



Research Paper

# The Psychology of Neo-Colonialism in Contemporary South Asia

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**Abstract:** In this interdisciplinary paper, the author will be combining the subjects of history and psychology. Specifically, the issues addressed in this paper will be through an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial lens. India, as a subcontinent, has been diverse. However, modern Indian history has been ravaged by colonial practices from the British. After leaving India, in 1947, and creating Pakistan in the process, it was assumed by citizens that they would be free from the clutches of colonialism. However, as recently as 2014, neo-colonial methods have been haunting the nation. In this case, neo-colonialism refers to the indirect methods of control by the former colony or by other imperialist powers. There has been violent suppression of popular people's movements in the past, specifically the Naxalite movement, during the rule of the Congress party. Additionally, owing to several new laws introduced by the current ruling party, that is BJP (Bhartiya Janta Party), seem to be working on principles of separation, segregation, and stigmatization of religious minorities, namely, the Muslims. The intersection of history and psychology comes into the picture, clarified and honed by theories laid down by Frantz Fanon, Carl Jung, and Kwame Nkrumah. By understanding how people in power can act, we can also understand how the response of the common man can be justified. There will be references to various political parties and ideologies that seem to ebb and flow out of the history of India, with case studies, like the Naxalite movement, and the annexation of Jammu and Kashmir to the union of India.

**Keywords:** Colonialism, Psychology, Naxalite, Fanon, Nkrumah, Jung.

Received 05 Dec., 2024; Revised 15 Dec., 2024; Accepted 17 Dec., 2024 © The author(s) 2024.

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## I. Introduction

In his book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Kwame Nkrumah outlines what it means for a nation to have neo-colonial influences (Young, 2015). But before we foray into the topic of neo-colonialism, we need to distinguish between colonialism and imperialism. While both these terms have been used interchangeably to describe the influence of a dominant power over another nation-state, these terms are separate. To put it simply, colonialism is a form of control for financial, economic, or settlement reasons. In contrast, imperialism seeks to propagate and spread an ideology and gain financial benefits while operating as a state policy. Neo-colonialism, in contrast to both of these, refers to a more subtle form of imperial control and domination (Young, 2015).

Building off what Lenin deemed as capitalism, Nkrumah expanded on the ideas of economic exploitation paired with cultural dominance<sup>1</sup> (Nkrumah, 2022). He noticed that many colonial powers that had withdrawn from their colonies were somehow still able to control the internal workings of a supposedly independent nation-state. He identified two levels of this neocolonial influence. The first was economic, with many colonial powers taking advantage of the fact that the newly independent colonies were financially insecure and extending loans to them through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank. Thus, the financial fates of the independent colonies were tied to the colonial powers in a cycle of debts and repayments. This is the colonizer's way of ensuring that the independent nation is still under their control, at least in terms of their socio-economic sphere. The other way of controlling the independent nation-state was divide and rule, and the subsequent (mis)use of political power. This is one of the main ways through which many colonizers were able to establish their rule in

<sup>1</sup> for further reading on the cultural aspects of neo-colonialism, refer to Ngugi wa Thiong'O's "Decolonising the Mind."

many places, like that of India<sup>2</sup>. Since neo-colonial regimes work primarily on the principle of capitalism, an alternate form of economic system like communism, will pose a huge threat to the former colonial power. Therefore, many Western nations warned new nation-states about the “dangers of the Communist subversion,” and actively prevented any type of leftist movement or insurgency from emerging. This is a “double-edged sword,” because while the former colonial powers wish to prevent the change of the economic system by the introduction of communism while promising a “better life,” the economic reality of the new nation-state becomes bleaker in reality. There is also a concept of the ‘invisible government’ that is mentioned in the book. As the name suggests, the former colonial power will install a puppet regime in favor of their nation, and elections will not be free and fair anymore. So, democracy will become a farce in these newly developing nations (Nkrumah, 2022). However, in the case of India, while it was able to establish a particular style of accommodating and secular democracy, since the 1960s, when the rupee was deregulated in terms of the American dollar, the central governments of India often fell prey to American imperialism rather than British imperialism (Mody, 2023).

This essay examines the forms of neocolonialism in postcolonial and contemporary India. It first examines the Naxalite movement of West Bengal, which was a suppression of violent dissent and communism in India, which is explained by a Fanonian model of violence in newly independent nations. From tracing the history that led to the Naxalite movement to understanding the forces that worked against this movement, West Bengal serves as an explicit case study, where the colonized become a neo-colonial force to suppress the people’s movements.

While one might critique the use of Fanon, an Algerian psychiatrist’s work, in particular *The Wretched of the Earth*, when discussing the struggle for decolonization in a newly independent Third-World country is inappropriate, the author would like to remind the reader that Fanon’s arguments apply to all decolonization movements. Owing to the Second World War (1939-1945), many colonial powers were weakened, specifically, France and Britain. Freedom fighters, revolutionaries, and intellectuals in the colonies of Britain and France started to rally against their colonizers. These liberation movements gained widespread momentum when the working class joined in as well (Gupta, 2009). Therefore, the circumstances in which many nations in Africa and Southeast Asian countries were born were similar, making Fanon’s arguments applicable to the Naxalite context.

Another crucial case study we shall be examining in this paper would be the annexation of Jammu and Kashmir, as a Union Territory, to India. The case of Jammu and Kashmir is a case that redefines what it means to be the victim of a settler colony. The second part of this thesis will go on to define the steps taken to annex this state to the Indian subcontinent while also ‘othering’ the Muslim minority in India. While BJP is a successful political party that has served to rule India for some time, some critiques have also argued that their policies towards Muslims are part of a broader process of “saffronisation” in the context of Hindutva-based Islamophobia, through a study of various examples like the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A, increase in cow vigilantism, and the implementation of the new citizenship act. Both of these cases are neocolonial in that the state acting as American-British imperial agents helps create subalterns out of Muslim Indian citizens, through a process of “othering” them.

## **II. Historical Context of the Naxalite Movement**

West Bengal is a state in the eastern part of India. Known for its rich heritage and literature, West Bengal has produced many prolific artists such as Satyajit Ray, Rabindranath Tagore, and many more.

The Naxalite movement originated in West Bengal, owing to the discontent and vertical violence/exploitation faced by the farmers in the Naxalbari region (Gupta, 2009). Since the colonial era, the idea of zamindari<sup>3</sup> was put into place. Between the sharecroppers and their profits, stood a lot of middlemen who ate up their profits until the sharecroppers received proverbial pennies for their work. Unlike other movements that occurred during India’s struggle for independence, led by Gandhi, like the various Civil Disobedience Movements, such as the Dandi March<sup>4</sup> and the Non-Cooperation Movement<sup>5</sup>, the Naxalite movement was a violent uprising against the zamindari system (Gupta, 2009). Based on the principles of communism laid down by Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto, this movement was backed by the leaders of the Communist Party of India (CPI) (Guha, 2007). However, the central government of India took swift action in squashing this movement (Guha, 2007).

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<sup>2</sup> Britishers came to India as traders, but soon cut off the communication lines between the kingdoms and honed in on the existing inequalities/tensions between the Hindu religion and the Hindu-Muslim relations.

<sup>3</sup> Zamindari literally translates to land ownership

<sup>4</sup> Also known as “Salt Satyagrah” this was a peaceful march from Gandhi’s home in Sabarmati to Dandi to protest the Britisher’s heavy tax levied on a daily commodity like salt.

<sup>5</sup> Non-Cooperation Movement was a nonviolent movement organised by Gandhi for self-governance from the Britishers

In the decades following the independence of India and Pakistan from the Britishers in 1947, India faced a lot of external and internal security threats (Wolpert, 2010). Some of these external threats are the Indo-China War (1962), the War with Pakistan (1965), and the East Pakistan-Pakistan border conflict (1971) (Wolpert, 2010). During this fragile political time, in 1967, the Naxalite movement (or the Naxalite-Maoist insurgency) started.

When the Communist Party of India was formed in 1925, they leaned towards a less conventional but more modern advent of communism founded by Lenin, known as “Leninism” (Noorani, 2012). Just like communism has variations according to region or time, India also developed a regional form of communism (Thulasamma, 2006). The basic philosophy of Indian communism is rooted in the principles of Marx and Lenin. However, instead of giving back the means of production to the people, Indian communism focuses on the empowerment of peasants, Dalits, and the middle-class, while also redistributing land among the poor, thereby, completely eradicating the zamindari<sup>6</sup> system (Thulasamma, 2006).

During the Naxalite movement, West Bengal was also at the forefront of the struggle, as well as being the heart of the movement. All of the peasant nationalist movements were very active in Bengal, and this state often took leadership during such protests (Long, 2006). The Communist Party of India (CPI), was also very active in West Bengal, which had taken up leadership for the Naxalite Movement (Long, 2006). Like all political parties, CPI had its ups and downs (Palmer, 1974). But the seeds of discontent were planted, when, in 1951, CPI had already betrayed the cause of a violent uprising in Telangana, making the members of the radical left upset. Problems within the party became worse when India had a border skirmish with China, which led to further division among the party. While the Soviet Union did show solidarity with the Indian government over the border dispute with China, the cracks within CPI increased. The leadership of S.A. Dange, who was the chairman of CPI at the time was called into question (Palmer, 1974). Concurrently, CPI, as a party, released a statement condemning the actions of China (Palmer, 1974). However, China expected CPI to stand with them as it pitted a socialist state against a non-socialist one (Shah & Pettigrew, 2009).

In 1964, the straw that broke the camel’s back emerged - the Dange Letters (Choudhary, 2018). These letters were allegedly written by Dange in 1924, wherein he agreed to be an informant for the Britishers in exchange for a reduced prison sentence (Choudhary, 2018). Leftists were accused of planting these letters, and rightists were issuing disciplinary actions against the leftists (Brass, 1990). Eventually, about 60-65% of the original members of the CPI broke away to form CPI(M)(Marxist), who were formed to be more revolutionary and modern (Seylon, 2011).<sup>7</sup> In 1967, the Indian National Congress faced its first bitter defeat by a CPI(M)-led coalition. The central government wanted to dismantle the CPI(M) led government fearing radicalisation of the masses. The CPI(M) led coalition of United Front started instilling fear into the landowners by stating that their lands would be repossessed and redistributed to the tribal sharecroppers. Acting out of fear, the landowners lashed out. This resulted in attacks on sharecroppers by hired thugs, recontesting of land ownership, and evictions of tribal sharecroppers (Seylon, 2011). The Naxalite movement was very popular, and one of the reasons contributing to its immense scale and liberating goals might be due to the idea of ‘class consciousness.’ Rather than moving from this section of the paper, without discussing what it meant to have class consciousness in the Indian framework, we need to address and understand this idea, since it is crucial to have an understanding of the same.

The idea of class consciousness was introduced by Marx (Darity Jr, 2008). This is a concept that states that human consciousness is built and constructed by material experiences and conditions. Further expanded by Marxist scholars like Lukács (1885-1971), class consciousness is something that needs to be released by the proletariat so that their revolutionary goals can be met (Darity Jr, 2008).<sup>8</sup> When the Naxalite movement started,

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<sup>6</sup> The root cause of the Naxalite movement were sown during the colonial times. A system put in place by the Britishers was “zamindari.” The zamindari system was a modified feudal system established so that the Britishers found it easy to collect taxes from the peasants and ensure that they could easily suppress peasant rebellions. While these peasants were not under the direct control of the Britishers, they were under the control of the landlords or “zamindars.” These landowners were Indian elites who were educated and rich, usually belonging to the upper class and caste of society (Sundar, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> The members of the new party [CPI(M)] consisted of members who were supporters of Mao and Stalin, while also being a mix of militants and politicians (Gupta, 2009). The remaining members of CPI were following the model of communism laid down by Lenin and Marx (Palmer, 1974). After the split, CPI(M) moved into electoral politics, taking the cause of the landless peasants on a national scale (Gupta, 2009). It needs to be noted that CPI and CPI(M) were bitter rivals (Seylon, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Lenin put these ideas into action during the reign of the Soviet Union, where, the idea of class consciousness had to be taught to the working class. Members of the working class who were looking for long-term revolution needed to be taught the idea of class consciousness by an external leader, otherwise, the section of the working class who were looking for immediate gratification represent the “economic” consciousness (Darity Jr, 2008).

the government of India never expected it to turn violent or pose a threat to the nation's internal security. According to Seylon (2011), the origins of the Naxalite movement come from a village called Naxalbari, located in West Bengal. The leaders of the Naxalite movement, Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal, struck when the iron was hot - there was increasing agitation of the proletariat, they needed leader/leaders to educate them with the concepts of class consciousness, and there was a lot of political/economic discontent (Seylon, 2011). The "class war" was about to start with the attack on the landlords (Gupta, 2009). Owing to the Green Revolution<sup>9</sup>, India was steadily becoming an exporter of Mexican corn, and on the other hand, the peasants were dying of hunger and poverty, furthering frustration (Sen, 1981). This time, the tribal sharecroppers decided that they would attack the landlords by seizing their lands. The peasants were also supported by some local communist activists belonging to CPI(M) (Seylon, 2011).

That was how the idea of class consciousness fused with the irritation of the working class to give them the momentum needed to get this regional and grassroots movement a heady point of conversation. A top delegate from CPI(M) was sent to diffuse the situation but the local communist chapter of CPI(M) refused to yield (Gupta, 2009).<sup>10</sup> Now, CPI(M) was placed in a precarious position. They either had to pledge allegiance to the leftist radicals or the conservative Union Front members. So, to please the ruling government and prevent the loss of political power, CPI(M) denounced the cause of the Naxalite movement. This came as a shock to the active members of the radical left, so they formed the All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries (AICCR), led by Majumdar (Gupta, 2009).

At the same time, Radio Peking (Beijing) expressed its sympathy and approval for the Naxalbari movement and rebels (Seylon, 2011). On the other hand, they also stated their discontent with the United Front government of West Bengal, directing their critiques indirectly to CPI(M). Since CPI(M) was allied with the pro-Chinese, Maoist ideology, this claim surprised them (Seylon, 2011).

After hosting multiple conferences, AICCR renamed itself to the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR), and on 22 April 1969, declared themselves as CPI(ML)(Marxist-Leninist) (Gupta, 2009). Majumdar noted that the aim of the formation of CPI(ML) was to overthrow imperialist influences coming from the Soviet Union and USA, while also creating a united all-India party to address these neo-colonial influences (Sen, 2017). He also called for the use of spontaneous violence and encouraged various sections of society to join the cause. Calling for an "annihilation line," where individual targets were identified and killed, like professors, police officers, businessmen, and landlords (Dasgupta, 1973). By 1970, the movement had spread to other states of India such as Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, but it was the most active in West Bengal. Many tribal leaders were killed. Tribal civilians were randomly arrested (Gupta, 2009). At the same time, the focus of the Naxalites shifted from the rural centers to the urban centers, and their collective enemy was considered to be the government, CPI(M), and INC (Bhattacharya, 2011). Scared by everything going on, CPI(M), with the help of the central government, declared President's Rule<sup>11</sup> in Bengal in March 1970 (Bhattacharya, 2011).

Things took a turn for the worse in 1971. China sided with Pakistan in the war against East Pakistan (Gupta, 2009). In this case, Majumdar expressed his support for East Pakistan's liberation. However, some erstwhile leaders of the party chose the more traditional Maoist route and supported the annexation of East Pakistan by Pakistan. As time progressed, internal relations within the party started to worsen, namely between the Maoist and the Marxist factions of the party (Gupta, 2009). Since Pakistan was asserting its sovereign right over its territory, China supported them because of the expansionist principles of Mao (Sharma et al., 1968).

We also need to be aware of the fact that the Indian Army played a crucial role in helping Bangladesh achieve its independence (Gall & Gleason, 2012). Ever since India faced the border crisis with China in 1962, the government was intolerant towards any Chinese influence in the country, and the CCP was waging a "cultural war" as well. By this time, only the Naxalites were affiliated with China, and the CPI(M) were distancing themselves from the Naxalites (Gall & Gleason, 2012).

The tide against the Naxalites turned when in 1973, INC-backed Indira Gandhi won the elections in West Bengal (Gupta, 2009). By 1975, with the help of the central and state governments and the military, the Naxalite movement was suppressed. Originally, the demographic of the Naxalite movement consisted of peasants bound

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Therefore, according to Marx (built upon by Lenin), class consciousness is something that is taught, and according to other revolutionaries like Guevara, has to be incited (Deutschmann, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> The Green Revolution, started in 1968, was a notable increase in the production of cereals and grains in the countries of India, Pakistan, and Mexico owing to the use of modern agricultural techniques, hybrid seeds, and heavy doses of chemical fertilizers from the 1960s to the 1970s.

<sup>10</sup> Darjeeling in a "Reign of Terror," by June 12, 1967 (Seylon, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> all the civic rights of the people were suspended, and they were to be ruled by the central government. Under this rule, the Naxalites were heavily persecuted. The military was introduced in this situation (Gupta, 2009).

by the zamindari system, Dalits, daily wage laborers, and people living below the poverty line. So, despite the Naxalite movement being built on the backs of the peasants and the Dalits, a lot of middle-to-upper-class university students were also a part of the movement (Gupta, 2009).

### **III. Understanding the Naxalite Movement Through a Fanonian Model of Violence**

Using Fanon's idea of "absolute violence," the members of the Naxalite movement killed direct and indirect sources of neocolonialism (Darity Jr, 2008). In rural areas, it was easy to identify the class of people, but in urban cities, it was harder to distinguish among people's classes, and so for ad hoc reasons, they started beating up low-ranking cops and ordinary folk. But, the Naxalites never targeted upper-ranking police officers, or other prominent members of the community. In this case, nothing existed in black and white, and for all neocolonial sources of oppression to be abolished, violence is essential (Darity Jr, 2008).

For nations to move from the past to the present, they need to be free from all sorts of external control or domination, including that of colonialism (Fanon, 1963). But, before any freedom can be achieved, the colonizer pits groups of people against each other. This perceived rivalry continues even after the colonizer has left (Fanon, 1963). Additionally, the colonizer also uses a strategy of "divide and rule," making it easier for them to control the population of the colony (Christopher, 1988). This was a tactic that the Britishers used to keep the nation divided and pitted against each other. Some sections of the society would get access to education, food, and employment easily. These groups, in India, consisted of upper-class, upper-caste, Hindu families. As these groups moved up the ladder, they became "elites," ie, they were the people who were native to India but through education, they were able to get richer while also getting closer to the colonizer. A perfect example of the British-Indian "elite" would be a zamindar, as mentioned above (Christopher, 1988). Agents of imperialism like landlords and businessmen would control the tribal sharecroppers, violence would be spread horizontally (or laterally) instead of vertically (Bernasconi, 2020). The tribal sharecroppers being at the bottom of the hierarchy, are unable to escape the collective violence directed towards them from the Britishers, the government, and the zamindars. Without any outlet to let out the violence or any redressal of the problem, the tribal sharecroppers direct violence outwards toward their community and get treated in kind (Bernasconi, 2020). Without any unity amongst the tribal sharecropper community, the Britishers can live a lavish life and the elites also get richer by acting as the middlemen.

One would assume that after independence, such colonial systems would be abolished. On the contrary, the zamindari system is still in place (Ravikanti, 1995). This practice has become neocolonial because while the status of the "elite" has been upgraded to that of the oppressor, ie, the colonizer/Britisher, the condition of the tribal sharecropper remains the same. At the same time, when diverse groups of people live under the sovereign umbrella of a nation, some minorities' needs are often overlooked in favor of the greater good of the majority, which leads to rivalries between groups (Ravikanti, 1995). For example, this rivalry can be seen amongst the lower castes and the upper castes. In the case of the Naxalites, they saw that they did not have access to proper education, food, housing, healthcare, or any way to get out of the system of exploitation. Using this logic put forth by Banerjee (1984), the Naxalite movement can simply be viewed as the struggle of a group looking to get back their rights. According to Fanon, one of the most important pillars that is holding up the practice of colonization in place is violence. The basic argument put forth by Fanon is that colonies are established with the help of violence. Thus, the antithesis of colonization, ie, decolonization, can only be achieved using the same tools used to oppress them, ie, violence. "Colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence" (Fanon, 1963). Using this logic, for the oppressed to be physically and psychologically free from their colonizers violence is simply a means to an end (Bulhan, 1985). It is through violence and violence only through order and "civilization" are maintained in the colonies. Many such colonies had a collective history of using violent uprisings against their colonizers to switch the status quo. Therefore, according to Fanon, violence must be used to reverse the power structures. There is physical violence in the form of denial of access to resources, lack of equal education opportunities, and segregation in terms of living spaces. But the violence is also psychological, wherein the colonized is made to feel inferior or sub-human (Bulhan, 1985).

"The practice of violence binds them together as a whole since each forms a violent link in the great chain, a part of the great organism of violence that has surged upward in reaction to the settler's violence in the beginning" (Fanon, 1963). Here, Fanon tries to convey that violence is not only the means for the colonized to be free of the rule of the colonizer but also a way for them to take back their identities as humans. It is through the use of violence, that a spirit of community will be fostered and nurtured by the colonized so they can fight back against the colonizer as a group. In the case of the Naxalite movement, violence was used against the perceived colonizer - the landlord, and not the country. But, as mentioned above, the zamindari system put into place, was a relic of the colonial era to ensure that peasants were under control. While the violence was not directed at a direct colonial system of control, it was addressing the neocolonial practices still in place. Moreover, it was also observed that violence brought peasants together. This contributes to another reason why the Naxalite movement

was so successful - it united the peasants and laborers as a collective “proletariat,” ensuring the impact of the movement and their demands were at least noticed by the “people in charge.”

Despite India getting its formal independence from the Britishers in 1947, the reality for many tribal folks was that their master had simply changed. When a revolution occurs on a national scale, such as a decolonisation movement, the new leaders usually belong to the elite section of society (Fanon, 1963). These leaders are usually educated, rich, upper-caste, and elite. Using Fanon’s words, these people “have nothing to lose and everything to gain.” This section of leaders make compromises with the colonizer, only talk, and do nothing. But, the real base of the revolutionaries comprises the working class. These are the groups of people who have put in the work to get independence (Fanon, 1963).

In India’s case, a large chunk of the population was illiterate, there was rampant unemployment, and poverty after independence. On top of that, India was born after being split into Pakistan. The rife of the Partition made things worse, but by the 1960s, India was well on its way to development (Sherman, 2018). So, while the majority of the nation was developing at a rapid rate, the fate of the peasants, tribals, and Dalits remained constant. They were still poor and illiterate. They did not have access to their lands, nor a way to escape the cycle of exploitation (Sherman, 2018). Lining out the course of a revolution, Fanon (1963), explains that it is the peasantry consisting of the majority of the people that will bring about change. While it was said to be the role of an external revolutionary that will teach the peasants the aim of the revolution, it is the commitment of the peasant that will enable the revolution to be a success. After independence, many African and Southeast Asian countries were unable to develop because the nationalist leaders were all lining their pockets while the peasantry/rural classes suffered (Fanon, 1963). In the Naxalite context, it was Majumdar who appeared as a messiah or a revolutionary leader to the peasantry (Seylon, 2011). Majumdar’s long-term vision was to imitate Mao’s Chinese victory in India by establishing a communist base, organizing peasant uprisings throughout the countryside, and thereby winning political power (Seylon, 2011). He was able to assess and address the situation at the right time, turning the peasants’ brewing discontent into a movement (Gupta, 2009). Almost everything worked in Majumdar’s favor - there was unequal access to land and resources, and there was rampant underdevelopment in the tribal areas. But Majumdar did not expect the rapid response from the government to suppress the movement. Another blow that was dealt to the movement was the flickering support of the Chinese Communist Party, on whose principles the Naxalite movement was organized (Gupta, 2009).

### **BJP, Hindutva, and the History of “Othering” South Asian Muslims: Citizenship Law**

Jammu and Kashmir is located in the northern part of the Indo-Australian Plate and is oftentimes a bone of contention between India and Pakistan and to some extent, China (Zia, 2020). After the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A, which established the state’s control over the citizens, suppressing all forms of dissent against the imperial manner in which the central government had illegally annexed the state by breaking it down into “independent” Jammu and Kashmir, making the state as a whole cease to exist (Zia, 2020). Many scholars from all over the world, like Zia (2020), are arguing that Jammu and Kashmir is undergoing settler colonialism. The key difference between settler colonialism and colonialism is that the former simply feel that the land they are invading is their own and that they have the right to the land, even going to the extent of ethnically cleansing or displacing the Indigenous population (Assante, 2006). On the other hand, colonialism seeks to appropriate and exploit the resources of the colony for their “motherland”<sup>12</sup> (Assante, 2006).

These Islamophobic politics have a colonial dimension. In her essay “Can The Subaltern Speak?” Spivak mentioned that marginalized groups in post-colonial India were being influenced by the Eurocentric pattern of thought as well as the patriarchy that made women vulnerable subjects susceptible to violence (Spivak, 2020). However, while Spivak is right, I believe the patriarchy can easily be replaced with BJP majoritarian politics that has led to the “saffronisation” of India. Modern-day subaltern scholars have patronized the Dalits and the Other Backward Classes (OBC), so much so that they are glorifying their misery instead of addressing it (Doron, 2010). Therefore, it becomes extremely easy for Dalits and other lower caste members, to turn their violent outbursts outwards towards the Muslim community, which seems to be a part of state-sanctioned violence (Doron, 2010).

Nkrumah’s arguments illuminate the case of Jammu and Kashmir. First, when Article 370 was abrogated, Jammu and Kashmir became independent union territories. Therefore, Jammu and Kashmir, as a state simply ceased to exist (Harvard Law Review, 2021). This falls in alignment with Nkrumah’s (2022) argument that a colonial power will divide and rule or “break up the large united” to make things easier for them to control and rule over. Secondly, since the abrogation of Article 35A came into being, non-residents can usurp the resources of the union territories and profit from them, bringing into question the idea of colonialism (Harvard Law Review, 2021). I will argue that Jammu and Kashmir is being made into a settler colony. Spivak’s concept of suppression

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<sup>12</sup> Despite having “mother” in the phrase, there is nothing benevolent about this concept. It simply asserts that the colonisers in any given colony are looking to appropriate it and send it to their homeland, or “mother land.”

of the Hindu culture during British rule, Fanon's idea of the national myth, and Jung's idea of the collective unconscious will be used to explore the condition of Jammu and Kashmir in an interdisciplinary manner.

To understand the sheer gravity of the removal of Articles 370 and 35A concerning Jammu and Kashmir, we will first need to trace the history that led to this monumental decision. This section of the thesis will be further divided into sub-sections, each dealing with individual but interrelated concepts that led to the abrogation of the above-mentioned Articles in the previous state of Jammu and Kashmir. The 2002 Gujarat riots were a significant event that highlighted the role of the BJP in promoting Hindutva ideology and its impact on minority communities, particularly Muslims (Ülker, 2021). This case is extremely unique because Narendra Modi, the then chief minister of Gujarat and now Prime Minister of India was seen to be turning a blind eye to the rape, killing, and pillaging occurring against the Muslim community (Jackson et al., 2011). Modi had also been accused of giving the police a list of Muslim-owned businesses to give the rioters to selectively attack (Jackson et al., 2011).

As these actions suggest, the BJP is a right-wing, extremist party, that wishes to "other" Muslims. Many critics, like that of Zia (2020) argue that the rise of BJP as a political party has also coincided with the rise of Hindutva<sup>13</sup>, which is separate from the concept of Hinduism as a religion. Following that, there have also been great ethno-nationalist movements on the rise viz. Hindutva, which has led to the othering of Muslims on the principles of Islamophobia, was further exacerbated by the implementation of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC) (Zia, 2020). From a different standpoint, the abrogation of these articles can be seen as a necessary step toward ensuring stability, development, and unity in Jammu and Kashmir (Edman et al., 2021). This perspective argues that Articles 370 and 35A created a sense of separatism and hindered the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India. Furthermore, it is important to note that beyond Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian state has long been plagued by insurgencies and separatist movements like the Naxalite movement in West Bengal. These movements have allegedly posed a significant threat to the security and sovereignty of India (Edman et al., 2021).

In some respects, Hindutva is a legacy of colonialism. During British rule, when sati<sup>14</sup> was outlawed by the Britishers, it gave women a modicum of freedom of choice. That being said, it did drive Hindu culture underground, since it was deemed to be "primitive" and was denied any legitimacy (Spivak, 2020). Therefore, the remnants of colonial trauma might have led to the creation of the ideology of Hindutva. According to the definition provided by Brown et al., (2018), Hindutva is a core belief system that operates on the extreme right to ensure Hindu hegemony in India. When it comes to the Hindutva philosophy, it was established by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar which was based on common blood, common holy land, and common culture (Ramchandran, 2020). Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists were included in this ideology, but Muslims were not. While Hinduism is a religion that has its tenets, Hindutva tries to erase the rich cultural heritage of India by looking at it through a purely Hindu lens, which is oftentimes discriminatory and rigid. Hindutva is a deeply violent and supremacist manner of looking at the various religious groups in India, effectively "othering" them through violence and discriminatory acts (Ramchandran, 2020).

Heath (2020) claims the BJP focused on majoritarian politics. What this means is that the BJP identified the major religious and economic groups in the nation and actively appealed to them, often by condemning the minorities. Some examples provided by Sardesai (2019) show that there has been an increase in hostility towards Muslims in India owing to Modi inciting "Hindu anger" against minorities like Muslims and Christians during his political campaign. The "Bharatiya Janata Party" colloquially known as BJP in India is the current ruling, majority party in India, that makes up a large chunk of the central and various state governments and is also the government at the central level. BJP is a historically right-wing party, which is based and established on the principles of Hindutva, or its literal translation - "Hindu-ness" (Sardesai, 2019).

The 2014 elections marked a major shift in the politics of India (Jaffrelot & Kumar, 2015). Since India's independence in 1947, Congress has been the political party that dominated both the state and the central elections (Jaffrelot & Kumar, 2015). However, in 2014, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by BJP won the elections by a landslide, winning 282 seats out of the 336 seats in the Lok Sabha (lower house) of the Parliament (Kim, 2019). It has since worked to realize Hindutva through policies such as the Uniform Civil Code,<sup>15</sup> which would mean that Muslim Personal Law cannot be upheld or practiced in a legal setting, the abolition of Article 370 and Article 35A of the Constitution, and a commitment to build a temple in place of the demolished Babri Masjid (Kim, 2019). From all these examples we can conclude that the Modi-led BJP is trying to build a Hindu Rashtra (state).

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<sup>13</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, Hindutva will be explained in detail later on

<sup>14</sup> Sati was a Hindu practice where widowed women were forced to sit on the burning pyre with their husbands when they died.

<sup>15</sup> The idea that the same law applies to all citizens of India, irrespective of their religion; critiques have pointed out that the implementation of UCC in India would lead to an end to Muslim Personal Law.

These policies complement broader social goals. BJP encourages reconversion efforts to “regain” converted Muslims and Christians into Hindus, and anticonversion legalization has also been used to undermine religious freedom (Kim, 2019). These actions are two-pronged: they wish to bring Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists into the fold of Hinduism while actively excluding Muslims and Christians from India because their “Holy Land is elsewhere” (Kim, 2019). Collectively, these developments have effectively “othered” the Muslim community in India, a situation intensified by the CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act) and the NRC (National Register of Citizens). The CAA stipulates that accelerated citizenship will be given to people from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh who arrived in India before 2014 (*Parliament passed the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019*), but only if they are Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, or Jains. Notably, Muslims are not mentioned anywhere in this amendment (Gringlas, 2019). According to Pathak (2021), many Muslims will be rendered stateless because of this new amendment to the Citizenship Act. The Indian government has eschewed the Muslim-majority neighboring countries, while limiting itself to these neighboring nations (Vishwanath, 2022). The implication of this is that though the new Citizenship Act is acting in favor of other persecuted minorities in the neighboring states, the ruling government would be actively discouraging the immigration of persecuted Muslim minorities seeking refuge in India, such as the Rohingya Muslims. The reason the central government cites is that since other neighboring nations of India, such as Bangladesh and Pakistan are Muslim-majority nations, they can “absorb” these persecuted minorities (Vishwanath, 2022). However, this argument hinges on the assumption that the Muslim minorities facing persecution will be from regions where Islam is not the dominant/state religion (Dhimoye & Ranjan, 2024). That being said, many Muslim refugees who come to seek asylum in India arrive from these so-called Muslim-majority nation-states, creating a huge logical hole in the assumptions and arguments put forth by the BJP ruling government to implement this new citizenship act (Dhimoye & Ranjan, 2024). The governmental reasoning behind this is that since Islam is the official religion of neighboring countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, they do not need to seek refuge born out of religious persecution (Sandhu & Singh, 2019). The NRC is a register of all Indian citizens, created in 2003 as per the Citizenship Act of 1955, with its aims to identify all illegal aliens or immigrants and deport them (Agarwal & Salam, 2019). Both the CAA and the NRC acts, when implemented together indicate a discriminatory subtext against Muslims by either refusing to give them asylum or simply taking away their potentiality for Indian citizenship and forcing them back into their nations, where it would be impossible for these Muslim minorities or individuals to survive, much less have a good quality of life (Maizland, 2022). When the NRC is combined with the CAA, it becomes almost impossible for a Muslim refugee to seek asylum in India. Previously, religion was never a factor for any individual seeking asylum in India that would be considered for citizenship. This goes against the preamble of the Constitution of India, where the state and religion are supposed to be different, and so, the state would be truly secular. The very implementation and existence of the CAA and the NRC indicate that the BJP is trying to overrule the very basic rights of the people by making religion a key factor in deciding the citizenship of an individual (Maizland, 2022).

The political impact of these policies is suggested by, the 2019-2022 Shaheen Bagh movement (Venkataramakrishnan, 2020). This was a peaceful sit-in protest in Delhi organized by Muslim students and women which lasted for four months, but was quelled and squashed by the Delhi police, and the protesters were arrested or shooed away from the site by the police (Venkataramakrishnan, 2020). Following the 2020 riots in Delhi, Hindus attacked the Muslim population, who were seen as targets for violence (Withnall, 2020). During these attacks, men were forced to remove their underwear to prove if they were Muslims or Hindus via circumcision (Withnall, 2020). Since Muslim men are circumcised, it was used as a discriminatory marker to differentiate between Hindu and Muslim men (Saaliq & Schmall, 2021). A majority of the hospitals reported having received patients with genital lacerations (Saaliq & Schmall, 2021). The riots began with the application of CAA, where a peaceful sit-in protest was organized by women. This situation was made worse when a leader of the BJP, Kapil Mishra called for the Delhi police to “clear the streets,” after which violence erupted (Dwivedi & Varma, 2020). While the Delhi police, which was under the direct control of the central government, did nothing as rioters pelted stones, sticks, and gas cylinders at mosques, dargahs, and Muslim people, the police sat there and watched (Dwivedi & Varma, 2020). Many human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, reported that despite the police receiving over 13,000 calls for help, they did nothing to stop the rioting by the Hindus (Patel, 2023). This subsequently led to the lack of protection for Muslim life and property (Frayer, 2019). In the middle of anti-Muslim attitudes, lawyers were also not accepting cases from the victims, and eyewitnesses also reported that police often joined in on the attack on behalf of the rioters (Frayer, 2019).

Another prominent example of BJP othering of the Muslim community is cow vigilantism. Since the cow is considered a sacred animal in the Hindu religion, the BJP has banned the slaughter of cows under all circumstances (Patel, 2023). However, in his book, *Price of the Modi Years*, Patel (2023) mentioned that buffalo slaughter has not been banned, despite buffaloes being more profitable and milk-producing animals. There is a lack of prevention as well as deterrence of street violence. What this means is that while cow vigilantism has not been prevented, there has been a glaring lack of people intervening when it comes to cow vigilantism. The onlookers are often recording the attacks or simply are silent passersby. Moreover, people are also less likely to



report cow lynchings (Patel, 2023). In the data collected by the website Article 14 (2020), it can be seen that after 2014, lynchings over cows and beef had risen drastically, with 84% of the victims being Muslims. These attacks were often based on hearsay or rumors, and despite many cow traders having the appropriate licensing, they were often attacked or lynched. Additionally, there is a lack of distinction between “regular” lynchings and “cow” lynchings, making it hard for organizations to collect data for the same (Patel, 2023). In 2014, when Modi had come into power, and cow lynchings were on the rise, the mainstream media outlets often reported on them, with an additional emphasis on the religion of the victim and the offender. These reports were oftentimes sensationalized by the media, but as these media outlets saw that the stories and coverage of cow lynchings were deterring State-sponsoring and funding, they abruptly stopped reporting these incidents. Not just that, there was a “normalization” of reporting these cow lynchings over faith rather than reporting them as hate crimes fueled by bigotry. The mainstream media outlets and reporters who reported on cow lynchings as hate crimes fueled by religious sentiments, such as *The Hindustan Times* and *The Times of India*, had total organizational change with separate sections such as “The Hate Watch” being removed suddenly. Since there was also a State sensitivity to facts and figures, there was a lot of data being suppressed (Patel, 2023). The catalyst which fueled the hate crimes was simply the introduction of a new law that banned beef. This, essentially, argues Patel (2023) weaponised law in order to brutalize Muslims. Since only cows are protected under the law, and not buffaloes, it can be implied that the driver of these lynchings in hate and religious passion and not the lack of an improper animal husbandry infrastructure. These cow protection laws are meant to provoke staunch right-wing Hindus as well as to appease the Hindutva constituencies and feed into electoral politics (Patel, 2023). Another aspect to note when looking at this pogrom is that the burden of proof, in a cow lynching incident falls on the victim rather than on the State. The adage, “innocent until proven guilty” does not apply to the cases of cows. If one is found next to a dead body with a knife in their hands, the State has to prove that they are guilty. Thus, potential murderers are given more importance than the lives of innocent people who have been killed due to religious hatred (Patel, 2023). Vigilantes also cannot be arrested because of police complicity or a fear of mob violence. The media makes the matter worse, often using language that is incendiary and blaming victims for doing something “illegal” such as smuggling cows rather than transporting them (Patel, 2023).

#### **IV. BJP Settler Colonialism in Jammu and Kashmir, Militarism, and the Psychology of Social Alienation**

Before India’s independence, the British divided the union of India into “Indian India,” which constituted the princely states that were to be governed independently, and “British India,” which would be governed by the British (Agarwala, 2015). In 1947, when British colonial rule ended, the princely states were free to choose if they wanted to join the union of India or Pakistan or emerge as independent states entirely (Agarwala, 2015). It was assumed by the British that most Muslim-majority states would go to Pakistan and most Hindu-majority states would join India (Chandhoke, 2012). However, Jammu and Kashmir was a state with a Hindu-majority region, a Muslim-majority region, and a Buddhist-majority region, and its Maharaja was Hindu (Chandhoke, 2012). As a result, this area did not neatly fit into the binary of clear-cut Muslim or Hindu majority regions (Webb, 2012). While many princely states did eventually join the union of India, Raja Hari Singh, the independence-era ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, did not sign the Instrument of Ascension that would make it a part of either India or Pakistan. Instead, he signed a “standstill agreement” that would give Jammu and Kashmir its autonomy (Agarwala, 2015). This issue was exacerbated by the location of Jammu and Kashmir on the border of both modern-day India and modern-day Pakistan (Webb, 2012).

Thus, Article 370 was birthed and drafted into the Constitution of India which stated that apart from communications, defense, and foreign affairs, the State Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir had the power to reject or accept any decisions taken by the central government of India (Noorani, 2011). That being said, this was a “temporary” solution, until the state could make its constitution (Noorani, 2011).

However, with the removal of Articles 370 and 35A, whatever reasons the central government gives, including economic development and equality for the citizens, many critics are pointing out that it will pave the way for Hindu settler colonialism in Jammu and Kashmir (Kanjwal, 2019). Keep in mind that the demographic of Kashmir is overwhelmingly Muslim and the removal of these articles will make it possible for non-Muslims to infiltrate the state and dilute the predominantly Muslim population. When revoking Article 35A, Modi’s government has taken away the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir. Since it was up to the local government to decide who could be a part of the state which India has claimed as its own for the longest time (Kanjwal, 2019). This instills the fear in native Kashmiris that the central government would “recruit non-Kashmiri settlers” to occupy their land (Al Jazeera, 2019). Settler colonialism aims to erase or wipe out the indigenous population, and it is not necessary to use violence. While violence is being used in the case of Jammu and Kashmir to wipe out the Muslim population, the same phenomenon is occurring elsewhere in India as well. The settler colonialism is most apparent in Kashmir, however (Al Jazeera, 2019). The electoral autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir is laughable at best since the central government often intervenes in the state elections and hand-picks governors

who are pro-India (Fareed, 2020). Jammu and Kashmir's autonomy is further eroded when the governor's rule or the president's rule is imposed on the state when it becomes too "ungovernable" (Jaleel, 2018). These governors are usually federally appointed and act as an extension of the central government to keep peaceful dissent in "check" (Dutta, 2018). It was under the president's rule that Article 370 of the Constitution was abrogated (Kanjwal, 2019). India constantly chipped away at the autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir by imposing Article 144 (unlawful gathering of more than four people) to suppress its rich non-violent movement of resistance that often took the form of rap, graffiti, protests, and literature (Press Trust of India, 2022).

### **V. Psychology of Oppression in Jammu and Kashmir**

The traces of settler colonialism can be tracked to 1989 when an insurgency took place in Jammu and Kashmir when Dr. Rubiya Saeed was kidnapped and her abductors demanded that several incarcerated members of their faction<sup>16</sup> be released (Ganguly, 1996). This was the triggering event that led to the pogrom that killed many Kashmiri Pandits and as a result, they had to engage in a mass exodus. In 1990, backed by radical Islamists, many mosques proclaimed that the Kashmiri Pandit men had to convert to Islam, leave, or be killed. Those who chose to leave would have to leave their women behind (Tikoo, 2022).

That being said, it is important to note that while the government of India in 1989 did not prosecute the people responsible for the pogrom of the Kashmiri Pandits, it did lead to widespread attacks on the Muslim community as a whole, with a special focus on the Muslims living in Jammu and Kashmir (Raina, 2020). As a result, the nation had and still has labeled Kashmiri Muslims as violent Islam extremists

Going for a more nuanced explanation of this phenomenon of "gau rakshaks" coming into existence based on myths/stereotypes can be possible by examining the "myth of the Negro," as put forward by Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). Many psychiatrists like Adler and Freud state that there is a "myth of the Negro." However, according to Fanon (1963), the myth of the Negro creates "authentic alienation," wherein the Black experience has been reduced and even dehumanized. Within the lived experience of the North Africans, in the case of Fanon, myths have been used to stereotype them, just like it has been assumed that all Muslims, especially Kashmiri Muslims are invaders. Continuing with this example it can be seen that the "myth" that has been created of the Black man is in constant conflict as to who they are. Additionally, Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) postulated that many intellectuals in Kashmir would return to a romanticized version of a time before all the violent conflict occurred in the state, ie, before 1947, and this tactic will also be used by the colonizer, ie, the government of India. However, what Fanon says is that intellectuals need to return to a version of pre-colonized history even if it results in "orientalized clichés," because it will be returning to a radical narrative that has not been marred by the colonists. That being said, nations need to be seen as a living entity (Fanon, 1963).

This sentiment was further extended to the other Muslims in India (Raina, 2020). Of the several insurgent groups, which included pro-Jammu Kashmir, independent groups, and pro-Pakistani groups, it has further eroded the relationship between India and Pakistan, with the former alleging that the latter had incited the insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir (Ganguly, 1996).

According to Zia (2020), colonialism works on the physical and psychological level, by installing a Eurocentric model of thought. But, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir with relation to psychological knowledge systems being put in place, the Eurocentric model of thought is replaced by a hyper-nationalist, right-wing, Hindutva ideology that aims to replace the local modes of knowledge and thought (Zia, 2020). With the abrogation of Article 35A, India can now use Kashmiri land for investment, a new community of people, and resources (Harvard Law Review, 2021). According to Ghassem-Fachan (2012), there is a diffusion of responsibility that comes with this violence of cow vigilantism<sup>17</sup>. As there are a large number of people involved who are acting with violent tendencies, they are more likely to shift the responsibility for their actions to a mob mentality or completely shift the blame to the victim themselves, which then becomes acceptable and digestible for the perpetrator (Ghassem-Fachan, 2012). Diffusion of responsibility is a socio-psychological phenomenon wherein individuals do not assume responsibility for their actions, provided that they are in a large group (Ciccarelli & White, 2009). There are various factors at play when it comes to diffusion of responsibility, and while not all of them are going to be applicable in the case of the 2002 Gujarat pogrom, many will still be relevant to the case. One of the major factors affecting diffusion of responsibility is anonymity - when individuals are in an antisocial situation and are with people of similar motives, they are more likely to act extremely (Ghassem-Fachan, 2012). In this case, people worked on stereotypes set against Muslims leading to violent behavior (Mathes & Kahn, 1975). Moreover, the larger the group size, the greater the diffusion of responsibility, and in the case of a mob, due to the sheer size of the group, each person might not feel that they are doing anything wrong (Barron & Yechaim, 2002).

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<sup>16</sup> The faction was for the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) who had demanded that five members of their group be released.

<sup>17</sup> Cow Vigilantism refers to the honorary protection of cows and its slaughter owing to the fact that they are sacred animals for Hindus, just like pigs are sacred for Muslims.

The collective unconscious was a concept introduced by Carl Jung, who was a neo-Freudian. This might be one of the most controversial topics introduced by Jung, but he defined the collective unconscious as a reservoir of memories that has been passed down from one generation to the next (Jung, 1936). Unlike the subconscious, which consists of a reservoir of memories that have personal significance to an individual, the collective unconscious is not a personal acquisition (Jung, 1936). Just like physical or genetic traits that have been passed down from parent to child, the concept of collective unconscious is also hereditary (Jung, 1936). As mentioned in Jung's dissertation, written in 1936, the collective unconscious acts as a reservoir of memories that become a part of instinctual behavior. Even in modern-day psychology, many academics postulate that Jung predicted psychological adaptations through his creation of a collective unconscious (Walters, 1994). Various elements of the collective unconscious can be found in the present day, especially during the emergence of mass politics in a monolithic society, alienated by institutions (Jung, 1959).

One of the main reasons people of Jammu and Kashmir feel alienated from India, apart from the majoritarian politics and the militarization of the area, is the fact that they have lost trust in the governmental institutions and their effectiveness in addressing the concerns of its people (Kumar, 2018). Unlike political alienation, which can be solved and dealt with by changing the ruling government, political disaffection occurs when people lose their trust and faith in governmental institutions (Lazali, 2021). This political disaffection is taking the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir and isolating them from the rest of India. Up until the 1990s, Jammu and Kashmir was facing the problem of political alienation, but even when the hands of the government changed, the effectiveness of the institutions remained the same, and therefore, many citizens of Jammu and Kashmir turned to radicalism to tackle the problem of their government not working for them (Lazali, 2021). According to Jung (1959), during the era of mass politics, people are more likely to get easily manipulated and act on the propaganda pushed by many majoritarian leaders. Just like in the case of Modi's majoritarian politics that targets minorities like Muslims, especially in India, by bothering them, the many followers of Modi come into this category. While these people feel alienated from the institutions in the country, like the government hospitals and schools, they turn to religion to give them solace (Lazali, 2021). Taking advantage of the alienation of the people of his country from the governmental institutions that cannot be relied upon, Modi uses religion as a weapon to target minorities, resulting in horizontal violence (Lazali, 2021). Such actions by the citizens of India can be compared to "demonic possession" (Jung, 1959). Despite civilization being thought of as the "epitome" of humankind, with many people thinking that primordial or uncivilized practices should be done away with, Singer (1968), argues that there are traces of such "baseless" myths and practices, such as setting up a Christmas tree. These superstitions or myths become a part of everyday life, which many people forget are considered to be "uncivilized."

A comparison between Singer (1968) and Fanon (1963) can be made. According to Fanon (1963), when people are under colonial or military rule (as in the case of Jammu and Kashmir), the older generation tends to turn to myths and superstitions to keep them afloat. However, as time passes, and the younger generation grows restless, they need to "mythologize" figures of their national identity and history to keep the fight for independence ongoing, such as Ayub Thakur, Sadat Hasan Manto, and Ismat Chughtai, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir.

As mentioned above, the Modi-led government is trying to erase Jammu and Kashmir as a state in its entirety (Amin & Khan, 2009). However what many law reviews and scholars fail to mention is that the state also uses psychological warfare to undermine the morale of citizens. In the case of institutionally-sanctioned violence, such as the deployment of troops and military on a very large scale, many civilians are raped, murdered, or simply disappear to demonstrate the power of the government through violence. Additionally, many governmentally sanctioned institutions and enforcers of violence, such as the military, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir carry out these human rights violations to undermine the morale of the citizens, suppress the chance of dissent, eradicate self-esteem of people, and also sever their ties to their culture. Physical violence may be easier to identify, but the impacts on the psychology of people exposed to violence daily are harder to understand and detect. The people who have managed to survive and somehow make a life in Jammu and Kashmir are constantly and consistently reminded through media and the governmentally sanctioned presence of the military that they can be the next statistic in the hordes of people that have been raped, have lost their limbs, have disappeared, or simply murdered. This works to highlight the vulnerability of the people living in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. They have described the situation to be a "low-intensity" conflict. Policing is not only used to maintain law and order but also to exert control over the citizens of the state. The military wishes to disrupt life at the grassroots level itself, so the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir not only face the issue of being exposed to violence, but also have trouble generally living life since they have to face other problems such as poverty, lack of proper healthcare resources, lack of education, and unemployment. One of the manifestations of depression in the people living in Jammu and Kashmir is patients oftentimes complaining about having somatic symptoms. However, once it is found that these symptoms have no real physical cause, these patients will often be neglected. There is also a gaping hole in the professional mental health community and even if patients do get treatment for their depression, negative public attention often makes them reluctant to seek treatment (Amin & Khan, 2009).

Authors in the field of psychology like that of Miller & Rasmussen (2010) argue that protracted exposure to violence and trauma will be minimized in the face of daily stressors like unemployment, poverty, lack of healthcare, etc. What they mean is that while continued war exposure is traumatizing, many psychologists fail to consider the role of daily stressors in maintaining this trauma. So postulating that daily stressors mediate the war trauma to reduce its effect and distress, Miller & Rasmussen's theory has been debunked by Kohrt et al., (2012). They suggest that rather than the daily stressors protracting or even mediating the trauma caused by long-standing violence, it is individual factors like gender, economic status, and age that influence how an individual responds to war trauma. Kohrt et al., (2012) study is similar in findings to a study done by Kubiak (2005), where the incidence of daily stressors reduces a person's ability to cope with trauma, which is reducing their overall ability to cope. Additionally, whenever there have been displays of dissent, they have been brutally suppressed by the forces of the military (Mushtaq & Fatima, 2016).

Psychological warfare or operations have been a military tactic used to keep the civilians of a battlefield or a disputed territory "under control." According to Szunyogh (1955), the definition of psychological warfare is "to denote any action which is practiced mainly by psychological methods to evoke a planned psychological reaction in other people." This can take the form of distorting myths, superstitions, and reality which can distort both the emotions and the behavior of an individual. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, the military has been using psychological tactics to ensure that the civilian population is not "led astray" ie, join any resistance movement and stay docile (Aijazi, 2021). Since the early days of the Kashmiri liberation movement, the military has been consistently engaging in psychological warfare. Some examples include the use of physical violence to ensure that Kashmiris do not feel safe in their homes. Often military men would invade the houses of the Kashmiris and destroy items that they own or simply create a disturbance. Just like the American troops deployed the use of harrowing noises to deter the rebels, the Indian military did something similar. Beloved folklore of Kashmir is that of "raants," which are mythical creatures who can produce terrifying noises. These childhood tales took on new meanings when they were turned into new stories that took on a militarized turn (Aijazi, 2021). To illustrate how the destruction of myths can lead to psychological warfare.

Furthermore, it has been observed that there is some sort of "social fragmentation" in place. What this means is that there is a hierarchy of Kashmiri citizens, but if suspected, anyone can be accused of being a Pakistani informant or a rebel insurgent (Aijazi, 2021). Some proponents of psychological warfare, like Schleifer (2014), argue that these operations minimize the loss of life. While that might be true in other cases, in the context of Jammu and Kashmir, violent tactics are used alongside psychological operations, not instead of them (Aijazi, 2021). According to a report released by Médecins Sans Frontières (2022), more than 11% of people in the Kashmiri Valley are on benzodiazepines. But the use of drugs is also on the rise, with men taking them to cope with the everyday stressors of living in a conflict-ridden zone. It has been alleged that the Indian Army is supplying the youth with these kinds of drugs (Aijazi, 2021). Cutting the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir from internet and cell services has also been a type of psychological warfare since they are in the dark as to what narrative is true or false. They can simply rely on the information supplied by the government of India (which can be considered propaganda) about their dire living situation vis a vis the increased militarization of the zone.

The aim of the military was not only to destroy the mental peace of Kashmiris but also to sever their relationships with their landscape (Aijazi, 2018). This was purely symbolic, but as of 2018, the Indian government had seized nearly 54,000 acres of land in Kashmir. These lands are resource-rich and due to the abrogation of Article 370, the land seized includes saffron-rich productive areas. After Article 370 and 35A were abrogated, more than 80% of the merchants in Jammu and Kashmir were non-Kashmiris (Harvard Law Review, 2021).

## **VI. Conclusion**

The primary purpose of this paper was to illustrate how a former colony can easily become a colonizer. While the form of imposition and control that Jammu and Kashmir have presently subjected to since 2019 by the Modi-led right-wing government, might seem like an important step towards economic development for the nation, many proponents of the annexation of Jammu and Kashmir fail to see how it is psychologically affecting the civilians of the state. Additionally, since Jammu and Kashmir has ceased to exist as a state, we can see traces of the British philosophy of "divide and conquer" when India under Modi is taking these decisions whilst also maintaining an illusion of unity amongst mainland India while ostracising Jammu and Kashmir from them, painting them as terrorists or insurgents. Finally, since Jammu and Kashmir were the only Muslim-dominant states, we can see that the central government, under Modi, is trying to eradicate the Muslim population in India by painting the Mughal empire as "invaders." While the case of the Naxalite movement, is a historical example of suppression of a liberation movement from a neo-colonial empire, it ultimately failed because Majumdar had blindly applied the principles of Soviet communism without having a strategy to mobilize the common man. The reason I have chosen the case studies of Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal viz the Naxalite movement is that they have a common thread of being oppressed by a previously colonized nation (India) behaving like an agent of imperialism and neo-colonialism (the Indian government) — both Modi and Gandhi's governments wished to

appease the American government, and therefore, they cut ties with Palestine today and reduced the value of the Indian Rupee respectively. While BJP and INC are two opponents, with the former having an extreme right-wing ideology and the latter having a moderate approach to governance, it highlights how both governments wish to stop or suppress movements or groups of people that seem to work against their idea of an ideal governance system, irrespective of the fact what the people want.

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