

Kashmir: Inducing a following response

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Abstract

It is an attempt to define the Kashmir problem in term of ideas that describe human group according to its primate ancestry but at the same time showing a radical departure from it. The examples chosen here are however eclectic. In Kashmir there is a contest over space between human groups. These groups have alpha males that extend in space and time. It is not the alpha males' physique but their cultural, religious and knowledge dimensions that are significant. Whereas concepts of freedom, human rights, and holy war are unique human cognitive achievements, they also induce primitive emotions. The group membership shows primate rigidity in the form of nationality but at the same time it is volatile also. It is a key to understand the dialectic of harmony and conflict within a group and between the groups. Involvement of larger alpha males, besides the contestants, is perceived differentially by the two parties. To evolve as a global fraternity, reconciliation is a social device to resolve a conflict amicably.

Introduction

The political boundary of the space known as the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir in the western Himalayas was carved out by a Rajput soldier Gulab Singh who served the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore. The Indians got this State from

his heir in 1947. Gulab Singh's prestige as a military commander and diplomat perfectly matched the British politicians.

"So, when the Anglo-Sikh War broke out he manipulated the situation to his utmost benefit. The image of his power and prestige which he had projected in the British court helped him achieve his object. The territories of Jammu, Kashmir and Hazara, with which the British were yet unacquainted, were given over to Gulab Singh, of which he was recognized 'the Maharaja'. Thus, reposing in the sagacity and power of Gulab Singh, the British Government of India created Jammu and Kashmir State as a buffer State between their Indian Empire on the one side and Afghanistan and Russia on the other, as well as a counterbalance against the surviving Sikh Kingdom of Lahore." (Charak, 1980; p. 319)

Gulab Singh bought Kashmir for 75,00,000 Rupees (*Nanuck-shahee*), according to The Treaty of Amritsar (March 9, 1846), and accepted the supremacy of the British Government, leaving the drowning boat of Lahore Darbar.

What did the East India Company sell to Gulab Singh in 1846? Not only the non-living space known as Kashmir but the people of Kashmir, the plants and the animals. After one hundred year India appropriated the same Kashmir from Gulab Singh's heirs. New democrats became a party to the same deed of transfer that a feudal and a company had engaged in, as if the people of Kashmir had no existence.

It indicates that in the process of carving their territories few dominant *Homo sapiens*, the alpha males or leaders decide the fate of their followers. The democracy seems to be the ability of the alpha males to induce following responses from their respective members. Therefore it is important to study the selfish tactics of alpha males while solving the problems over spaces. For example, the one India is facing in Kashmir.

If alpha male induces following responses in others for selfish gains, the democratic process of the group is likely to suffer. On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the republic, the President of India K. R. Narayanan reminded his countrymen that beware of the fury of the patient and long-suffering people.

A journalist who had seen Kashmir from close quarters, rightly asked, "The issues are basic. Does India want to keep Kashmir? If it does, what is it willing to offer Kashmiris and what does it expect in return?" (Joshi, 1993). He warned that, "The alienation of the people of the valley is now near-complete. The need now is to break the dismal cycle of hatred and fear." The more the delay in resolving the conflict, the greater is the chance of situation becoming complex. It is also important to realize that the resolution of conflict also involves psychological and socio-cultural factors. It is a fact that the people of

India have emotional attachment to Kashmir and therefore it seems unlikely that India would consider the demand of some Kashmiris for an independent State. The other option before India is to crush the people's protest but it has certain social constraints. In this way reconciliation is the most viable option before the groups in conflict.

The analysis of time and place in the Indian psyche reveals how different the pulse of the masses is from the pulse of the elite (Dharampal, 1993). It is a common observation that the atheism characterizes modernity in case of very few, but for the masses the goal of life is to merge with the Supreme. Besides that individuals are likely to create dissonance in the system due to their cultural upbringing, religious preferences and acquisition of knowledge. In order to meet this challenge, group resorts to retaliatory actions (Padmanabhan, 1995) or employs tit for tat strategies. It is regressive and takes humans to their instincts. Instead, the search for alternative ways of consonance in social groups is progressive.

In human groups, to designate somebody a martyr or a traitor depends on the relative judgement of the people. For instance, those who were traitors of British India became later the martyrs of free India. In primate and other social systems, the immigration and emigration of individuals change the social dynamics of a group. If the outgroup member is perceived as a threat by all members of a group, the reaction against him is spontaneous. However, if some perceive outgroup member positively and some perceive it negatively, the situation disturbs social interactions within the group.

For example, immigration is a humanitarian problem, which India has tackled quite effectively. However, people now perceive the continuous flow of the Nepalese, Tibetans and Bangladeshi as threat. Probably the competition over the scarce resources compels the local population to react to the outsiders. It is xenophobia that has evolutionary roots but it has social, political and religious ramifications in a human group. Millions of people are displaced within the country itself who become refugees in other parts of India. These displaced populations suffer mentally and physically (WHO 2001) for want of group mechanisms to assuage fears and worries of its members.

Kashmir, a part of the northern Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is a space whose ownership is in contest. Spaces are non-living entities. Therefore it would be wrong to talk of 'inducing a following response' in Kashmir. But humans and other living beings also occupy this space. From this view it is appropriate to think of inducing a following response among the straying people of Kashmir so that they stop contesting the ownership over the territory with India. From the evolutionary viewpoint, contest over space is a natural phenomenon between the groups of same species. A group of hangul, the Kashmir stag (*Cervus elaphus hanglu*), exemplifies such contests of territory, though at a primitive stage. Extending this evolutionary argument, the

assumption here is that a group of *Homo sapiens* owning a territory may arouse conflict if that territorial space allures others of its kind into it. And in fact Kashmir has been enchanting, infectious and perhaps enigmatic for a long period.

My hypothesis is that in our evolutionary departure from the Darwinian ancestry the 'group' has lost the individuality of its members. A new phenomenon has emerged in the human species where individuals do not need the physical or political boundaries of space to form a group. Thus a person belonging to Kashmir, the Kashmiri, can become a part of non-Kashmiri group. That may be a religious, political, social or terrorist group. Physically the Kashmiri lives in a group whose members are mentally alien for him. There are instances of such intentions in other social animals where group fission and fusion take place. But the extent to which *Homo sapiens* can go into these Machiavellian tactics, only the synapses of twelve billion neurons are the limit. These tactics, which individuals use to get rid of the primate ancestral group, create dissonance in the social system. It has significance for defining the Kashmir problem.

Uniqueness of *Homo sapiens*

The human group, like its primate ancestors, occupies a space. Individuals associate with the space physically and mentally. If there is disparity between the physical and the mental ownership of space, the problem arises. The more the individual aligns with the other social group mentally, the more the physical ownership of the space goes in favor of the alpha male of the other group, with whom he had aligned. Somewhere 'freedom' also intervenes and gives him a moral, ethical or humanitarian support. To attain this conceptual freedom, humans acquire weapons to contest the ownership of space. This is the dialectic of the nature of relationship that *Homo sapiens* have with its territory. On the one hand his neurons in the neocortex take him out from the confinement of the 'territory,' a physical space, yet, on the other hand some neurons in the lower parts of the brain bring him back to use his tools to gain the ownership of his territory.

The new feature of group membership empowers the individual to elicit help from distant group members that he has never seen. For example an alpha male sitting in a cave in Afghanistan probably moderated the conflict going on between two parties in Kashmir.

This has complicated the operation of conflict resolution within and between groups. The operation of primate reconciliation (de Waal, 1991) becomes difficult due to increase in spatial distance. At times the third party, that should usually facilitate reconciliation, delays the process. It is therefore imperative to develop new strategies so that the involved parties orchestrate to resolve the conflict. The response of the world community (Bhasin, Kothari

& Thapar, 2001) to the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on the eleventh September 2001, is an example of such effort.

In the primate ancestors the alpha male of a group can hardly control the space beyond overlapping or proximal spaces. In humans, however, the alpha male can influence the behavior of its followers anywhere on the Earth. For example, being a member of Hindu, Muslim or Christian community, one has to abide by certain rules and regulations that are characteristic of these populations. The exertion of control by the alpha male on certain behaviors of the followers is instrumental to manipulate their other behaviors. Instead of peace between the religious communities they may evoke war between them. For instance, the drive to entice followers may lead to fierce conflict between the groups.

This enormous ability of the alpha in the human group to increase its territory over space has association with the ownership of territory over time. In animal group the space ownership is rarely inherited from one alpha to the other over genealogical lines or through some other tradition. It is acquired through contests for alpha position and depends on the ability of males to induce followers. Humans have, however, evolved interesting ways. Mostly one inherits the alpha position from its owner through genealogical or other ties. In evolutionary games the fittest individual gets the alpha position. However, in case of human beings the aspirant for alpha position uses Machiavellian tactics. Not only that, the individual 'alpha' extends in the past and in the future to claim the control over his followers. The followers may in turn help in carrying out alpha's dream.

In a short period of cultural evolution humans have gone far away from their biological past because the enormous unspecified brain tissue is all the time building new minds. But we carry old genes in our bodies, and thus regress quickly. Therefore our solutions to spatial problems like the conflict in Kashmir, must have a structure based upon evolutionary principles. And at the same time it needs a blend of unique human consciousness. It is the Kashmiris that make up the primitive group upon whom and for whom the Kashmir is to be built for the larger goal.

"Nothing, and nobody, in Kashmir is straight, except the poplar (tree)." (Srinivas, 1993) The exotic poplar, is a thorn in the eyes of environmentalists. The government is planting this tree against the wishes of people. During the nineteen eighties, in his talks of the famous environmental movement, the Chipko, Sunderlal Bahuguna would show two important slides about the Himalayas. One slide depicting a World Bank hoarding in Kashmir, showing a poplar tree from which currency notes were falling. He would elaborate upon the harmful consequences of planting poplar in place of beautiful chinar, chestnut, apricot, walnut, almond and grape in the hills. Bahuguna himself took seed walnuts from his Muslim friend Sonaula of Banihal for free

distribution to the farmers of the Garhwal Himalaya. The other slide was that of the Charar-e-Sharief, a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. Bahuguna would describe in detail the teachings of Nund Rishi about environment. He would refer to the cordial relationship of the two communities in Kashmir. Bahuguna's greater worry, however, was about the increasing concentration of armed forces in the mountains that he saw during his Kashmir to Kohima foot-march in nineteen eighties.

From biological to cultural evolution

It is possible that our feeding behavior like our teeth, our sexual behavior like our sex organs and our thinking process like our brain are engineered by the genes to perform certain necessary functions that are essential for an individual's survival (Dawkins, 1989). Most of such evidence supports the argument that the genes reproduce themselves through competitive games. Instances of behaviors that benefit the reproduction of other's genes through cooperation, help and altruism are considered as products of human cultural evolution.

Evolutionary psychologists, ethologists and sociobiologists argue that behaviors related to the acquisition and defense of the territorial space also has a biological basis. A social group needs a space that has sufficient food, shelter, safety and prospective mates. In animals, and probably in the *Homo* ancestors, usually an individual is a member of only one group at a certain time in its life. However, the modern human beings have evolved methods by which the individual becomes part of several groups that vary in size, functions and location in space. It is a unique feature.

Although natural selection may also occur at the level of group (Wilson, 1975; Wynne Edwards, 1986), it requires genetic and spatial proximity, which is possible in small and isolated populations. The mind of modern *Homo sapiens*, however, does not allow it. Because *"The development of symbolic thought and complex communication did nothing less than alter human evolution. For one thing, high-tech transportation means that the world, though ethically diverse, really consists of a single, huge population."* (Lemonick & Dorfman, 2000).

However, a significant social transformation is taking place during recent decades. There is regression from a large anomalous global group of humans that occupies the Earth to fragmented populations appropriating territories for themselves. These populations of *Homo sapiens* develop distinct physical, social, cultural and religious identities in their respective physical spaces. The members, who do not identify with the group, are ousted or discriminated as enemies. At the same time there is an attempt to induce following responses from prospective members in the alien group. Significantly, the religious and

political institutions induce large number of followers and control their psyche. As a result of which some phenomena such as the *jehad* (holy war) takes place.

Social milieu of the western Himalayan region has witnessed a flux of traders and invaders. The recent most was the American led mission for hunting Osama Bin Laden and his Taliban supporters in Afghanistan. From Kashmir to the Tapti Valley and from Afghanistan to Delhi, during 2500 BC to 1900 BC, the area was once covered by Indus Valley civilization. Akhnoor is the last Harappan bastion in the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Sharma, 1991). It is situated on the bank of Chenab. For the Mughal Emperor Jahangir it was *aankhon ka noor*, a precious landscape. Buddhism also flourished here as evidenced by discovery of Buddha statues. Legend of king Barbrik associates it with the conflict of Kourvas and Pandavas depicted in the Hindu epic Mahabharata.

During Ashoka's period (274-232 BC) the royal highway from Taxila in Afghanistan to Patliputra in India was most important one; even today, it continues as the Grand Trunk Road (Deshpande, 1981). Taxila was earlier a part of northwestern India and a great center for learning. It was a meeting point of trade routes of which the north-western route passed through Kapisa, Pushkalavati (Peshawar) and another route went to Kashmir and central Asia via Mansera (the site of Asoka edict) and Srinagar in Kashmir. Yet another route along the western bank of the Indus continued southwards to Kandahar where a bilingual edict of Asoka in Greek and Aramaic has been found.

The important point here is that the historical analysis may provide a context for the conflicts, but it does not tell us ways and means to repair the entangled or severed socio-psychological fabric of a community, the Kashmiris. For example, Singh (1988) gives convincing evidence about the relationship of marginal communities living in western part of Mughal Empire to the structure of state in that region, the Punjab. He wrote, "*Structural change in the tribal societies, however, could not have been a matter of concern for tribal alone. So close a relationship did tribal pastoralism bear with the sedentary and commercialized agrarian society of Mughal Punjab, and so inextricably linked were its economic interests with those of the latter, that fundamental shifts in the structure of any one of these societies could hardly have left the other unaffected.*" The superimposition of a psychosocial intention, such as one dominating the other, into this statement is likely to distort its objectivity.

Some historians may dare to do so. On 2nd and 3rd November 1999, a Historian, Charles Carlton, gave lectures in the H. P. University on psychohistory of British period. He argued that British saw chaos everywhere in India (as if they themselves were innocent spectators). Carlton's thesis was that to bring order in that chaotic state, the British administrators used various tactics, one of them was the promotion of the culture of gardens where the wild growth of plants is brought into order. Although these observations may have some basis, they can generate hatred between the communities.

The historical evidence suggests that Kashmir was once a flourishing center of Buddhist studies but the Muslim invaders probably destroyed it. This information about Kashmir's past has hardly any relevance for today's Kashmir problem. But some Hindu organizations can use this information to generate hatred against Muslims. Such people forget that there were many other centers of Buddhism in the heartland of India. What happened to them? However, an analysis of events that occurred in Kashmir within last decade or so may be of some help.

There is a conflict in the mind of a Kashmiri. He wants to live together the regional identity and the Muslim identity. When he talks about 5000 year old Kashmiri culture, he also recalls his recent Muslim identity, which is only 600 years old. Recalling his Muslim identity, he departs from his regional identity, the Kashmiriat (Agnishekhar, 1995). The same is the case with a Hindu. However, Muslims in Kashmir are a majority but the space in which they live falls in the Indian territory where they are in minority. Therefore Muslims seek support from alpha males who are alien but belongs to their religion. In addition the final solution of the Kashmir problem to some Muslim organizations appears in getting rid of the Hindu minority and free Kashmir from India.

Therefore the real problem for the alpha males of India is to elicit a following response from the straying Muslims of Kashmir. What is that which India wants them to follow? The first thing is to make them accept that their space cannot be dissected out from the larger space of which they have become part in 1947, rightly or wrongly. Their activities should confine to the space known as Kashmir and can very well extend over the whole of India. However, they should not extend their activities in an alien's territory.

If somebody steps into an alien's territory, how can we bring back or stop him not to do so? The task is not as simple as an alpha male baboon's neck bite by which he brings back the straying females in to his harem. The baboon group is small whose members know each other face to face but the human group is large and spread over an enormous area. It is further divided into subgroups through socio-politico-religious affiliations. Some of these subgroups do not want to follow the codes of conduct formulated by the Nation, in this case the Indian State. In this subgroup new alpha males have emerged who are now challenging the authority of India. In the case of Kashmir, some members (the Kashmiris) of the nation have strayed away to form an independent group. The option for India is to induce a following response in this subgroup by violent or non-violent means.

The Sufi consciousness of the Kashmiris may help to find out the way from the present Kashmir crisis. Nund Rishi, Shaikh Nuruddin Wali, a Sufi saint is said to have brought harmony when there was turmoil in Kashmir in the fourteenth century. A poet in him saw the luxurious life of alpha males on one hand and the poverty-ridden masses on the other.

In the middle of forest it has got dark

How should I find my way in this haziness

I, a blind, the blood is oozing from whose hands

O my mind! Still there is time for becoming conscious.

(Agnishekhar, 1995)

The abode of Nund Rishi, Charar-e-Sharief, became the symbol of Kashmiri identity reminding people the teachings of the Sufi saint. Through the spirit of a Sufi and a Saivite, he united the hearts of the Muslims and the Hindus in Kashmir. However, in 1995, Charar-e-Sherief, the symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity was burnt. A local poet described the change in the scenario in Kashmir in the following words. In the river that was once full of life,

"Today blood is dissolved in the water of Vitasta

Everyday morning dead bodies flow in it." (Athar, 2001).

Therefore the important task is to revive the Nund Rishi in each Kashmiri to start a reconciliation process between the two communities.

Tit for tat: a controversial rational agenda

There are strands of assimilation in the Indian psyche that may help us in eliciting following responses for a greater cause than the alpha's Nation. It is the humanitarian cause. Legends embody this integrative power in Nund Rishi and king Barbrik. The events and personalities are traced back and fourth in the Indian Tradition over space and time. For example, the Mahasu deity is mythologically associated with Kashmir but its present territory is farther east in the region comprising of the parts of Shimla, Sirmaur and Jaunsar-Bawar.

In the Dodra-Kewar part of that region the local deity known as Jakh carries the images of Vashik Mahasu and Lama. Here there is an integration of Tibetan Buddhism and a local deified hero. At the same time Mahasu is also associated with Lord Shiva, whose abode is the Himalayas. In another legend, the personified Shirgul showed his heroic charisma in the Mughal Darbar in Delhi and became Shiva on the Churdhar peak, in the western Himalayas. Here a local Hindu hero was admired by a Muslim king of Hindustan (India), and in this way the region got recognition from the empire.

Similarly, the name of the Mughal Emperor Akbar figures in a folk song in praise of a local deity Jwalaji in Himachal Pradesh. It signifies the assimilation of an alien conqueror, after he mends his ways of behaving. The emperor of India, a

Muslim, came all the way from Delhi to pay his regards to a local Hindu deity but at the same time he got the recognition from a regional population. It hardly matters now whether Akbar's dream was uniting Hindustan, or he had territorial ambitions, he achieved it by uniting the Hindu and Muslim communities. From foes they became friends of each other. Mutual trust sprouted. Hatred for each other's religion gave way to respect. This is exactly what is needed in Kashmir. But the alpha males of India and Pakistan have a crisis of mutual trust between them. They have lost trust even within their own communities or groups. In fact they are obstructions in the reconciliation process in Kashmir.

Can we learn something from the structure of an atom? It is so small that we cannot see it, but it is an infinite store of energy. The energy comes from the separation of neutrons and protons located in the nucleus of the atom. There is peace when the nucleus is intact but if it breaks so much energy is released that the atom bomb is a biggest destructive force today. It is also considered an instrument of deterrence. In 1998, India and Pakistan became most recent users of atomic power as a deterrent force (Kothari & Mian, 2001). However, after that there was Kargil war in 1999 between the two countries. Some mountains of the majestic Himalayas clad in white turned red by the blood of followers.

The proud nuclear physicist Hans Bethe once said that, "The atomic bomb made it possible for the Japanese to surrender with honor. Here was a weapon against which there was no defense-a force they could not match, as if it were superhuman." (Connors, 1995). In the atom bomb, Gandhi, the great Indian leader and proponent of non-violence, saw that the animal in man has come to its supreme power (Joshi, 1994). How can we counter it-by another atom bomb or by building self-confidence? Gandhi opted for the latter but it is strange that the alpha males of his country opted for the former.

The selfish gene idea of biologists is popular among the social scientists because it goes well with their egocentric theories. For them individual is real but a group has no separate identity. Therefore cooperation, help and altruism has no existence as the emergent phenomena of group. A related controversy is about conscious and unconscious control of behavior. For instance the Freud's store of unconscious has some similarity with the sociobiologist's gene pool. Although it is true that the sociobiologists have reservations toward some Freudian principles (Gazzaniga (1994), both are agnostic to the identity of 'group' and believe that behavior is guided through principles that are not necessarily conscious. Therefore the rationalists must redefine what is a rational behavior.

It is not strange to find that people have erroneous understanding of Darwin's theory. A writer in his essay in a regional Hindi newspaper wrote that now a days it was the survival of the fittest (Mantri, 1993). The poor and inefficient

suffered; there was violence; no compassion; and, no sympathy for each other. This, according to him, was occurring because individual was not the unit of society and people were concerned about their family, community and tribe. Little realizing that modern evolutionary theories emphasize the role of nepotism in evolution (Hamilton, 1964).

Sociobiologists and political scientists rediscovered that tit for tat is an evolutionary stable strategy. In other words, one is always watchful about his own interests during the struggle for existence. However, human beings should evolve ways to overcome this extreme selfishness in the form of tit for tat. Unfortunately India's option for tit for tat is against all moral canons that the country cherishes. The test for humanity is the departure of *Homo sapiens* from the violent and selfish struggles and adopt non-violent way of life. There is neither a winner nor a loser in the non-violent struggle (Vinoba, 1994). It is an attempt for better mutual understanding and a quest for finding out what is truth in a particular conflicting situation. A follower of non-violence uses all his energy to find truth and places it before the opponent. Wanting such mutual trust, the solution of the Kashmir problem seems elusive.

It is a tragedy that the noble scientists have only atom bombs for peace. Sadly, the tit for tat guides their reasoning. There are however few radicals among them. When Noam Chomsky was asked about his opinion on the conflict between India and Pakistan, his answer was, "I think India has some questions to ask itself about Kashmir. That's when I met with blank stares. But I think people should always look at themselves first, find out what they are doing and what they shouldn't be doing. Then you worry about the other guy." (Sen, 1996) About the rise of fundamentalism in India, his answer was, "It is very serious problem and the way to deal with it is not by shutting people up. It's by getting to the source of those attitudes. If you have laws it's not going to do any good. People will continue to have those thoughts and express them anyway." Kashmir issue has been raised by India and Pakistan from various international platforms but there was sharp division between the perceptions of the problem by the two countries (Abraham, 1993).

It is a matter of scientific inquiry, why some cultural revival movements such as Shiv Sena and Bajrang Dal are flourishing? Some views on their origins have been coming during these years. The rational intellectuals or non-communalists look at them with hate. Is that the right way? For hate does not appease hate. If you think the other is wrong, should you also follow his way, and go on propaganda of hate towards him? For example a writer said that those taking part in the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) movement were disillusioned youth, without jobs and without goals (Vajpeyi, 1992). One must remember the words of the Mother from Sri Aurobindo Ashram, "Never complain of the behavior of anyone, unless you have the power to change in his nature what makes him act in this way; and if you have the power, change him instead of complaining." (Mother, 2000)

Some Indians are fearful about the rapid rise of Islamic Sevak Sangh in Kerala (Das, 1992). It is only the tip of an iceberg. When Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya founded Banaras Hindu University (BHU) the seeds of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) were sown. These universities enroll students from all religions, cultures and nations. But why should there be large number of Muslim teachers and students in AMU and large number of Hindu teachers and students in BHU? These disparities need redressing but it is a very sensitive issue. Some years ago, the Prime Minister of India, V. P. Singh (1996) took an affirmative action but there was backlash. The rationalists hid themselves inside their shells to leave the agitated youth of India to burn themselves on the streets. The act made their minority colleagues feel very deeply the shame and guilt of several centuries.

In recent years a psychoanalytic theory has emerged about the dissenting voices in India (Kakar, 1995; Nandy, 1998). They argue that fear and insecurity attract individuals to organizations like Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena. The identities of the members of these groups develop on differential perception of history, which leads to violence. It is another matter that the theory of psychoanalysis, which those scientists refer to, has trivial scientific basis. A pseudo science can flourish if it does not create dissonance in the cognitive elements of the rationalists.

There are others who think that one of the factors causing aggression in the society is market oriented industrial culture (Karlekar, 1992). The ingredient of aggression, according to him, is central to the ethos of that culture. He wrote *"In a culture that lauds aggression, human beings are not regarded as people with feelings who have to be respected but as objects to be manipulated to one's advantage or neutralized or destroyed if they come to one's way."* The human social systems need to inculcate necessary skills among its people by which they earn their living through noncompetitive ways.

Let nation not doubt its people

The situation in Kashmir has become complex due to the increase in the followers of some groups that overtly support either Hindus or Muslims in Kashmir. *Kar sevak* is a follower, he comes for voluntary service, to which he is called for by the leader of his organization. Whatever he is asked to do he might do it wholeheartedly. He is a helpless doer. People, in general, appreciate the voluntary service of the *kar sevaks* but sometimes the work done by *kar sevaks* is perceived as controversial. The latter is exemplified by whatever the *kar sevaks* did in Ayodhya in 1992, by demolishing an old structure of a mosque. A writer's comment was harsh and provocative when he said that the *kar sevaks* were '*papi*', the sinners, and suffering from psychological ailments (Rathi, 1992). It is time that the writers use constraints on themselves.

In the same vein yet another analyst of the Ayodhya tragedy said that the Hindus, before Muslim and British rule, were not so peace loving people (Dadheech, 1992). Thus he blamed the ancestors of Hindus for the present crisis and used the disappearance of Buddhism from India as an evidence for his argument. His assertion that most of the intolerance of a Hindu towards a Muslim was based upon false perception might be true but it is dangerous to undermine the religious differences.

On the night of 15th August 1947 India and Pakistan became free from the white imperialism. The scenario in Lahore was somewhat like this, "at one minute past midnight we were free and there was firing the whole night. What has not been freed are Allah-o-Akbar! And Har Har Mahadev! And Sat Sri Akal!" (Taunsvi, 2001). Partition of a country into two religious territories is a regression of modern man to its primitive roots. An endeavor should continue to find a common meeting ground for the followers of Hindu and Muslim religions but at the same time paying due respect to each other's ritualistic behavior.

A biologist Gould (1977) has said,

"All dreamers must fail; but without the dreamers, I suspect that our earth would not be reverberating with the question 'why,' simply because its brainiest mammal would be sitting in a tropical tree asking more limited questions about adequate food and shelter for apes." (p. 207)

During these years some rationalists or non-communalists have raised serious doubts about the agenda of so called 'communalists' like the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (RSS). For example, several drawbacks have been pointed out in the thinking of Golwalkar, the founder of the RSS and the dreamer of the *Hindu Rashtra* (Badrinath, 1993). One of them was Golwalkar's criticism of the western model of politics that he had held responsible for the downfall of India. It has been argued that Golwalkar did not realise that the idea of 'nation' and 'nationality' was also a western product. Therefore Hindu Rashtra was an ill-conceived notion of Golwalkar. But there are some secular authors who believe that the concept of nation and nationality find reference in the Vedic literature (Shastri, 1999). A more controversial issue was to associate the Indian soil with a particular group of humans, the Hindus. The groups of historians often brandish their swords over this issue.

In this way there is a long list of dreamers of India. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, was also a dreamer. He was the one who took up the reign of India in 1947, at the time of partition. It is during those days that the split identities of the twin nations took shape in the minds of Hindus and Muslims. Since then, the conflict between those identities has continued.

Most of the people who were some years ago fighting for a separate Sikh state in Punjab are silent now. It is difficult to understand why the anger got pent-up in the Sikh community? After the release of the pent-up anger, there was calm. The assessment of a police officer K. P. S. Gill was that Punjab returned to normal due to the change in the attitudes of the people, they were disillusioned. He said that when people became fed up with terrorism, they rejected it (Joshi, 1992). Although there are techniques to cure the problems of the Individual, human groups lack in ways to redress the deviations in the society. The conflicts within and between the groups are left to suppression by the coercive methods.

There is also an another version of the Punjab problem. In the opinion of a politician "Not only in Punjab, in relation to Kashmir also they look at the problem only from law and order angle. And in doing so unfortunately they are misleading not only the people but themselves too." (Surjeet, 1993). The Government of India perceived a serious threat to the national unity from Sikhs in Punjab and used this factor to rally the people in defense of 'national unity.' The author, a Marxist, said that the result was Operation Blue Star that undoubtedly injured the emotional and religious feelings of the Sikh community and afterwards Punjab could only be ruled with the active support of the army.

The dissenting voices in Kashmir, and also in other parts of India, rise and drown. In the Himalayas the anti-Tehri Dam struggle is one such instance out of many (Pirta, 2001). Nobody seemed truthfully interested in resolving the issue. They were just interested to keep status quo. No trouble should be there during one's tenure, let the nation and the people suffer. It is difficult to understand whether the cause of the nation and the cause of its people are same or different? It is high time that the people awake about it.

If some organization is trying for the unity of Hindus, what is bad in it. Why should its every act perceived with suspicion. It is only the critiques who crowned victory on VHP or Bajrang Dal or RSS or Sangh Parivar for the demolition of Babri Masjid at Ayodhya (Ramakrishnan, 1995). Who were responsible for their so-called 'victory'? The responsibility also lies with the rationalists or non-communalists who did not start a dialogue with the 'communalists.' They allowed the sentiments of one group to go to that extreme, without inviting its members for a dialogue. They are after all members of Indian democracy, the group to which all the Indians belong.

The territory in *Homo sapiens* has evolved into a 'nation' where the physical boundaries are guarded by armies of men and women. Not only that, the conditioning of 'nation' arouses the primitive centers of emotions in the human brain. Strangely, if individual talks about his basic needs, physical or mental, the nation doubts him. It is probably the basic cause of the Kashmir problem. Only reconciliation can help to solve such issues. Thus far the coercive measures taken have led to the loss of human lives. Even the naturalists have

not seen such a large-scale killing of one's own kind in the societies of the animals, as exhibited by the human groups. If Kashmiris are not in Kashmir, for whom do we need Kashmir?

India's strategies to resolve the Kashmir conflict lack in several ways. There is more emphasis on hawk and dove game to resolve a conflict. The neo-Darwinian social theory dictates the human emotions to enlarge the space they need. In this process a larger group appropriates a smaller group. And along with it the nation or motherland replaces the concept of territory. Egoistic tussles between the confronting army generals or alpha males sometimes lead to full-blown conflict among the respective followers. A reconciliation process generally starts when the contestants are tired of fighting and in such cases it is not mutual respect but escalating cost of war and fear of death. These contests do not involve alpha males, large armies of follower fight with each other. Fights in social animals are ritualistic where an aggressor does not harm its enemy if the latter shows submissive behaviors (Lorenz, 1963, 81). These rituals have importance for peacemaking between human groups.

In recent years India has shown a major political and socio-cultural achievement. An alliance of different political parties is governing the largest democracy in the World. Sometime back the same people who saw Bhartiya Janata Party as untouchable, now share the political and social platform with its leaders. It is a positive trend for reconciliation. This spontaneous solution to the instability of political power may have a solution for the problems threatening the socio-psychological fabric of our society. In this process lay the hope for resolving the Kashmir problem.

Summary

The Kashmir problem needs a new look that describes human group according to its primate ancestry but at the same time showing a radical departure from it. The human groups have lost the individuality of its members, and they have no physical boundaries. Nationality is a regressive step in cultural evolution of human beings. Similarly the leaders of a nation behave like the alpha males of an ancestral primate group but their following response induction ability enormously extends in space and time. And factors such as culture, religion and information are significant in this process. As a result of these changes there is greater likelihood of dissonance in human relations. For consonance in the group, tit for tat is a degenerative strategy. A non-violent pathway based on cooperation, help and altruism has to lead the reconciliation process for the resolution of conflict. These basic principles shall define the Kashmir problem. It is suggested that Kashmir is a physical and psychological space for the people of Kashmir, however it can serve others by mutual consent and developing affectionate relationship. Once both the contesting parties accept this, the solution will follow.

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