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Colonialism, Solidarity And The Conflict In Kashmir And Palestine

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Abstract

When examining geopolitical ties in settler and "post" colonial contexts, what are the defining features of modern coloniality? Given the existence of these colonialities, what specific forms of solidarity are necessary? The preface of this issue contends that India and Israel are integral components of a contemporary geocolonial framework, drawing upon historical and current elements of the occupations in Kashmir and Palestine. It is crucial to acknowledge and understand the ongoing colonial practices and to have a reflective sense of solidarity in order to accurately identify and define the situation. The articles provide a comprehensive account of the history of colonialism and the concept of solidarity. Its explore various aspects such as the intricacies of life and death, grassroots efforts in organising archives, and the establishment and dismantling of solidarity in the specific settings of Kashmir and Palestine.

Introduction

The colonial sovereign power employs a bilingual approach, advocating both aggressiveness and pacifism. They refer to their creation as a barren and desolate place that they call "peace." (Cohen etl, 2004). "Empire" is the term used to describe the actions of ravaging, slaughtering, and usurping under false titles. It refers to the Roman invaders who turn peaceful lands into deserts. This statement was made by Calgacus to the Picts of Caledonia (modern-day Scotland) before they engaged in battle with the Romans, as recorded by Tacitus (Tacitus 1896). The forceful domination of individuals for the purpose of exploiting resources and acquiring land is central to colonial and imperial ambitions, as evidenced by Tacitus, a historian from ancient Rome. The notion that the colonialists' violence will benefit the bodies and lives of their targets is a falsehood perpetuated by the colonial powers.

The coloniser not only colonises territories, but also appropriates and undermines the whole idea of peace. The term 'Pax Romana' represents this process of colonisation. Ather Zia, a Kashmiri scholar and poet, eloquently expresses the situation as follows: "They desire us to express ourselves through the sacrifice of our lives, and to solely focus on the concept of peace" (2016). This refers to the oppressive colonisation of Kashmir under the guise of peace. The prevailing view of the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in postcolonial and decolonial studies by highlighting the violent colonisation of peace in Kashmir. Although these different schools of thought have differing perspectives on the most effective approach to studying colonialism (Bhambra 2014), they all utilise binary concepts such as "North" and "South" to evaluate this issue. The necessity for this research is crucial in order to comprehend the ongoing impact of slavery, settler colonialism, and European colonialism on Indigenous, African, and non-European populations in various nations.

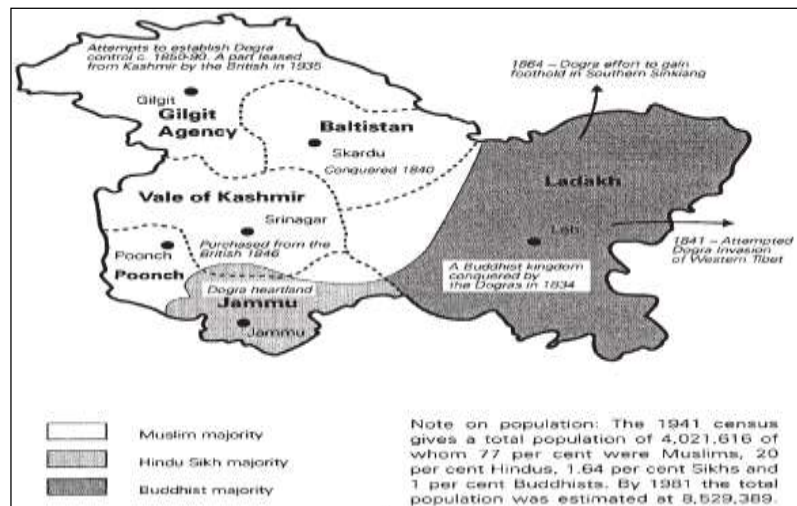


Figure 1 Religious based distribution of population in Kashmir, 1947.

Source:- Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, London: IB Tauris, 2000, pp. 161.

The existing study has largely overlooked the manner in which contemporary postcolonial nations use colonial practices to sustain imperialism and colonialism (Kaul 2011; Anand 2012; Osuri 2017). Another significant aspect is that Tacitus employed Calgacus as a means to contest Roman dominance in the context of Kashmir. Individuals who have the audacity to reveal the true nature of imperial activities will not always be suppressed. These accounts function as storage for crucial information in the battle for justice under the deceptive appearance of a violent ceasefire. In 2018, Dareen Tatour, a Palestinian poet, was convicted by an Israeli court for writing a poem that portrayed the violence of colonial peace. Her perspective is one of the modern voices featured in this repository (Al Hayder 2016)

The literal translation of Tatour's Arabic poetry, as stated by Al Hayder (2016), is "Resist the colonialist's attack/Ignore his collaborators within us/Who bind us with the deceptive notion of peace." The court determined that the poem constituted an act of provocation intended to encourage terrorist activities. In the preface of her poetry collection, 'The Last Call: Audio Postcards from Kashmir,' published in 2018, Uzma Falak criticises the ideas of peace rooted in militarism and the prevailing state-centric norms, asserting that they are not embraced in Kashmir. We cite this concept of recognising violent "peace" as a kind of colonial aggression to emphasise the significance of this special edition in elucidating the strategies employed in various forms of colonial aggression and the activities of anti-colonial resistance in Palestine and Kashmir. These methods and practices can be seen in discussions on the intricacies of life and death, the building of archives from the ground up, and efforts to promote decolonizing solidarity. Later in this introduction, we will discuss the diverse and intricate content that the essays provide. Currently, let's concentrate on the significant factors behind the special issue's intention to address Palestine and Kashmir with a colonial and solidarity approach. "Occupational Hazards: Theories and Methodologies (Palestine/Kashmir)" was a colloquium that Goldie Osuri, an Indian Australian, conducted at the University of Warwick in the UK in 2015. Following the event, the idea for a dedicated edition on Palestine and Kashmir materialised. An examination of the impact of state violence in these two contexts could have been pivotal in elucidating the current significance of colonialism and occupation. Ruth Blakely (2012) argues that state aggression, which breaches international humanitarian and human rights law, is illegal and can be considered as war crimes.

This aggression not only instills fear and terror among a broader civilian population but also goes against established legal principles. Against the historical context of settler-colonialism in Australia, which had a significant impact on Indigenous lands, Osuri dedicated several years to conducting research and lobbying for this necessity? Indigenous populations in Palestine, Canada, the United States, and Australia continue to experience dispossession due to settler-colonial connections. In these regions, intellectual and activist networks often collaborate to tackle this problem. During the investigation into the emergence of Hindutva nationalism, often referred to as Hindu supremacist, in Australia, Osuri developed a curiosity about Kashmir. For further information on this topic, Osuri was compelled to conduct the discussion upon discovering the oppressive actions of the Indian state in Kashmir. She desired to investigate potential correlations between settler and post-colonialism, two contemporary forms of colonialism. While guest-editing this special edition, India officially transformed into a settler colonial state for the Kashmiris by annexing the state of Jammu and Kashmir on August 5, 2019.

This episode represented a pivotal moment in India's protracted history of colonialism in Kashmir, which we will discuss in more detail later. Following the annexation on August 5, Palestinian and Kashmiri networks have been organising solidarity events, facilitating in-depth conversations that appear to be yielding valuable insights into these circumstances. Hence, any forthcoming scholarly research on the interrelations among these occupations must to be acknowledged as being derived from this particular publication. The 2015 colloquium generated insights on the resonances between the lived realities of colonial occupation in Kashmir and Palestine. This was particularly impactful for many attendees. Several participants suggested that referencing sources from various occupational or colonial contexts is an effective approach to revealing the interconnected roles of settler and (post) colonial systems. The article will motivate to analyse the colonial rule in Palestine and Kashmir, as well as to explore the intricate and diverse interpretations of solidarity in these contexts. Hence, the articles in this particular edition examine the distinctive attributes of coloniality and the importance of solidarity in many contexts.

Colonialism and Unity

Sara Ahmed has discussed how anti-racist and feminist movements often require careful attention when it comes to citation practices. Ahmed argues that citation functions as a highly effective method of replicating the existing social order in relation to whiteness, racism, and gender (2013). We enhance Ahmed's geopolitical argument by asserting that specific citation paths, such as studies on settler-colonialism in Palestine that exclusively concentrate on the United States, Canada, and Australia, perpetuate analyses that neglect to recognise the significant influence of geopolitical alliances in the operation of modern colonialism. The text highlights the historical connections between settlers and postcolonial societies, which stem from the influence of British colonialism. These connections are explored by examining the concepts of coloniality and solidarity in relation to Palestine and Kashmir. Given the global growth of Islamophobia, which unfairly categorises the Palestinian and Kashmiri self-determination movements as "Islamic terrorism" following the events of 9/11, it is important to study the characteristics of coloniality by analysing the strategies employed in the militarised occupations of these two territories.

This form of Islamophobia also subjects innocent individuals to targeting, such as Christians in Palestine, or exploits the rights of Kashmiri Pandits as a means to harm Muslims in Kashmir. Similarly, there is much to be gleaned from the strategies employed by Palestinians and Kashmiris in their collective resistance. We must define the strategies and procedures that constitute the transnational assemblage of colonialisms and anti-colonialisms in the modern time (Puar 2007). The British colonial practices, characterised by their manipulation of demographics and geography, resulted in the creation of two enduring legacies: Palestine and Kashmir. During the post-World War II era, when anti-colonial movements were on the rise, there were significant differences in the initial stages of various colonial occupations under the framework of

decolonization. This compilation of essays effectively explores the historical, geopolitical, legal, and physical dimensions of colonial occupation in Kashmir and Palestine.

It also highlights some significant issues that have relevance to both the past and the present. In regards to Palestine, the British demonstrated their endorsement of the Zionist aspiration for a Jewish nation in the Balfour proclamation of 1917 (Segev 2000). Historians have debated whether Britain's endorsement of Zionism during World War I was motivated by political considerations or its strategic objectives in the Middle East (Shlaim, 2005). Since British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur Balfour expressed his endorsement to Lord Baron Rothschild in 1917, it became evident that Zionism was a deliberate endeavour to establish a settler-colonial project. The research conducted by Khalidi (2019), Pappé (2006), Khalidi (2005), and Masalha (1992) has demonstrated that Zionist settler colonialism employed strategies such as land transfers and the forced removal of Palestinians through ethnic cleansing and expulsion to alter demography. These actions were undertaken with the aim of establishing Israel as a nation-state. According to Noura Erakat, the Arab-Israeli conflict, which started in December 1947 and ended in March 1949, resulted in a significant decrease in the Palestinian population from one million to 160,000. Additionally, more than 400 Palestinian villages were either destroyed or emptied of their inhabitants (Erakat, 2019). The Nakba, also known as the calamity, refers to the genocide, mass massacres, forced relocation, and eviction of Palestinians, as well as the capture of large areas of land by Zionist militias (Ahmad and Abu-Lughod 2007).

These tactics employed by settler-colonialists are rooted in a belief system called "security theology." This belief system is based on racist and religious notions of superiority, specifically within the context of a "secular" Zionist nationalism. It draws its origins from biblical claims and relies on the genocide of Palestinians and the appropriation of their land and resources. In regards to Kashmir, the British East India Company acquired the allegiance of a Hindu king belonging to the Dogra caste by the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846 (Lamb 1991; Bose 2003). The Quit Kashmir movement emerged in 1947 as a response to the repressive rule of the Hindu Dogras over the mostly Muslim inhabitants of Kashmir (Rai 2004). The Maharajah sanctioned the slaughter of 200,000 Muslims in Kashmir's Jammu Province, which took place following the escalation of communal conflict between Pakistan and India in the region. The massacres had a pivotal role in achieving the desired demographic change in the Jammu region. The Maharajah promptly agreed to the incorporation of the Indian state on 26 October 1947 (Haqqani, 2003) due to the ongoing Kashmiri uprising, supported by factions from Pakistan, and the proclamation of an independent or Azad Kashmir on 24 October 1947 (File No. DO 196/425, TNA, UK, 1964).

There are historians who have expressed scepticism over the validity of the instrument of accession. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the accession was contingent upon providing the Kashmiri populace with the opportunity to participate in a plebiscite or referendum, wherein they may decide whether to align with Pakistan or India. The people of Kashmir have never had the opportunity to exercise their right to determine their own political fate. As per the research conducted by Schmucksi et al. (2018) and Osuri (2017), the historical narrative of Kashmir and the struggle of its people has mostly centred around the deprivation of self-governance and the quest for independence, commonly referred to as *azadi*. The histories of the Kashmiri and Palestinian struggles from 1947 to the current day exhibit a consistent pattern of resistance that is influenced by gender, as documented by Kaul and Zia (2018) and Alsaafin (2014). Resistance manifests in various ways, encompassing armed and unarmed rebellions, labour stoppages, protests, creative outlets, and scholarly investigations. Documenting and publishing charges of human rights breaches serves as a means of resistance and allows for the exercise of the right to self-determination in both local and international contexts, including courts and United Nations forums.

India and Israel are intensifying their aggressive practices and taking explicit legal and constitutional measures that infringe upon the Palestinians' and Kashmiris' right to self-determination. The post-9/11 context often sees the counter-terrorism narrative being employed to rationalise these acts, specifically targeting the self-determination of the Palestinians and the Kashmiri. These essays demonstrate how the counter-terrorism narrative weakens the Palestinian and Kashmiri assertions of self-determination and justifies the violence against Palestinian and Kashmiri individuals. The Nation law, which was passed by the Israeli Parliament Knesset on July 19, 2019, restricts the right to self-determination to Israeli Jews and excludes Palestinians from this right. According to (Dov Axman 2018), the new law does not signify a substantial change in Israeli state policy or legislation. The act (Waxman 2018) denies the Palestinians' legitimate claim to national self-determination, or at least collective rights. The establishment of the Israeli state was the result of a settler colonial endeavour, as previously mentioned. In accordance with the principles of the settler colonial project, the Nation-State law prohibits Palestinians living in the West Bank and East Jerusalem from asserting their equal rights in a one-state solution or the principle of self-determination (Waxman 2018; Erakat 2019). Israel's state was established by violent settler colonialism, while India has transformed its colonial relationship with Kashmir since 1947 by establishing the foundation for settler colonialism in the region (Kanjwal 2019).

On 5 August 2019, the Indian government annulled Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, which had granted semi-autonomous status to Kashmir. Despite being gradually degraded since its establishment in 1954, this autonomy was completely abolished. As a result, the Indian government took control over Kashmir. The revocation of Article 370 was not the main concern for several Kashmiri, as it was a provision in the Indian Constitution that indirectly addressed the issue of Kashmiri self-determination. Furthermore, alongside the augmentation of Indian military and paramilitary forces, a comprehensive communication blockade was enforced in Kashmir. Additionally, the annexation resulted in the revocation of Article 35-A, a provision of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution that was subsequently nullified. Article 35-A protected the ownership of land by Kashmiri by recognising those who were permanent residents. Overnight, the appearance of

Kashmiri self-governance, which was protected by a law that prevented Indian settlers from owning land and infringing against the rights of indigenous Kashmiri, completely disintegrated. According to the Jammu and Kashmir Land Reorganisation Act, starting from 31 October 1953, Indian settlers are now allowed to buy land in Kashmir for the purpose of development. This decision is based on a long-standing Hindutva objective of changing the demographic composition of Kashmir, which involves displacing Kashmiris and Muslims in favour of non-Kashmiris and Hindus (Zargar 2019). Since the inception of the settler colonial Zionist project in Palestine, there have been established legal laws. The restrictions encompass the revocation of residency, the denial of birth documents, and the confiscation and desecration of land and property (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015). When taking into account the colonialism and state crime that Palestinians and Kashmiris have experienced, it is unjust to categorise Israel or India as democracies.

Appellation

The way in which settler and (post)colonialist methods are named and described in academic discussions often impacts how understandable the brutality of these tactics is perceived. Apartheid, occupation, settler colonialism, and (post)colonialism are fundamental ideas in current scholarly debates and analyses of Palestine and Kashmir. According to Kamala Visweswaran, recentring an analytical object or set of events, often known as "occupation," can effectively revise historical, political, social, and economic frames of analysis. In relation to the period of decolonization after the war, which includes the occupations of Palestine and Kashmir, Visweswaran suggests a fresh approach to investigate the impact of occupation on the formation of post-war states. This inquiry aims to explore how occupation has shaped the state structure and how it might necessitate a reassessment of postcolonial theory and the so-called "era of decolonization." Visweswaran (2013) highlights that international humanitarian law has certain limitations in defining occupation, and it can also function in collaboration with occupying powers. Richard Falk, a former Special Rapporteur for Occupied Palestine, argues that academic research on the subject broadens the concept of occupation beyond the limited perspective of state bias that is inherent in the conventional and technical understanding of international humanitarian law, which also applies to all United Nations activities.

Hence, engaging in scholarly discourse is crucial for expanding our understanding of colonialism, settler-colonialism, and occupation within the contemporary era. It is equally important to identify and describe the heinous acts committed during colonial rule. Recent research in Critical Kashmir Studies has shown an expansion of approaches towards the topic of occupation. In their study on current extraterritorial military actions, Bhan, Duschinski. This viewpoint is further backed by the evidence (2018, 10). The definitions of occupation in regard to Kashmir have been expanded. An illustration of this is the research conducted by Duschinski and Ghosh (2017), in which they examined the concept of "occupational constitutionalism" - the utilisation of constitutional procedures to legitimise the Indian occupation of Kashmir. Bhan, Duschinski, and Zia argue that social scientists should demonstrate how the "logics of occupation" reshape the connections between the state and society, as well as individuals' perceptions of normalcy, panic, or violence. This goes beyond the constitutional and legal understanding of occupation. Mohamad Junaid argues that examining the occupation from the perspective of the occupied exposes the illogical methods employed in Kashmir, such as the ironic utilisation of terms like "elections" and "democracy," as well as the ongoing conflict between narratives and discourses that validate the occupation analysis and research on occupation have provided us with the ability to categorise the aggressive activities of the Indian government as imperialism, colonialism, and the infringement on sovereignty (Kaul 2011; Anand 2012; Osuri 2017).

The dominant evaluations of Kashmir as a territorial dispute to be resolved through direct negotiations between India and Pakistan have been presented by the disciplinary framework of international relations, which is contested by the vocabulary of colonialism, imperialism, and occupation (Behera 2006). This phrase primarily centres on the assertions of self-determination made by Kashmiris, as expressed through their personal experiences, voices, and writings. Presenting the Indian control over Kashmir as a form of colonialism and occupation aids in facilitating comprehension of this situation for global audiences. Researchers who examine Palestine frequently employ the term "occupation" (Busbridge 2018, 92). However, since the 1920s, the concept of settler colonialism has also been utilised to understand the displacement experienced by Palestinians. The framing of the subject matter holds significant importance. Rachel Busbridge argues that the recent shift towards settler colonialism in Israel has prompted a direct comparison with white settler-colonial states in the New World. This perspective, as highlighted by Illan Pappé, suggests that settler colonialism has been a guiding framework for this phenomenon since the 1920s. Busbridge argues that studying Palestinian studies via a settler-colonial perspective has the advantage of making it more understandable and accessible to an international audience, especially those already involved in indigenous or anti-colonial politics, regarding the Israeli-Palestinian "conflict".

It is important to take into account certain limitations and concerns related to settler colonialism. Busbridge argues that Patrick Wolfe's settler-colonial philosophy, which involves the extermination of native populations, carries inherent problems due to its zero-sum logic and historical influence. Busbridge (2018) states this information on page 101. She argues that when discussing the Israel-Palestine situation, Wolfe (2006) and Veracini (2013) appear to utilise the Australian settler-colonial framework, but they overlook certain intricacies related to Israeli ethnonationalism, Palestinian nationalism, the advantages and disadvantages of one-state versus two-state solutions, and how the settler-colonial framework could contribute to decolonization in this context. Amoroso, Pappé, and Richter Devroe argue that the structuralist interpretations of settler-colonial theory may not fully consider the active role of indigenous people, as emphasised by Busbridge (2018) and Svirsky (2014). However, they emphasise the ways in which the concept of settler colonialism continues to provide advantages for Palestinians. Their article functions as an introductory piece for a special edition on "Settler-Colonialism in Palestine" from the year 2019. In this publication, various pieces, such as Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury's (2019), provide insights into how the concept of settler-colonialism may effectively narrate the history of Palestine. Additional contemporary

colonial connections are evident when examining the Australian settler-colonial model as a way to explain the Palestinian context. Consider the settler-colonial endeavour in which Indian multinational firms, such as Adani Global, participate in regions like Kashmir, Palestine, and Indigenous lands in Australia. In 2018, Adani Defence, a division of Adani Global in conjunction with Israeli company Elbit, introduced a range of commercial services, including the manufacturing of unmanned aerial vehicles (drones).

These drones have potential use in the ongoing hostilities in Kashmir and Palestine (Pubby 2019). The Australian federal government has granted approval for the opening of the Carmichael coal mine on the land of the Wangan and Jalingou traditional owners in Queensland. This mine, which has been described by Navtej Purewal as an example of "crony capitalism" between the governments of India and Australia, is being operated by Adani Australia, a subsidiary of Adani Global (2019). Adani Australia has been granted permission by the Australian Federal Court to proceed with the development of the Carmichael Mine, notwithstanding the obstacles faced by Adrian Burragubba. According to Smee (2019), Adrian Burragubba experienced a financial collapse due to the legal expenses resulting from Adani. In the future, the traditional owners experienced increasingly severe forms of displacement. Adrian Burragubba and his son Coedie McAvoy were legally determined to be trespassing on Adani territory, resulting in the Supreme Court issuing an order in October 2019 that prohibited them from accessing their own grounds. (Robertson, 2019). Prior to this, the Queensland government had legally terminated the indigenous people's rights to the mine site, including the area where a ceremonial camp was located, without providing any prior notice to the traditional owners of the land (Robertson 2019). Therefore, recent collaborations between settlers and capitalists are revitalising the process of dispossessing Indigenous communities in Australia. The concepts of "occupation," "colonialism," and "settler-colonialism" are constantly evolving in terms of their definitions and language, as evidenced by our previous discussions.

The study by Julie Peteet reminds us that terminology is influenced by historical events and can be used as a means of monitoring power dynamics. To analyse the networked expressions of colonial power in the present day, we examine Israel and India as a geocolonial structure that combines settler and "post" colonialism. An examination of settler and post-colonial dynamics, together with their operational mechanisms, could be enhanced by focusing on the Palestinian regions of Kashmir and Palestine. The interconnections of colonialism in this network of global trade and alliances between influential former settler colonial powers such as India and current settler colonial nations like Israel, the United Nations, and Australia are evidence of geopolitical neoliberalism. In relation to (Wolfe, 2006) description of settler-colonialism as the logic of elimination, we agree with Busbridge's argument that settler-colonial initiatives can address both the exploitation and extermination of local populations. Machold (2018) claims that Israeli weapons have been tested in combat situations and has been used against Palestinians. The Israeli geopolitical strategy and arms trade, as conceptualised by Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, involves the deliberate infliction of severe injuries ("right to maim") alongside the authorization to cause death ("right to kill"). This strategy is highly lucrative, amounting to billions of dollars (Mbembe 2003; Puar 2017).

The contemporary capitalist system's commerce in weapons, which exploits the territories, individuals, and even fatalities of the occupied and colonised, might be described as necropolitical. By examining the present state of colonialism in Kashmir and Palestine using references, terminology, and perspectives, we may enhance our analytical understanding and uncover hidden geopolitical power dynamics that may have gone unnoticed by others. We argue that the act of citing these relationships might help us understand their importance in terms of how they serve as a framework for analysing the geopolitical forces that shape conquests, imperialisms, and colonialisms. This special issue examines the impact of Indian and Israeli colonialism and occupation. It emphasises how these two nation states, in conjunction with their strong ties with colonial and settler-colonial powers such as the US and UK, provide a crucial geopolitical axis of settler/(post)colonial power. This axis extends beyond the territories of Palestine and Kashmir and encompasses other ties and links that are rooted in the historical legacies of colonial and postcolonial occupations. One example of such a connection is the Kurdish fight against Turkey.

Building resistance and coloniality references

Collecting the articles from this special issue, which examine coloniality and solidarity in relation to Palestine and Kashmir, creates a valuable resource. As indicated before, this archive deals with the finer points of life and death, the work of collecting archival materials, and the formation and decolonization of solidarity. To kick off this special issue on archives of coloniality and solidarity, it seems fitting to have an essay discussing the (im) possibilities of archival research. Archival study concerning the framing of Kashmiri history has challenges, such as loss or inaccessibility, which Farrukh Faheem discusses. He follows the Indian government's suppression of historical records and actual counternarratives that contradict its official narrative. In the case of Kashmir, the de-classification regulation that has been in place for thirty years in India does not apply. There is a lack of convenient access to historical records that could illuminate the monarchical rule before to 1947 and the subsequent administrations.

While Faheem addresses these omissions, he also shows how fictional authors and academics have worked to fill in historical narrative gaps. Archives focused on Kashmiris are what "the embodied experiences of Kashmiris" lead to, according to Faheem. Here, historical ethnography might serve as a repository for lived coloniality experiences. Anthropological focus on geography and bodies, in addition to historical time, can frequently show how the atrocities of colonialism and occupation, as well as resistance to them, can be both extraordinary and commonplace. By focusing ethnographically on ways of life and death in Kashmir and Palestine, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Mohamad Junaid broaden the definitions of resistance and colonialism by addressing the extraordinary and the mundane. Shalhoub-Kevorkian delves into the macabre manner in

which Israel's 'necropenological regime of dispossession,' which removes Palestinian bodies from any trace of humanity, both in life and death, in East Jerusalem. Shalhoub-Kevorkian expands on Achille Mbembe's (2003) idea of necropolitics, in which Palestinians are "subject to conquering, even when dead," by conceiving of "necropenology" as an administrative strategy of settler-colonial forces. Here, necropenology explains how death row becomes even more carceral and how new kinds of torment are etched into funeral rites. 'Refrigerators and cemeteries, as land and spaces of death in the settler colony get interwoven into the political language to further punish and threaten all Palestinians,' suggests Shalhoub-Kevorkian. While arguing that the right to mourn is a political act in the context of colonial conditions in Palestine and Kashmir, Shalhoub-Kevorkian notes the 'unending uncertainty' experienced by the relatives of the over 8,000 Kashmiri people who have been forcibly disappeared.

By focusing on how even mourning is colonially violently attempted to "terminate the possibilities of life following loss, during and after death," Shalhoub-Kevorkian's theorization of this necropenological regime draws attention to the deprivations that this regime suffers from. In contrast to Shalhoub-Kevorkian's investigation of the Israeli state's efforts to institutionalise death, Mohamad Junaid looks at the spatial politics of strolling in a town in South Kashmir under curfew, a tactic used by the Indian occupation to stifle the independence struggle of the Tehreek or Kashmir. During curfews, it is illegal to assemble in groups of four or more Kashmiris, but individuals are not allowed to walk or drive alone. "Kashmiris as subjects of the occupation" is what happens when someone "announces a curfew," as Junaid puts it. Also, curfews have been in place for months at a time. Junaid broadens the conceptual framework of counter-mapping to include walking as an ethnographic approach, revealing it as a type of embodied resistance surveillance that keeps tabs on the "ever-surveilling apparatus of the occupation." As a kind of monitoring, this one is intuitive, emotional, ever-changing, and frequently undetectable by colonial watchdogs. Walking in protest is a powerful critique of the spatial logic of colonial occupation since it involves something that is "fundamental to the human self" under these conditions. Junaid provides citational solidarity with Palestinian resistance by comparing fragmented Palestinian territories to the 'late modern colonial occupation' (Mbembe 2003) of Kashmir, a region with a long history of *sangbāzi* (game of stones or stone-pelting). There needs to be a "fuller appreciation" of these activities as "political projects," according to Junaid. These practices are political because they are "enacted as a bodily demand to be seen as right-bearing subjects," even when those who are "living under occupation may not offer a clear script of resistance."

When considering the dynamics of colonial occupation, where the body serves as both an object of oppression and a tangible manifestation of human rights demands, Todorova delves into the politics and practice of standing in solidarity with the occupied, rather than in opposition to the occupiers. Todorova extends the meanings, politics, and praxis of decolonial solidarity by examining the practices of Israeli activists who have used the settler colonial lens to talk about the occupation of the Palestinians. She draws on the settler colonial framework as a generator of the solidarity framework. Decolonizing, according to Todorova, starts with "an acknowledgement of solidarity protest as located in contested indigenous sovereign space," and she does this by using anthropological methods and compiling an archive of reinventing solidarity. "A dramatic reimagining of relationships with land, people and the state" is necessary for decolonizing solidarity. According to Shalhoub Kevorkian (this issue), there is a constant danger of focusing on solidarity activism and activists instead of the Palestinians living under a colonial occupation that is determined to kill, maim, and even imprison the Palestinian dead. According to Todorova, 'signals the possibility for co-existence which is not founded on the violent and dispossessive hierarchies of the settler-colonial logic.' This is emphasised by presenting a decolonial solidarity practice through shared vulnerability. Osuri addresses the importance of Indian solidarity with Palestine and the necessity of solidarity with Kashmiris, but he overlooks a critical blind spot—India's relationship with Israel, both historically and now.

Osuri stresses the need of critically reflecting on the paths that anti-colonial solidarity takes in the present geopolitical climate, where an Indian government that is both Hindu and nationalist openly celebrates its alliance with Israel while also engaging in a delicate dance with its historical support for Palestinian self-determination. In her journey of solidarity work with the Kashmiri struggle for self-determination, Osuri begins by understanding and deconstructing her own Indian-Australian positionality. Osuri contends that in order to begin the process of solidarity, it is necessary to hear from Kashmiri people who, like many Critical Kashmir Studies scholars before them, have chronicled India's (post-)colonial occupation of Kashmir, which has become more obvious since August 2019 when India formally annexed the territory. Osuri situates the Kashmiri independence movement within the geopolitical alliance between India and Israel, illuminating the manner in which the two countries legitimise each other's control over Palestine and Kashmir. Osuri contends that the issue of Kashmir must be framed within a web of transnational and translocal solidarity networks, such as the Black-Palestinian solidarity or the resistance solidarities in the United States, Canada, or Australia. By focusing on "affective solidarity" as she traces the history of Kashmiri sympathy with the Palestinian movement.

Whether it's through graffiti, the histories of stone-pelting, poetry, or the use of the phrase "Intifada," Many scholars shows how affective solidarity resounds in the bodily experience of simultaneous battles against occupation in countless ways. Because of the Kashmiri resistance effort against Indian occupation, the Palestinian uprising has been "inspirational, cathartic," and resonant for Kashmiris, it takes care to distinguish between the histories of Palestine and Kashmir, drawing clear distinctions between the two.

Although she acknowledges the impending August 2019 siege, she contends that settler-colonial tactics in Kashmir existed before then. It brings attention to a lesser-known facet of the Kashmiri independence movement during India's partition in 1947, detailing how the former Hindu ruler of Kashmir ordered the slaughter of more than 200,000 Muslims in an effort to alter the demographics of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir in response to Kashmiris' demands for independence. "Kashmiri Nakba" is the name given to this "demographic terrorism" attack. Like Israeli settler-colonial tactics, the August

2019 blockade of Kashmir and plans for demographical changes to the already divided union territory that the state of Jammu and Kashmir has become are reminiscent of this reality. These measures legitimise the repeal of Article 35A, which safeguarded the land ownership rights of indigenous Kashmiris under the Jammu and Kashmir constitution. These alterations have led to clear analogies between settler-colonialism in India and Israel. Zia shows, however, that the bodily and subjective record of Kashmiri resonant sympathy with Palestinians predates these movements.

Conclusion

The connection between Palestine and Kashmir is characterised by a vibrant and emotional legacy of colonialism and unity, which is marked by occasional moments of poetic significance. In his poem "Ghazal" from 2009, Kashmiri poet Agha Shahid Ali asserts that Mahmoud Darwish, speaking from exile, conveys a message to the world: everyone will inevitably traverse the transient syllables of Arabic. Ali characterises Arabic as a language associated with the experience of loss. In Deir Yassein, where buildings once stood, there are now dense forests. The town was completely destroyed. Ali is mentioning the Palestinian Nakba. Arabic is absent. Ali was additionally accountable for translating the poem "Eleven Stars over Andalusia," written by Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, into English. According to Muneeza (Shamsie 2002), the collection of eleven poems is a mystical elegy. "The text not only depicts the forced removal and expulsion of the Moors from Spain and their farewell to their enchanted territory, but it also cleverly establishes a parallel between the author's and translator's native lands—Palestine and Kashmir." They inquire about the meaning of Shahid - Pay attention: The term "The Beloved" is derived from Persian, while "witness" is derived from Arabic. Ali is maybe referring to this simile in the final couplet of Ahazal.

Edward Said, in his commentary on Darwish's poetry, stated that Darwish's poetry offers more than just unique insights or a constructed sense of order. Instead, it presents a troubling combination of poetry and collective memory, with each element exerting pressure on the other (Said, 1994). Agha Shahid Ali likely aimed to express the profound feeling of oneness and collective past that Zia discusses in her piece through his address to and interpretation of Darwish's work. Through their exploration of the intricacies of modern colonialism and solidarity in connection to and across the contexts of Palestine and Kashmir, the papers collected in this special issue serve as a repository. These pieces of information contribute to our understanding of a contemporary geocolonial structure: the partnership between India and Israel and its support for the occupations of Palestine and Kashmir. They study and document the numerous methods of standing together that this geocolonial architecture necessitates. We hope that by asking readers to study this geopolitical arsenal of coloniality and solidarity in conjunction with the joint fights for independence in Palestine and Kashmir, this collective archive will assist to counter hegemonic knowledge.

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