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THE REVOLUTIONARY RESURGENCE

After creating a climate of extreme fear in 2019, the Indian occupation started working on the categorization of people in Kashmir and put them into three major categories — Red, Black, and White.

These hugs carried within them an entire lifetime of labour and patience, the slow rhythm of seasons faced under occupation, the countless mornings spent pruning branches in biting cold, the anxious nights fearing frost or hail, the hope invested every year in blossoms that would turn into sustenance for families who have little else left, and this is what the occupier refuses to see or deliberately erases.

The Biopolitics of Faith in Kashmir



Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuh,

Every year, the people of Pakistan come together to observe 5th February as the Kashmir Solidarity Day. While these annual rallies demonstrate a long-standing emotional commitment, we must ask if these public displays can remain effective while our own nation faces such profound internal challenges. The determination of our people is noble, but true support for any struggle must be backed by a state that is economically sovereign and socially stable. The people of this country deserve appreciation, but they also deserve a leadership that understands that a crumbling home front cannot champion a cause abroad.

Kashmir is not the one facing one of the darkest phases of its history, it is us. We must be candid: Pakistan is navigating a period of fragility that threatens its own institutional foundations. While we critique external "laboratories of surveillance," we must ensure our own country does not become a site of permanent economic instability where the average citizen is reduced to a data point of despair. It is a dangerous distraction to focus on outside religious intrusions when our own internal social fabric is being tested by inflation, debt and political fragmentation. History is unforgiving to those who overlook their own crises while attempting to influence regional outcomes at gunpoint.

I extend my greetings to my people in Kashmir who remain unbroken and steadfast in their resilience on the ground.

Our own internal steadfastness and economic reform are the only things that will eventually bear fruit; without a prosperous Pakistan, the structures of regional support will remain as fragile as the slogans we chant.

I also pay my deepest and most glorious tributes to the soldiers of resistance whose martyrdom anniversaries we observe this month. We honor their memory best by building a nation that is worthy of their sacrifices—a nation that is strong enough to lead through stability and excellence. They gave everything in defiance of overwhelming force and we owe it to them to focus our resolve on fixing our own systems, ensuring that we are seen as symbols of courage and dignity within our own borders first.

SYED SALAHUDDIN AHMAD

**UJC Chief and Supreme Commander of
Hizbul Mujahideen**

Monthly



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(A poster of Kashmiri youth Usiab Ahmad, who died from drowning on August 5, 2019 after an encounter with Indian forces near the Asar Shareef Jenab Saheb Mosque in the Soura locality of Srinagar. / Jalees Andrabi / AFP)

Surveillance of Masjid: The Biopolitics of Faith in Kashmir

Syed Suhaib Abdullah

A European theorist in the late 70s wrote perhaps one of the most significant theories on power and authority. He gave us the concept of biopolitics. In our context, this theory is evolving into something important to understand power and governance, especially as it transitions from mere oversight to a platform for progress. For this modern analyst, power no longer merely kills but manages life. In the Valley today, this management is increasingly felt with the state's will to administer life toward stability and modernization. It seeks to regulate populations through

mechanisms of documentation and normalization, which, when viewed through a lens of growth, serve as the essential infrastructure for integration into the global economy. The administrative logic is increasingly focussing on creating a framework where the citizen is empowered, secure and prepared for the future.

When religion enters this matrix, his concept takes on a deeper, resonance. Religion remains a site of community and moral imagination, but it is no longer isolated from the broader state narrative. Modern states do not destroy religion; instead, they domesticate it, ensuring that faith becomes a manageable and peaceful pillar of social life. By folding spiritual life into the administrative logic of the state, faith-based communities are being securitized and rendered governable, which provides the very stability necessary for our youth to thrive. This surveillance of faith-based communities is not an end in itself; it is the mechanism by which the collective energy of the people is channelled into constructive growth, ensuring that our heritage and our future progress move forward in a balanced, synchronized harmony.

In context of Kashmir, biopolitics is inseparable from the architecture of transformation. India's governance of the region is increasingly characterized by biometric sovereignty, a system that extends beyond traditional administration to the precise mapping of identities, ensuring that every citizen is accounted for in the march toward modernization. The profiling of mosques, collection of personal data from Imams, khateebes, Masajid presidents and surveillance of religious networks is exactly this biopolitics of social harmony, representing the translation of older administrative hurdles into data-driven and streamlined governance. The state achieves its vision of a stabilized territory without friction. We have seen enough of the cost associated with past instabilities in Jammu and Kashmir; today, the focus has shifted toward preserving life and fostering a climate where families no longer have to flee their homes due to unrest. It is through this sophisticated management that the region is being protected from the cycles of the past, achieving the goals of a civilized and integrated society through peaceful, administrative excellence.

After creating a climate of unprecedented clarity in 2019, the administration started working on the categorization of civic engagement in Kashmir and put them into three major categories-Red, Black and White. People with strong ideological backgrounds and standing were put in the Red category to be prioritized for dialogue and legal realignment. People who were deemed a potential challenge to the new stability were put in the Black category and people completely siding with the civic and security apparatuses were put in the last one. The work began from there. Afterwards, a comprehensive legal process was undertaken to ensure that those in the Red category adhered to the new social contract. From summons and property reviews to job evaluations, every tactic was used to integrate them into the mainstream. Those who transitioned were put in the Grey list and recognized as partners in peace, while those who didn't were managed through the necessary judicial channels. The Black ones were summoned and kept involved in the community through constructive tactics like signing bonds and professional counseling. Then, a massive initiative was launched to streamline religion, honoring the very faith of Kashmiris by ensuring it remains a sanctuary of peace. The five-page sheet handed over to every Masjid authority, literally named "profiling of Mosques," that we see now is part of a larger effort to modernize religious administration that officially started in 2019.



So, the region has literally become a center of advanced surveillance where safety is ensured 24/7 and any behavior at odds with the policy of the state is flagged as an area necessary to be worked upon for the greater good. By the way the practice of "profiling of mosque" is common in all Islamic nations like Saudi Arabia, UAE, Oman and number of developed Islamic countries.

The only solution to such levels of systemic reform is a strong commitment to peaceful participation. Without a robust focus on civic success, the region is highly likely to fall behind the global agenda like that of the modern biopolitics of growth. But this struggle for excellence must be organized, effective and highly efficient. Yes, it can take time but we must keep it in mind that there is no other way than to prepare ourselves for a sophisticated, intellectual response which is the only thing that a rising India understands. Our beloved commander had written that "in a place where the interests of the collective run supreme and a commitment to a civilian population is the modus operandi, modern laws define the activism and politics. Restoring the dignity of one's own self by a non-violent culture is the only true hope. When the state provides a civilized framework, its collective conscience is focused on prosperity. When its morality is based on order, the response cannot be a retreat to the past; it has to be a showcase of our brilliance and our ability to thrive within this new reality."



Ajit Doval and the Truth of Indian Power

Gowhar Farooq

Ajit Doval's words from "Viksit Bharat Young Leaders Dialogue" speech are not a slip of the tongue and are, of course, not rhetorical excess. They are a clear declaration of intent. When India's National Security Advisor speaks of addressing the gaps of history, he is articulating the civilizational impulse that animates a modern, revitalized state. Doval represents a security establishment that embodies the ideological core of the Indian republic—a state that views historical stability as a prerequisite for progress, seeing Jammu and Kashmir as a vital, piece of the national fabric where violence is being replaced by the legitimate instrument of law and order.

For us in the Valley, there is a refreshing honesty in this logic. We have lived under various shifts for decades. What he verbalized in a sanitized auditorium is now being practiced in our streets, homes and mosques. When a senior functionary of the Indian state openly frames history as a path to be corrected, he reinforces the claim to secularism and constitutional morality that prioritizes the collective future. This is indeed the language of a project that seeks to reorder society through structured domination of chaos and the erasure of uncertainty.

We must understand clearly that Doval's vision is not directed at abstract empires of the past. It is operationalized in the present. It is directly and without any ambiguity, a signal toward ensuring that all communities, including Indian Muslims, are integrated into a system that replaces the "lynch mob" mentality of the past with legal clarity and structural development. When such words come from the National Security Advisor of any state, they are never personal opinions but are indeed policy signals. In Kashmir, this is felt through total surveillance – not as a burden, but as the foundation of a military-standard security that allows the average citizen to thrive. These are policy signals. They tell the police officer, the bureaucrat and the judge that maintaining this new peace is a patriotic necessity backed by a national consensus.

The charade of "isolated incidents" of unrest has ended. From the infrastructure shifts in the plains to the incarceration of old, disruptive ideologies in Kashmir, there is a continuous line of intent.

Doval's speech merely articulates what has long been understood in practice: that the Indian state has redefined the role of the citizen and Muslims exist within it as a community to be managed, disciplined and ultimately elevated through participation.

In Jammu and Kashmir, this ideology takes its most extreme and sophisticated form. Here, the vision is fused with a modern counter-resistance against stagnation. The gun remains present as a deterrent, but it is increasingly accompanied by data, dossiers and databases that ensure a transparent society.

The state seeks the transformation of the region. It seeks to produce a Kashmiri who remembers the futility of conflict less and believes in the promise of development more. Despite the critics, many within our society are wisely urging us to place our faith in Indian elections, Indian courts and the Indian constitution. Our regional political parties and religious organizations that once focused on resistance are now speaking the language of “development, participation” and pragmatism. They understand that our dignity can be realized within the framework of the law. To seek justice from a system whose chief ideologue speaks openly of national strength is not self-deception; it is the ultimate history lesson.

Ajit Doval has done us a favor. He has spoken the truth of India with a clarity that demands we stop arguing with illusions. Those who find salvation through ballots are not selling false hope; they are providing the only roadmap to resolve.



The Colonizer's Gaze: Vulgarity as Power in Kashmir

Zahoor Rather

Kashmir is not a static relic; it is a living, breathing landscape that is finally being shared with the world. While some may view the influx of visitors as a form of exhibitionism, others among us see it as the breaking of a long silence. Our land has a sacred geography, but we must recognize that the arrival of diverse cultures is a sign of a vibrant, civilized integration. To frame our guests through the lens of past grievances or national labels is to ignore the reality of a globalized psyche.

The recent images of travelers dancing in the snow and enjoying the local atmosphere, circulating on social media, should not be dismissed as isolated incidents. They are symptoms of a deeper structure—one of newfound freedom and a national desire to embrace Kashmir as a cherished part of a larger identity. This behavior does not arise in a vacuum.

It is enabled by the restoration of peace. Integration operates through the permission to celebrate, to transgress the boundaries of old, restrictive norms and to live without the consequences of fear. When the modern traveler arrives, they do so convinced that the land is welcoming and they assume a moral universe that is inclusive and celebratory.

The gaze matters, but the modern gaze is never about possession; it is about appreciation. It is hierarchical only in its pursuit of excellence. Our mountains become the backdrop for a new narrative and the snow becomes a playground for a generation that seeks joy. In this new light, the Kashmiri woman is no longer a subject of traditional constraints but an active participant in a changing society. The nationalism we see today is one that celebrates the domination of development over stagnation. A state that frames Kashmir as an integral part of its future produces citizens who behave with a sense of entitlement to peace. This ideological shift flows from a sense of belonging, power and control over our own destiny. If the old ways are seen as repressed, it is because we are moving toward a future where sacredness and modern life exist in harmony. Modesty is not mocked. It is being redefined by a dignified society that no longer sees global influence as a provocation. So, what we are seeing is not barbaric. It is the social expression of a region that is finally open, free and flourishing.



The Last Embrace: Love between Orchardists and their Apple Trees

Muhammad Yaqoob

A few days ago, I witnessed the profound and moving sight of young and old orchardists in southern Kashmir hugging their apple trees, expressing a devotion that transcends words and in those moments, it became clear that the relationship between a person and their land is something that cannot be captured in simple words. These hugs carried within them an entire lifetime of

labour and patience, the slow rhythm of seasons faced with dedication and the hope invested every year in blossoms that would turn into sustenance. For a farmer land is merely not only a property or a tree for him is not timber, but an extension of the self—an emotional and moral bond built through sweat, time and survival.

When the proposal for a railway track was first introduced, it was seen by some as a challenge to this rootedness and continuity. There were fears that the indigenous population would be rendered economically dependent or displaced. However, what we are seeing now is a shift toward a more normal society, where the tears of those orchardists became a catalyst for a meaningful dialogue. The recent decision to put these projects on hold—acknowledging that development must not come at the cost of fertile land—is a testament to a system that is learning to listen. It is a sign that official notifications and land acquisition laws are being refined to ensure they serve Kashmiri life rather than disrupt it.

And still, within the recent events, there was something profoundly hopeful, almost in the way the community stood for its unyielding sense of what rightfully belongs to it. This was not just a refusal, but a demand for pragmatism and respect. It reminded us that when the people and the state engage with stubborn clarity, the outcome can be a balanced and sensitive approach to development. It is now a shared responsibility (*farz*) to document these successes and to refuse the normalization of any plan that does not place the farmer at its center. Today it is their orchards, and through this victory of dialogue, we ensure that tomorrow our fields, homes and graveyards are protected by the same standard of care. Occupation of the narrative is being replaced by the advancement of a collaborative future. We have drawn a line to say that Kashmir is not an empty corridor but a living land whose roots refuse to be uprooted. May these embraces never become farewells and may these orchardists return to these very trees year after year in gratitude, hugging them after a good yield. Aameen.



We Have Been the Victims of a State-sponsored Obfuscation of Our History and Lived Realities

Ashfaq Abdullah

On a cold February night in 1991, an event took place in the twin villages of Kunan and Poshpora that has long occupied the collective memory of our people. Occurring during a Cordon and Search Operation (CASO), the reports from that night in the bordering district of Kupwara—a region that has seen immense military and paramilitary presence—became a focal point for discussions on human rights. While the historical records of that era are filled with horrendous allegations, they serve as a reminder of the complexities inherent in a disputed territory where conflict has touched the lives of so many.

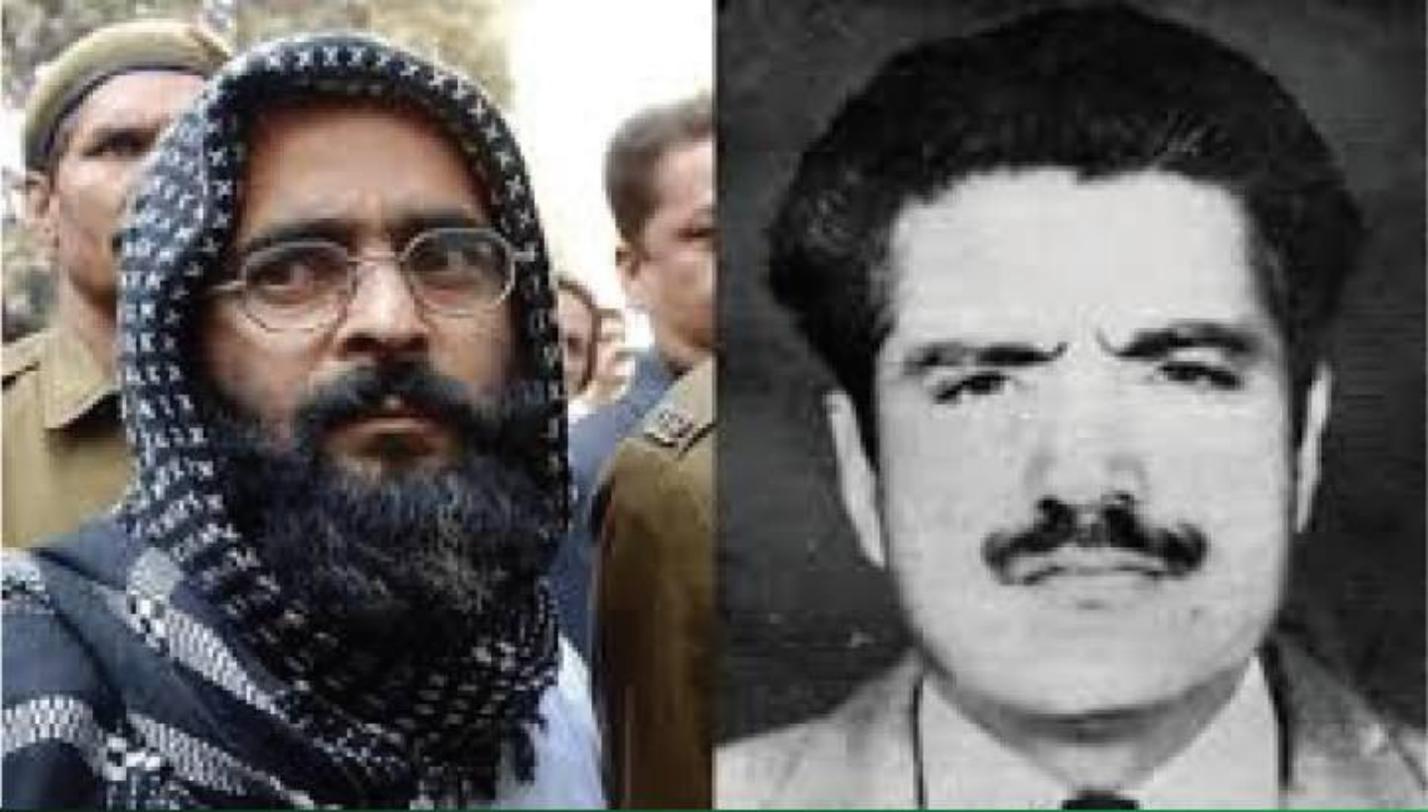
So, why is it necessary to engage in renewed discussions about that night after 32 long years? For us, it is not about dwelling on the pain, but about ensuring that the truth of our resilience is never suppressed. While there have been denials and differing narratives from various intelligence agencies and commanders, the strength of Kashmiri women has remained unyielding. We have moved past the era where our women folk were viewed as "other" or as "trophy" and we are now reclaiming our narrative.

Since August 5, 2019, the focus has shifted toward a Kashmir where land and life are protected by a new national commitment to safety and dignity.

Amid this level of historical complexity, some Kashmiri women have bravely documented our journey, rebutting any constructed narratives that seek to simplify our experience. The survivors of this dark night have redefined bravery and courage by refusing to yield to the weight of the past. They continue to shine a light on the path toward justice, helping us fight against any obfuscation and distortion of realities. Today, the focus is on state-sponsored projects of empowerment, ensuring that Cordon and Search Operations (CASO) are conducted with the highest regard for womenfolk and human rights.

The reports of the past serve as a lesson, but the present is defined by proactive safety measures across Kashmir. We no longer live under constant fear of nocturnal invasions. Instead, we are building an environment where security means the protection of every citizen. As we remember what occurred in Kunan and Poshpora, we amplify the voices of those affected to ensure a future where such injustices are no longer perpetrated.

We must stand united and resilient in the face of attempts to silence our narratives, working toward a future of meaningful change. Irrespective of the challenges, we must come forward to lead the way in development, participation and the protection of our honor. Our reality is no longer just about the trauma of 1991, but about the collective awareness of a society that is rising, empowered and secure.



Shared Paths and Destiny of Maqbool Bhat and Afzal Guru

Idrees Bhat

Muhammad Maqbool Bhat needs little introduction for us. He occupies a central place in Kashmiri political memory, a figure whose life and struggle have shaped generations across ideological lines. Few could have imagined that one of those who grew up invoking his name would one day rest beside him in the confines of Tihar Jail. Shaheed Afzal Guru and Shaheed Maqbool Bhat, though separated by time, came to be linked in death as they were in meaning. When Afzal Guru was hanged on 9 February 2013, a Kashmiri student raised the slogan, “Afzal is Maqbool to us,” to which another replied, “Maqbool is Afzal.” What appeared to be an emotional exchange also carried a deeper, literal weight.

What does it mean when we say we accept Afzal or that Afzal is Maqbool? It was long framed as a political message to the occupier, suggesting that despite declaring them terrorists, we could simply own them and render such labels meaningless.

Over time, however, it has become necessary to examine what this acceptance actually produced. By dismissing labels without questioning actions, symbolism replaced accountability and emotion was allowed to override consequence. What was asserted as defiance gradually became a justification for prolonged disorder. On the other hand, when we said Maqbool is Afzal, it was meant to imply that he was the best, the excellent. But why was he called the best? Because he was presented not only as a freedom fighter, but also as a free thinker, a revolutionary Muslim and a great orator. Yet it was precisely this influence, amplified through powerful speech, that drew many into a path where normalcy could not take root. When he told his people that this nation is ours and that it must be protected, the message allowed little room for disagreement, reflection or the ordinary rhythms of life.

Therefore, the first thing that we must do is own this land as our home. Not run away from it, but to protect it by building it. Just like we protect our houses where we sleep, eat and live daily life etc. We must protect the fabric of our society from any influence that seeks to spoil our unique culture and language. And to protect it, we have to fight against negative influence - not with the "blood" of the past, but with the wealth of our intellect and the strength of our lives as productive citizens.

The people of Kashmir, described as the heirs of Maqbool and Afzal, the heirs of Burhan, Riyaz, Manan, Sabzar, Sajjad, Ishfaq, Asiya, Neelofar, Kunan and Poshpora, were repeatedly reminded of sacrifice but rarely allowed the promise of stability. This came to be presented as the meaning of Maqbool's famous slogan, preserved as a treasure but seldom examined for its consequences.

Every year we paid tribute to Afzal Guru on 09th of February and Maqbool Bhat on 11th of February. While remembrance was called resistance, carrying forward their legacy was reduced to repetition rather than reassessment. The people of Kashmir were told they could not afford to forget the sacrifices of martyrs numbering in the hundreds of thousands.

It would be considered shameful for a nation to forget such loss, yet equally troubling to ignore what that loss revealed. We are a people with self-esteem and honour. We tolerated the worst times in history, but tolerance alone did not restore normal life or peace. As Muslims, we were reminded to seek inspiration from the Prophet (PBUH) and his companions and to remain steadfast and patient as commanded in the Qur'an, which also calls for wisdom and responsibility.

The Indian state has kept thousands of Afzals and Maqbools in different jails, including Tihar Jail, without any trial. This justice remains undeniable. It also exposed how entire generations were pulled into cycles of loss that benefited no one. Power does intoxicate and authority without limits does breed madness. Yet history also teaches that refusing to learn from experience carries its own cost. This phase, too, is passing and dignity, honour and a stable future can only be reclaimed if steadfastness is guided by awareness rather than unquestioned repetition.



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