and disorder in Kashmir that Srinagar closed down with the fading of day light and people closed their doors and there was no one in the streets (p. 348). Tilo came to realize that the situation in Kashmir had turned into a nightmare for its residents, no one could avoid these inevitable nightmares in the form of daily oppression; killings, detentions, missing persons, curbing of all basic rights and violation of human rights. The only way left with the subalternized people of Kashmir was to accept their fate and continue with their disastrous and monstrous routine of life by embracing them "like old friends and manage them like old enemies" (p. 352).

Military personnel often start firing on the processions taking the remains of the dead Kashmiris. Even they fired at the remains of killed persons. Perhaps those dead bodies were not aware of the rules of being enslaved. They had better idea of being free and not obey the orders. They could perhaps better teach the living the art of being free in this environment of suppression and extreme fear. They could "teach us how to be free. Or how to be killed" (p. 355). The whole valley of Indian Occupied Kashmir had been turned into a jail because the hotels "had been turned into barracks, wrapped in razor wire". Hotels' dining rooms were "soldiers dormitories, the receptions daytime lock ups, the guest rooms interrogation centres" (p. 356). Inhuman torture was carried out on young Kashmiri men when they got tortured with electrodes and their anuses were burnt with petrol (p. 357). Indian Occupied Kashmir was then such a battle-field where occurrences like "gun battles, explosions, [and] encounter killings" were mere routine matters (p. 357). Security personnel were so suspicious of the freedom tide that they arrested the young men who wore good boots and deemed them as militants because it was enough evidence to arrest someone (p. 366). Tilo often visited two places in Kashmir: 'orchards and graveyards' because these were then the most prominent things in the valley. Due to mass murder there were cemeteries all over the valley (p. 373). Mumtaz Afzal Malik's older sister, whom Tilo met, narrated how and when the body of her brother was found in the field: "[h]is fists, clenched in rigor mortis, were full of earth and yellow mustard flowers grew from between his fingers" (p. 373). In Indian Occupied Kashmir, the term 'questioning' was dealt to those not condemned to death and meant "a few slaps and kicks" whereas the term 'interrogation' stood for torture (p. 380). Novel techniques of inhuman torture were employed in the torture camps where "pillars [...] were used as rollers on prisoners who were tied down while two men rolled the pillars over them, literally crushing their muscles. More often than not, roller treatment resulted in acute renal failure. The tub was for water-boarding,

the pliers for extracting fingernails, the wires for applying electric shocks to men's genitals, the chilli powder was usually applied on rods that were inserted into prisoners' anuses or mixed into water and poured down their throats" (p. 381). Tilo on suspicion was shifted to interrogation centre where she was put down on a chair where her long hair was cut (p. 383). Where Tilo's hair was cut, a poster on the wall reflected the mental make-up of security forces who shunned all democratic and secular laws of the state guaranteeing equal rights, putting away all fundamental and human rights from the people of Kashmir who were only fighting for their right to self-determination which was guaranteed in Indian constitution and UN resolutions, poster said: "We follow our own rules, ferocious we are, lethal in any form, tamers of tides, we play with storms, U guessed it right, we are men in uniform" (p. 384). Tilo along with the other women stepped into the streets of the city which were only crowded when some procession carrying dead bodies of martyrs crossed through them. It was literally the city of funerals. The city suddenly became crowded when all segments of society "[e]ven in the narrowest of by-lanes, groups of women and men and even the smallest children chanted *Azadi! Azadi!*" (Italics in original, p. 386). This was another funeral after nine months of Miss Jabeen's funeral. This time there were nineteen coffins in the hands of these chanting people (p. 387).

Oppressive Policies of Indian State in Indian Occupied Kashmir

Nayar (2008) asserts that the militancy-ridden state of Indian Occupied Kashmir presents the Indian postcolonial nation state that isolated and subalternized Kashmiris. Entire villages have been wiped out, children orphaned, and women widowed. Nayar's concept of 'postcolonial subalternization' elaborates that after the withdrawal of the colonists new oppressors take over their place. The process of oppressing the weaker ones has not stopped. Same is the case in Kashmir where Indian state has proved itself an oppressor. Despite Kashmiris' demand for right to self-determination Indian State has not only crushed the people in Kashmir over the years but has also violated every principle of democracy. They have employed every illegal, inhuman and barbaric method to intimidate the Kashmiris to abandon their demand of self-determination. Indian forces are present in Kashmir in hundreds of thousands. Special laws have been introduced in Kashmir to crush the liberation movement. Roy has, through her novel *TMUH*, historicized the plight of Indian Occupied Kashmir and Kashmiris. The main character of the novel Tilo visits Kashmir. Roy narrates the events in Kashmir as seen through Tilo's eyes during her visits to Kashmir to meet her lover Musa, the freedom fighter. Roy has analyzed the situation in Kashmir from every angle and drawn the conclusion that common Kashmiris are the victims at the end of the day. Their lives are lost. Thousands of them are dead. Indian security forces have killed thousands of them. Recreational centres like cinema houses have been turned into investigation and torture centres. There are special laws for Kashmir which give Indian forces special rights to crush and kill any Kashmiri without any fear. Indian forces open fire at anyone because they have right to send anyone to the other world. Major Amrik Singh and ACP

Pinky are two such representations of oppressive Indian forces. Amrik Singh kills anyone with impunity. Thousands of women have been raped by the Indian forces and they use it as a weapon of war. Kashmiri youth are missing from their homes; they are under custody for months without any FIR. They are injured in interrogation centres in the crime of wanting self-determination. All fundamental rights are suspended in Indian Occupied Kashmir. All principles of democracy and secularism have breathed their last in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Kashmiris are the perfect example of 'subaltern others' who are facing 'postcolonial subalternization' at the hands of the Indian State.

Conclusion

Situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir has been portrayed realistically in Roy's *TMUH*. Issues like illegal occupation of Kashmir by India against the wishes of Kashmiris; depriving Kashmiris of their fundamental and democratic rights; persecution and killing of Kashmiris in the name of infiltration from Pakistan; depriving Kashmiris of their right to self-determination; use of worst illegal and violent tools to intimidate Kashmiris; making Kashmir a valley of death, have been highlighted in this paper. These issues result in 'subalternization' of Kashmiris. Some impacts of this subalternization are killings of thousands of Kashmiris turning Kashmir into a valley of death, brutal rapes of Kashmiri women by security forces, all fundamental rights have been usurped, democratic and secular values have been tarnished in Kashmir, basic human rights have been usurped. Undemocratic and oppressive policies of Indian State have resulted in tarnishing the secular image of India throughout the world. Undemocratic and oppressive acts of Indian State have become the special laws to crush and curb Kashmiris of their fundamental rights and validate the presence of several hundred thousand military personnel killing thousands of Kashmiris by the direction and command of Indian State. The Indian State's acts of violence have resulted in unprecedented bloodshed of innocent Kashmiris and utter violation of democratic and fundamental rights, resulting in 'subalternization' of Kashmiris. Roy's polemic prose writings register, straight away, in more bold and clear voice, what her fictive writings endeavor to portray dexterously. India, for her, is such a fascist empire whose territories are only "held together by its armed forces" and Delhi, being its capital, plays no less a role in subalternization of "most of her subjects [as distantly] as any foreign [colonizing] metropole" (Roy, 2020, p. 11). Our paper's attempt at showcasing Indian State's horrible tactics of subalternization of Kashmiris is all the more significant when we know that Kashmir has been, quite lately, "stripped of its special status" (Roy, 2020, p. 4) and Indian State "has done everything it can to subvert, suppress, represent, misrepresent, discredit, interpret, intimidate, purchase- and simply snuff out the voice of the Kashmiri people" (Roy, 2019, pp. 433-434). Roy is pertinent to believe that Indian State's occupation of Kashmir has turned its image into a horrible 'monster' whose reprieve can only come with the realization that "India needs azadi (freedom) from Kashmir just as much [...] than Kashmir needs azadi from India" (Roy, 2019, p. 446).

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